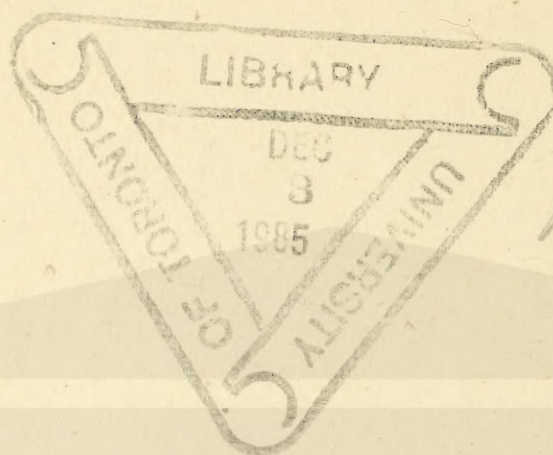




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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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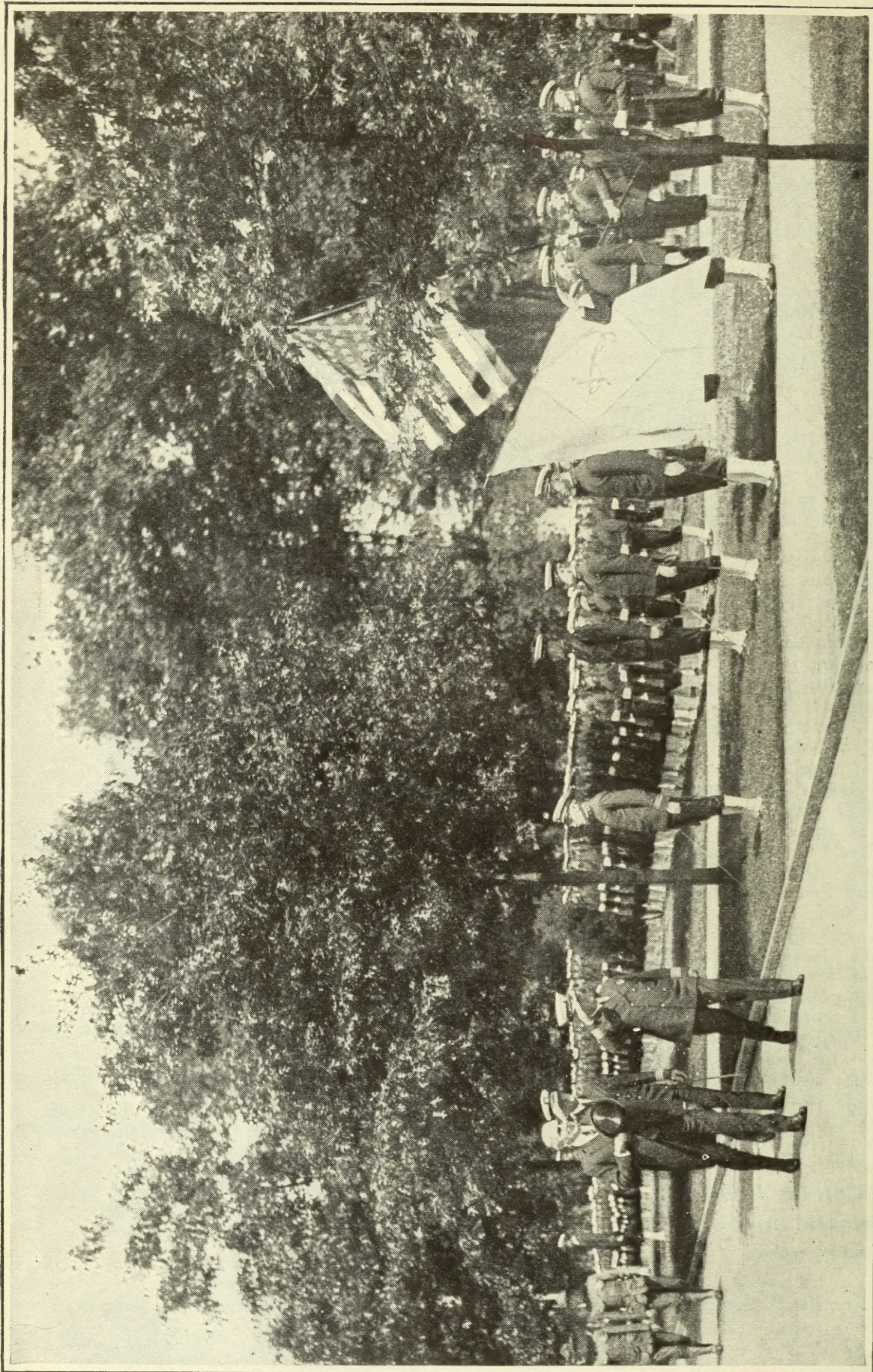
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COMMENCEMENT DAY AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY, WITH PRESIDENT HARDING REVIEWING THE CADETS

(This frontpiece picture has timeliness for several reasons. It reminds us of the closing of a school year which has turned out a greater number of graduates from universities, colleges and high schools than any former season. It also strikes the note of patriotism befitting the nation's anniversary. The Naval Academy at Annapolis reminds us further of the country's naval policy which Congress has just now placed upon a basis of non-partisan agreement. President Harding's address at Annapolis urged upon the future officers of our Navy the responsibilities that go with national power.)

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXIV

NEW YORK, JULY, 1921

No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Strong Navy
Carries Both
Parties*

The disarmament question has many aspects, and it is under discussion everywhere. Its more immediate and concrete form in the United States, however, has had relation to the naval appropriation bill. The policy of continuing to enlarge and strengthen the United States Navy has, generally speaking, had the unquestioned support of the Harding Administration, and has commanded the adherence of more than a party majority in both Houses of the present Congress. For example, the naval bill as it passed the Senate on June 1 appropriated \$494,000,000 for the maintenance and further expansion of our navy during the fiscal year beginning July 1. This is the largest annual sum ever appropriated for navy purposes by any government except in war periods. The bill was passed by a vote of 54 to 17, with 38 Republicans and 16 Democrats voting for it, while against it were 12 Democrats and 5 Republicans.

*An Accepted
American
Policy*

This result suffices to show that the policy of a strong American Navy at this time is supported as fundamental and non-partisan. If the Democrats instead of the Republicans had been in power, the action of the Senate would not have been different unless in points of detail. So far as the Executive is concerned, it is to be remembered that the Wilson Administration last year was even more sweeping in its naval demands and estimates than is the Harding Administration this year. Secretary Daniels was, if possible, more zealous in his advocacy of a great navy than is Mr. Denby; and Mr. Daniels since leaving office has continued to express himself with voice and pen upon naval topics, advocating the maintenance and further development of our sea power. The naval bill had come to the Senate from the House of Representatives at the end of April, carrying total appropriations just under four hundred mil-

lions, \$396,000,000 to be exact. Undoubtedly the House had known that the Senate would add various items. It was expected that a compromise would be reached, after a prolonged restudy of the differences between the House and Senate measures in conference committee.

*Agreements
on General
Program*

The important thing about the passage of the naval bill on April 28 in the House of Representatives was not the precise amount of the appropriation, but the sentiment of the Chamber as shown by the final vote. Only 15 members voted against the bill, while 212 voted for it. If all the members of the House had been present and voting, it is probable that the practical unanimity of the House in supporting the plans of the Navy Department would have been still more evident. The House at the time of the navy vote was seriously endeavoring to keep down expenditures in order to reduce the burden of taxation. The differences between the House bill and the Senate bill, therefore, do not involve any serious divergence in point of view as to naval program and policy. Both House and Senate support the 1916 program for the construction of large battleships and armored cruisers. The Senate bill is intended to lessen the subsequent demands of the Navy Department, in the form of a deficiency bill, for a variety of items touching such matters as the fuel supply, the Marine Corps personnel, compensation of sailors, naval stations, and so on. The last two elections have given us Republican majorities in the House of Representatives, following Democratic majorities in several previous Congresses. It is possible that congressional elections in the early future, if not those of next year, may be carried by the Democrats. It is a matter of consequence, far more profound than anything involved in differences of opinion about such a question as tariff rates, that this coun-

try has now adopted a naval policy which, in its broad lines, is accepted by both parties. In the House and Senate committees the program has been worked out in detail by experienced members of both parties, coöperating without regard to political affiliations.

*Lessons from
Our Recent
History*

In view of the policies of other governments, and the conditions existing throughout the world, Congress would be acting imprudently and in disregard of the plain lessons of the past ten years if it should now proceed upon a program of rapid American naval disarmament. We ought to have adopted a plan of immense naval expansion in 1914, to be carried out in the three following years. If we had done this, we would have saved ourselves much of the loss and calamity that befell us because of our failure to act responsibly and intelligently. Such a policy on our part would also have served to shorten the European war, and to save the lives of at least a million of the best young men of the European countries. There were well-meaning persons in the United States who wrote and spoke constantly in the years from 1914 to 1917 in favor of scrapping even such naval armament as we then possessed, on the theory that this would be a beautiful object lesson to warring Europe and would lead the world to peace and harmony. If we had possessed three more good battleships in 1898, we could easily have settled the Cuban question by negotiation with Spain and avoided a war. If we had spent a billion dollars a year for army and navy preparedness, in addition to the ordinary appropriations, during the fiscal years ending in the summers of 1915, 1916 and 1917, we would have saved ourselves the subsequent expenditure of at least five times the three billions, and we should have saved the world at least one hundred billion dollars of the stupendous economic loss that the war has entailed.

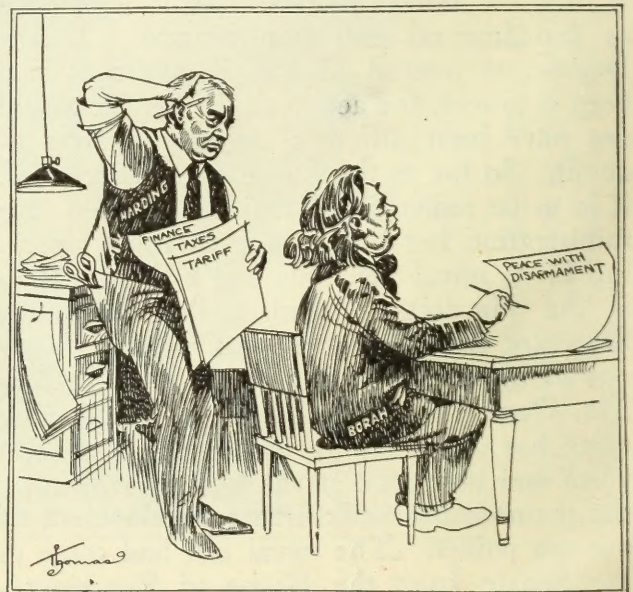
*Let Strength
Support Cause
of Justice*

We have expressed such views upon preparedness, consistently and steadily, in this periodical for twenty-five years. And surely at this time, when their soundness is so evident to all those capable of seeing things as they are, and of thinking from premises to just conclusions, it would be absurd to oppose the naval armament policies supported alike by the Wilson and Harding Administrations and by both parties in Congress. Does it follow, therefore, that in upholding the present arma-

ment policy we repudiate the idea of disarmament, and accept the doctrine of militarism? On the contrary, we hold militarism in abhorrence, and demand disarmament as essential if we are to save what is valuable in our civilization. The United States is recognized everywhere as potentially foremost on the side of justice, order, independence and equality among the nations and peoples of the earth. If those who have their own ends to gain, regardless of the equal rights of their neighbors, insist upon the use of force, there is no way by which war can be kept from spreading far and wide except by the show of firm strength on the part of those who stand for right and justice. In the sphere of local affairs we do not disarm the police as they confront criminal rioting in the streets. On the contrary, we employ and arm extra policemen, call in the sheriff with his deputies, and if necessary ask the Governor to send State troops.

*Senate Unani-
mous for Naval
Disarmament*

The debate in the Senate during May was unusually thorough and frank, and it ended, as we have shown, with an overwhelming vote in favor of practically a half billion dollars for the coming year's naval expenses. But it also ended with a vote not less expressive of America's aims and purposes. All through the month's discussion in the Senate there was advocacy of the doctrine of disarmament by international agreement. Senator Borah had introduced a resolution the support of which gave him the seeming position of leadership in the cause of disarmament. A few days before the bill carrying its great

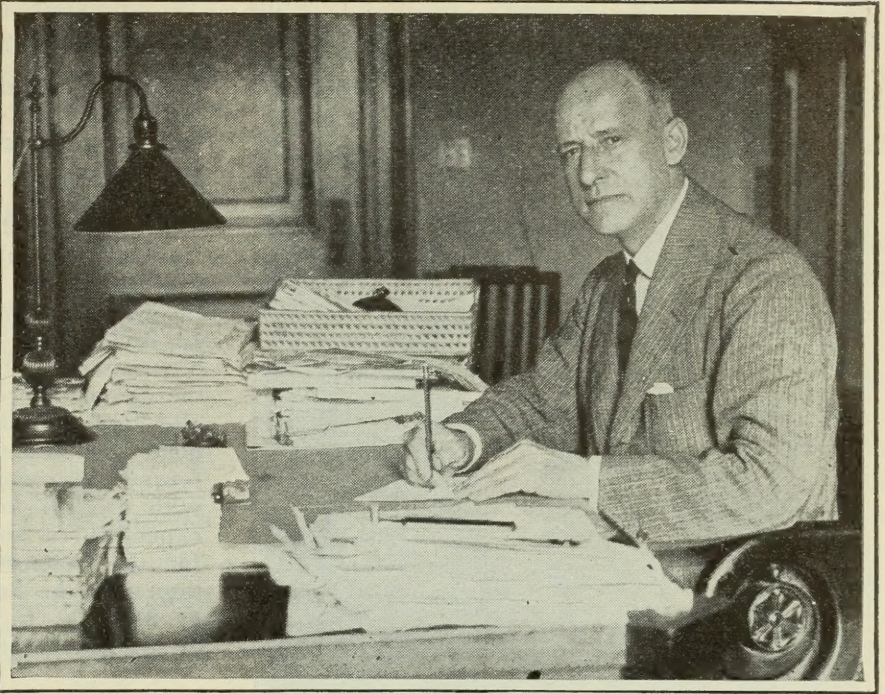


AN EDITOR WITH A POET ON HIS HANDS
From the News (Detroit, Mich.)

money charge was adopted, the Senate agreed to accept the Borah resolution as an amendment, and the action on this point was unanimous, 74 Senators voting in the affirmative and none opposing. The text of the Borah amendment is as follows:

The President is authorized and requested to invite the Governments of Great Britain and Japan to send representatives to a conference, which shall be charged with the duty of promptly entering into an understanding or agreement by which the naval expenditures and building programs of each of said governments, to wit, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, shall be substantially reduced annually during the next five years to such an extent and upon such terms as may be agreed upon, which understanding or agreement is to be reported to the respective governments for approval.

While every Senator of both parties had desired the adoption of an international disarmament policy at the earliest possible moment, there had been sharp differences as to the wisdom of a congressional utterance. The navy bill had come over from the House to the Senate without any such disarmament proposal, for the simple reason that the Harding Administration in April had not wished to have Congress take the initiative. After the middle of May, however, the Administration had apparently changed its view, and Senators were informed that support of the Borah amendment would not be out of line with informal negotiations that were going on through diplomatic channels. When the naval bill went back to the House carrying its enlarged appropriations and also carrying the Borah resolution, it was determined that before sending the measure to conference the House would reconsider the question of a disarmament conference. It was the opinion of Mr. Mondell, the Republican floor leader, that the Borah amendment was too "narrow and restricted." Mr. Kelley, of Michigan, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, seemed to agree with Mr. Mondell, and joined in the assurance that the House would have opportunity to express itself and go on record. There were those in the House who advocated the



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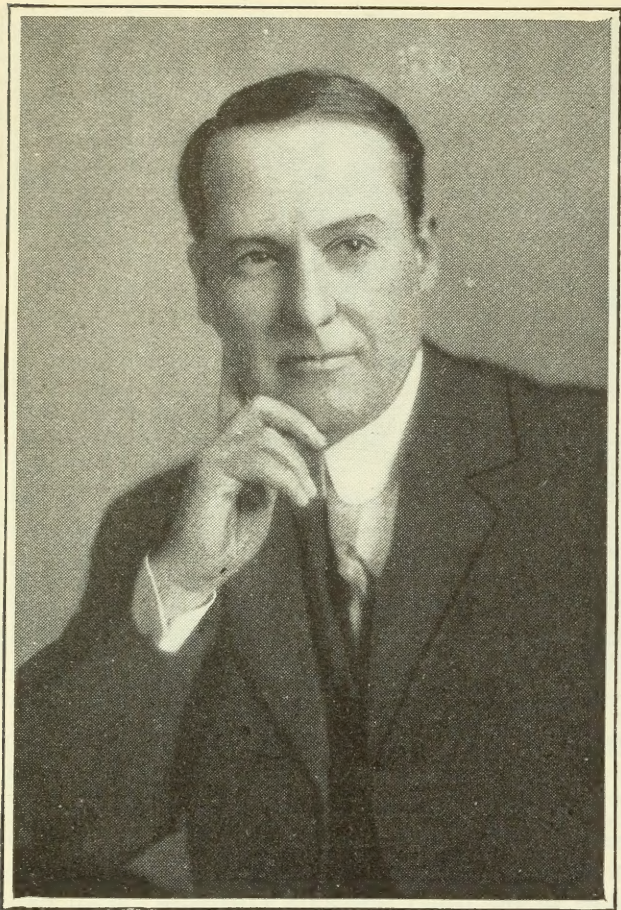
HON. MILES POINDEXTER, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON

(Mr. Poindexter, as chairman of the Senate's Naval Committee, has led in the passage of the half-billion-dollar navy bill. He has been one of the leading opponents of the League of Nations, was formerly a Roosevelt Progressive, and takes a keen interest in American policies as they affect the Pacific Coast)

plan of having President Harding call a general disarmament conference relating to armies as well as to navies. At length, on June 7, the House decided not to instruct its conferees. They were expected to support the plan of a general disarmament conference.

*The House
Also Favors
Disarmament*

Searching for the essence apart from the form, it is to be noted that in the House, even as in the Senate, the sentiment of the entire body was in favor of a prompt move on the part of the United States to lead the world into the acceptance of some plan of early disarmament by international agreement. It was well understood that President Harding and his Cabinet had already been taking steps to ascertain the views of the British, French, Italian, Japanese, and possibly some other governments, with respect to a conference on certain phases of armament and disarmament from the standpoint of permanent protection of legitimate national interests. No formal vote of Congress was needed by the President to authorize his suggestion of an international conference, and it was better on all accounts that the initiative should seem to have been taken by the Executive. But after the President had already begun his inquiries abroad, it was undoubtedly a good thing to have strong expressions by both Houses favoring the idea of international action.



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HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER, OF PENNSYLVANIA
(Mr. Porter, who in his younger days studied medicine and afterward became a lawyer, has now been in Congress from a western Pennsylvania district for ten years, and is chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs)

*The Porter
Substitute
Resolution*

The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives is quite as important as the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations as regards matters that require the action of both Houses. For example, the declaration of technical peace with Germany by joint resolution approved by the President is a matter that involves the two Houses alike. On the other hand, peace by virtue of a treaty—whether acceptance of the Versailles Treaty or a separate agreement with Germany—would require ratification by the Senate alone when submitted by the President. Although the House did not accept the Senate's so-called Borah disarmament resolution and did not supply a substitute, it was well understood that Mr. Kelley and the other House conferees on the naval bill were expected to support a disarmament resolution that had been reported separately by Mr. Porter on behalf of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. This resolution has especial significance because it was understood to have been prepared as an expression of the President's own views.

We present it, therefore, as in effect the House substitute for the Borah plan:

Joint resolution concurring in the declared purpose of the President of the United States to call an international conference to limit armaments.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the Congress hereby expresses its full concurrence in the declaration of the President in his address to Congress on April 12, 1921, that "we are ready to cooperate with other nations to approximate disarmament, but merest prudence forbids that we disarm alone," and, further, fully concurs in his declared purpose and intention to call an international conference to consider the limitation of armaments with a view to lessen materially the burden of expenditures and the menace of war; and that for the expenses preliminary to and in connection with the holding of such conference the sum of \$100,000, to be expended under the direction of the President, is hereby appropriated.

*Naval Issues
Concern
the World*

The principal objection to the Borah proposal of a conference restricted to a discussion by our Government with those of Great Britain and Japan alone would seem to lie in the fact that this would avoid or postpone the fundamental questions that must be faced honestly before any effective remedy can be applied. A general discussion would require a broader representation. Such a conference as Senator Borah has demanded would be too likely to involve the old and futile talk of a so-called "naval holiday" with maintenance of the *status quo* as respects relative advantages. This would reduce naval bills a little, perchance; but it would leave untouched the false and menacing system of naval competition. The one sphere in which a properly conceived League of Nations could have been of most obvious service was in the sphere of things strictly extra-national. The high seas in the nature of the case cannot belong to separate nations, either in whole or in part. They are the world's common possession, for common and equal use. They can be rendered safe for everybody by international cooperation. The completion and acceptance of a code of maritime international law is the first step to be taken. This would mean the substitution of law for force on the high seas, and its logical sequel must be the abolition of naval warfare. The principle to be adopted, therefore, is that of cooperation in maintaining the free and proper use of the seas for commerce and travel. The United States has no more right to conceive of being supreme on the sea, by virtue of having the

largest navy, than has any other power a right to make such an improper and fallacious claim. There must be an abandonment of the idea that nations may go out upon the common seas to destroy each others' commerce, and to claim as a duelling ground the domain that belongs to peaceful peoples for beneficial purposes.

*France Also
Reviuing
Her Navy*

The new naval bill adopted by the French Chamber of Deputies on June 10 calls for the immediate construction of sixty-six new vessels, more than half of them submarines, at an estimated cost of 1,416,000,000 francs. The Minister of Marine, M. Guisthau, declared that the proposed new naval increments were necessary "not only for security but as a matter of dignity and pride." If we in the United States can ill afford to maintain an immense naval establishment, it is obvious that other governments are far less able than ourselves to meet the cost of naval competition. In view of the present condition of debts, credits, and international commerce, it is an obvious fact that, while we are paying our own armament bills, we are also indirectly paying a great part of the military bills of our competitors. But if we desire to perpetuate this harmful system of competition in armaments, particularly at sea, we can find no more certain way of producing such a result than by cutting down our own program of national defense and accepting a certain rank—whether first, second, third, or fourth—by agreement with a few other nations on the false theory that some nations have an inherent right to exercise more power at sea than other nations.

*The Idea
of Naval
Equality*

Until, then, the world is ready to accept a plan by which the seas may be made safe for the ships and the commerce of all nations alike, it would be merely silly to talk about the abolition of force and the coming reign of law. Disarmament on land is a very difficult and complex affair at best, and under existing circumstances it is not feasible. Naval disarmament is a different question, calling for separate treatment. It was the argument of Senator Poindexter that the only way by which the United States could be effectively influential in maintaining peace, and in bringing about a permanent reduction of armaments upon a reasonable plan, was by providing that the United

States should be—not greater in naval strength than any other country, but not inferior to any. Far from containing a menace this doctrine is, of all others, the best single guaranty of world peace that exists anywhere at the present time.

*Competition
Should Be
Abandoned*

The British and American navies in coöperation—and with complete abandonment of the ridiculous theory that they are latently hostile to one another and are maintained because of underlying distrust or enmity—could easily enforce the precepts of maritime international law. But, in order to serve the cause of peace, these navies would have to be maintained on the new theory that they were not designed to promote nationalistic or imperial aggrandizement, but to insure universal peace and to enforce justice. This would mean the acceptance in good faith of a system of judicature, together with the acceptance of a code of international law. With coöperation established and competition abandoned, disarmament could proceed rapidly. If national ambitions are to dominate, or if instincts of fear, distrust, or racial pride are to prevail, we must continue to maintain great armaments and watch the horizons for signs of trouble. There are different ways by which the principle of coöperation may be put into practice; but the important thing is to adopt the principle. This idea ought to appeal strongly to the statesmen now assembled in London from the British Dominions.



A PROPOSED MOVE FOR PEACE
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



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HON. JOHN W. WEEKS, SECRETARY OF WAR

(In the commencement procession at the University of New York last month, upon which occasion he delivered an address and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws)

*Inventions,
and Future
Defense*

There is much difference of opinion among naval officers, engineers, technical authorities and general students of these subjects as to the best practical devices for future defense. For example, there are many who now hold that it is useless to continue to build battle-ships which with their armament cost about forty million dollars apiece, in view of the probable future of submarines, of aircraft, of deadly gas-bombs, and of other inventions. Thus our new naval program includes types of vessels serving solely to carry aircraft out to sea. One of the critics of the new French program declared in the Chamber of Deputies last month that "America has perfected, or is about to perfect, a submersible airplane carrier," and he argued that France should make research in these new directions rather than expend her millions upon older types of war vessels.

*Industries
and War-time
Needs*

However distasteful the idea of war may be, the army and navy will not be serving the cause of peace by clinging to obsolete weapons. We are publishing this month a very trenchant article from the pen of Mr. Grosvenor Clarkson reviewing certain of our experi-

ences in the recent war, and calling attention to the necessity of keeping alive our plans for marshalling the industries of the country for defense in case of future emergency. The training that was given to more than four million young men in the year 1918 gives us a reserve strength so far as manpower is concerned that will be available for a good many years to come. But wars require the services of industry on a stupendous scale, and there were lessons learned in 1917-18 that it might be disastrous to forget. Congress should not fail to support a suitable plan for bringing the nation's industrial forces into quick action if the necessity should arise. There is nothing more wasteful than the "scrapping" of accumulated stores of knowledge and experience.

*Mr. Weeks
on National
Service*

Secretary Weeks, in a commencement address at New York University last month, talked very sensibly and responsibly about the country's military problems. He expressed himself as in favor of universal military training, but said that the country at present did not understand the advantages both to the nation and to the youth who received the training. Mr. Weeks had in mind undoubtedly the physical and educational benefits to be derived from a good system of military service. Referring to the selective draft, he took the very sound view that it ought, in the last war, to have been applied not merely to the selection of those who were needed for fighting but also to all other kinds of war work. As we have frequently shown, the most profound mistake in our war methods was the failure to apply properly the selective draft principle so that shipbuilding, munition making, transportation, and all other war services should have been put on the same basis of direct national enlistment as the army and navy. There has been much argument over the size of the army, and some months ago the recruiting work of Secretary Baker, that was bringing the force up to a strength of about 250,000, was checked by action of Congress. Later on there was a protracted controversy in Congress between those who wished to fix the active army at 175,000 and those who desired to save money by reducing it to 150,000. The argument for the larger size rested mainly upon the necessity of preventing the disintegration of a number of special and technical branches and details of the service.

*The Army's
Educational
System*

In the opinion of the General Staff, a skeletonized army that could be rapidly expanded in case of need cannot well be reduced much below 175,000 men. During this discussion the country as a whole seemed to lose sight of what will ultimately be regarded as a most vital consideration. We refer to the total change in the nature and character of the army itself. This subject was thoroughly set forth in our pages last month by Mr. Theodore Knappen, whose remarkable article entitled, "The Army as a School," presented information that ought to be understood by all citizens, men and women alike, in every neighborhood. While the new army is expected to give military training and discipline of the kind now regarded as valuable, it is also intended to be a school, in every good sense of that word, so that the enlisted men may have advantages, whether for general education or for vocational training, not only equal to those given in other schools, but quite superior to any that the enlisted men would be likely to have been able to obtain in any other way. Secretary Weeks has entered upon his work with such breadth of judgment that we may feel confident of his purpose to "sell" the army school idea to the country, and to do it so successfully that it will prove harder to keep recruits out of the ranks than to entice them to come in. This ideal can only be realized in practice by the most unremitting endeavor to keep the best men at the head of the army school system—men who have enthusiasm as well as experience and capacity. Mr. Weeks has strengthened his own hands and secured the commendation of the country by placing General Pershing in the position of Chief of Staff, with General Harbord as his working associate.

*Army
Maximum,
150,000 Men*

The long discussion over the army bill came to an end on June 8, when the Senate reversed the position which it had maintained even as recently as the previous day. By the vote of June 8, thirty-six Senators succeeded, as against a vote of thirty-two Senators, in cutting the size of the army down to 150,000 men. This maximum had been adopted by the House of Representatives, while the Senate, under the lead of Mr. Wadsworth, had insisted that 170,000 was the very lowest number possible if we were to maintain in skeletonized form the different branches and



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A RECENT SNAPSHOT OF THE TWO MEN NOW AT THE HEAD OF THE STAFF OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

(General James G. Harbord, General Pershing's associate, is one of the most experienced and widely informed men in the army; and the plan of giving General Pershing now the duties of Chief of Staff, while having General Harbord in association with him, has met with complete approval. General Harbord entered the army as a private in 1889, after completing a course at the Kansas State Agricultural College. Until the recent war his army service had been with the cavalry. In May, 1917, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and served for a year as chief of staff of the American Expeditionary Forces. As major-general he commanded a division in the Soissons offensive, and in the last months of the war was head of the Service of Supply)

special services. The issues involved did not touch in any profound way upon public policy. The argument for the smaller force was principally one of economy in appropriations. During the period of the war we trained great numbers of young men in special lines of army work, and a true policy would consist in keeping alive the interest of these young men in their particular kind of service, without taking much of their time and without much expenditure of public money. The vote differentiating between 170,000 and 150,000 found thirty Republicans and two Democrats favoring the larger number, while twenty-three Democrats and thirteen Republicans supported the House plan of a maximum of 150,000. This party division is without much significance. The

Republicans, being in power, have a keener sense of responsibility for maintaining the army's efficiency.

*Our Troops
Still Watch
on the Rhine*

It is to be noted that when Senator Dial of South Carolina offered an amendment providing that no money appropriated for paying soldiers should be given to American troops in Germany, France and Belgium, after a period of ninety days following the approval of the army appropriation bill by the President, there was a strong and decisive *viva voce* vote against the suggestion. Some Americans are not aware, perhaps, that we still have about 15,000 soldiers in Europe, chiefly engaged in the work of policing the occupied districts along the Rhine. Evidently Congress was not disposed to force the President's hand as regards the withdrawal from Europe of these remaining troops. Naturally the question had arisen what course we would pursue in that respect after the adoption of the resolution declaring peace with Germany. It was inferred at Washington that most of the regiments would be brought back home at an early date; but the subject was not regarded by the Administration as one involving any serious difficulties.

*Legal Peace
by Simple
Declaration*

Some weeks ago it had been supposed that the resolution declaring peace adopted by the Senate on April 29, by a vote of 49 to 23, and commonly known as the Knox resolution, would be adopted by the House and meet with President Harding's approval. But, as reported in these pages last month, the House delayed action on the understanding that such delay would be in accordance with the diplomatic plans of the President. Meanwhile, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, through its chairman, Mr. Porter, had introduced a resolution drafted in simpler form than that of Senator Knox. On Saturday, June 11, by a vote of 208 to 205, the House adopted a special rule providing that the vote on the Porter peace declaration should be taken without amendments at 4:30 Monday afternoon. Mr. Porter, in the interesting discussion that preceded this vote, threw some light upon the delay. He declared that when the peace resolution had reached the House the reparations question had become acute and Allied action was on foot to enforce the payments due from Germany. Now that this question has been settled by Germany's acceptance of the new

reparations agreement, the atmosphere is cleared for a declaration of peace that corresponds to existing facts.

*Decisive
Action by
the House*

The vote as taken on June 13 resulted in passage of the Porter resolution, 305 votes favoring and 61 opposing. Mr. Kelley of Michigan did not like this way of making peace, and was the one solitary Republican who voted in the negative. The Democratic leaders made a ferocious and highly exaggerated oratorical attack, but did not succeed in holding their own side together, about five-sixths as many Democrats voting for the resolution as against. The result, therefore, was clearly decisive as an expression of American sentiment. The popular body contains a great many able men, and, while its rules make it easy to shut off long debates such as the Senate stages upon all matters whether great or small, the present House of Representatives will not be subordinated; and its leading members should be accorded their due credit by the newspapers, so that the public may know them as well as it knows the Senators. A very few days before this final action of the House, President Harding had spent two or three days as Senator Knox's guest at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where the Senator has a famous country home. It was naturally inferred by the country that Senator Knox had no objection to a peace resolution in such final form as might seem best to accord with the President's views and with the Administration's international policies. Mr. Harding had definitely promised peace by this method. The Porter resolution, as it went from the House into conference with the Senate committee, reads as follows:

"JOINT RESOLUTION

"Terminating the state of war between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America and between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the United States of America.

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

"Section 2—That in making this declaration, and as a part of it, there are expressly reserved to the United States of America and its nationals any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled under the terms of the armistice

signed Nov. 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof; or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States of America by reason of its participation in the war or to which its nationals have thereby become rightfully entitled; or which, under the Treaty of Versailles, have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal allied and associated powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any act or acts of Congress; or otherwise.

"Sec. 3. That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved Dec. 7, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

"Sec. 4. That in making this declaration, and as a part of it, there are expressly reserved to the United States of America and its nationals any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed Nov. 3, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof; or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States of America by reason of its participation in the war or to which its nationals have thereby become rightfully entitled; or which, under the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye or the Treaty of Trianon, have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal Allied and Associated Powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any act or acts of Congress, or otherwise."

*Some
Results to Be
Expected*

Delay in conference may prove to be protracted; but it is to be assumed that before this magazine reaches its readers the two Houses will have agreed upon a form of resolution, and that a state of peace will have been declared to exist between the United States and Germany and also between the United States and Austria. Mr. Porter had argued that a state of peace does not require treaties; while President Harding, a year or more ago, had also declared that peace as a substantial fact would probably be maintained for a long time to come between our country and Germany, even if no treaty were made or official declaration of peace adopted. There are, however, certain matters of importance that are involved in the declaration of peace. One of these has to do with those large German property interests that were seized and held as belonging to alien enemies. Various powers conferred upon the President, or otherwise invoked and applied for the period of the war, are revoked by an action which creates peace in the technical or legal sense. Furthermore, the way becomes clear for a full resumption of diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors. While trade



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HON. FRANK W. MONDELL, OF WYOMING

(Mr. Mondell has served as Representative-at-Large from Wyoming for twenty-two years, and as Republican floor leader holds a position of responsibility and great importance in the actual work of legislation. His method of leadership is that of consultation, rather than of arbitrary dictatorialship)

and commerce have already been resumed, it is evident that the legal declaration of peace will greatly facilitate financial and commercial transactions of an international character.

*As to the
League of
Nations*

There still remains unanswered the question, What is to be done with the Versailles Treaty, with its League of Nations, in so far as the policy of the United States is concerned? Are we to negotiate a separate German treaty? Are we to organize an association of nations? Soon after Mr. Harvey had been received in Great Britain as American Ambassador, he made a speech in which he declared that "our present Government . . . will not, I can assure you, have anything whatsoever to do with the League of Nations, or with any commission or committee appointed by it or responsible to it, directly or indirectly, openly or furtively." Mr. Harvey elaborated this declaration, and he made other statements in his speech which were much discussed in the United States, and which aroused storms of protest. There was, however, no repudiation of the Harvey speech by the President

or the Secretary of State, while on the other hand it was plainly intimated that the speech had been carefully prepared and was duly supported at Washington. The criticisms of the Ambassador would have been tempered, perhaps, by a careful reading of Mr. Harvey's speech as a whole. Unfortunately, the newspapers have a way of selecting detached sentences from the utterances of brilliant ambassadors, outspoken admirals, or other personages in authority, and the ordinary reader is too often unduly influenced by these isolated quotations.

Mr. Harvey
on American
Coöperation

The Ambassador spoke strongly in acknowledging the duty on the part of the United States to coöperate in helping to settle the world's affairs. He referred, by way of example, to American influence in the final reparations agreement and in the discussion of mandates, concessions, and cables; and also to America's resumed participation in the Supreme Council, the Council of Ambassadors, and the Commission on Reparations. Mr. Harvey then proceeded as follows:

Could better evidence be desired of our Government's disposition and alacrity to make good its pledge of hearty coöperation, in all ways not inconsistent with its own recognized policies, tending to reestablish peace and prosperity throughout the world? And it will not stop there. It may not go so far as some of your statesmen might like. Our President is a prudent man by nature and rightly heedful of the fundamental law which he is sworn to observe. But when, once having seen his way clear and he puts his hand to the plow, you may safely take my word that he is not one to turn back; and he has put his hand to the plow. "We must," he declared, with characteristic positiveness to Congress last month, "we must play our full part"—our full part, mind you—"in joining the peoples of the world in pursuit of peace."

It is not merely in order to do justice to Mr. Harvey that we quote these sentences from his much-criticized speech, but in fairness to President Harding and Secretary Hughes who are responsible for policies.

Moving
Toward
Solutions

What form, then, will the proposed association of nations take as promised by Mr. Harding, if the United States will have nothing to do with the elaborate covenant of the League of Nations as formulated at Paris and embodied in the Treaty of Versailles? As yet we have no answer to that question, and seemingly we must be content to wait for

the reply. It is worth while in the meantime to know that the American Government is actually coöperating with the world, in a variety of ways, to bring about the settlement of pending issues and thus to lay the foundation for future coöperation that may in due time assume prescribed forms of a general kind. If there is to be a disarmament conference on the initiative of the United States, with particular reference to naval affairs, the world will certainly have to face the problem of finding agreement upon an up-to-date code of maritime international law. There ought to follow this a plan for bringing the nations together into conference from time to time, to develop further the accepted law of nations. And nothing could be more logical as the next step than the adoption of some plan of a high court of judicature, presumably on lines already worked out in Europe, with the assistance of Mr. Elihu Root.

Settling
Particular
Disputes

It would seem to us that the best contributions that could be made just now to the cause of permanent peace would lie in helping to find a just solution for precise questions that are agitating certain nations. A definite and wise settlement of the Silesian question, for instance, would be of immense value, and if American influence can help, it should certainly be exerted, in all good-will. Germany has begun to make substantial payments on reparation account, and has been giving evidence of a more *bona fide* compliance with disarmament agreements. In Bavaria it has been exceedingly hard to persuade the citizens to abandon their extensive organizations known as the *Einwohnerwehr* and *Orgesch*, which are a sort of home guard or system of neighborhood military associations. These organizations have had as their motive, apparently, protection against civil disorder and particularly against Bolsheviks and revolutionary radicals. In spite of difficulties involved in settling the Silesian question (see Mr. Simonds's article in the present number) the reports from Europe are upon the whole beginning to be a little more optimistic.

Economic Unity
Europe's Only
Hope

Mr. Welliver, who is in a position at Washington to speak with more than ordinary assurance regarding the trend of affairs, contributes to the present issue of this REVIEW (see page 55) an article strongly emphasizing the substantial interest that the United States

may properly assert in the economic reconstruction of Europe. Mr. Welliver invokes the statesmanship of an Alexander Hamilton to lead Europe in the paths of agricultural and industrial unification. Europe's prosperity demands the removal of trade obstructions, and a system of economic union triumphing over political antagonisms and "self-determinations." He holds that America can well afford to deal most generously with European creditors, if the Europeans themselves will but subordinate political rivalries and coöperate on business lines. The Government of the United States can apply its influence and its financial prestige in several ways to help Europe's economic restoration; and it is understood that the Treasury Department and the Department of Commerce are devising methods by which to promote the revival of European business.

Interest in the Imperial Conference As the June conference of British Premiers entered upon its sessions in London, many exceptionally important questions were brought up for discussion. Some of these were set forth in our June number by Sir P. T. McGrath, of Newfoundland. In most of the questions of "Greater Britain," the people of the United States have a direct or indirect concern. The relation of Canada, Australia, and the other Dominions to the British Navy and to so-called "imperial defense" is also of practical importance to us. It is hard to see what problems of defense against external attack Canada could have that are not also our problems. In the long run the strength of the American Navy is as vital to Canada as is the maintenance of British sea power. In like manner, the presence of the United States in Pacific waters is vital to the future interests of Australia and New Zealand. It is perfectly obvious to all men whose views are broad, calm and generous that naval competition between the United States and the British Empire is a wasteful and an obsolete thing; and that an avowed policy of coöperation ought to be entered upon without further delay. France and Italy would assuredly support a naval coalition between Great Britain and the United States. Along some such policy as this lies the road to wholesale economy in naval expenditures.

Ireland's Interest for Americans It is also plain to all reasonable minds that the principal obstacle just now to effective coöperation between Great Britain and America, in sup-

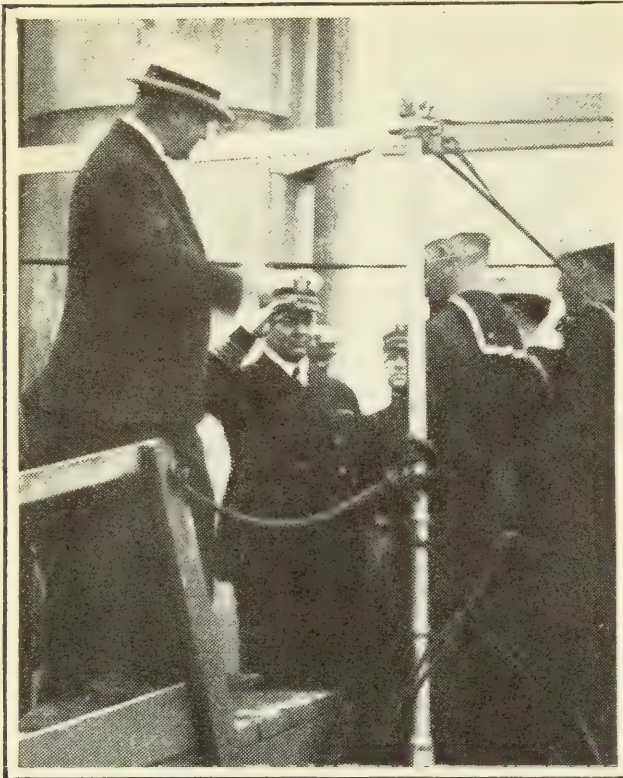
port of the welfare not only of their own people but of the world at large, is the bitterness that has become intensified over the Irish question. The interest of the American people in the Irish question does not lie in any particular solution, but rather in having some workable plan adopted that will end the present period of strife, and that will record a triumph for constructive statesmanship at the center of the English-speaking world. We can hardly hope to see the triumph of forbearance and good-will in Central and Eastern Europe, and among the peoples of the Far East and of the Near East, if the English-speaking peoples are not able to eliminate the one notorious obstacle to harmony among themselves. The Ulster elections, as was fully expected, resulted in a sweeping victory for the Unionists (the pro-British elements), who carried forty of the seats in the new North Ireland Parliament at Belfast, while their opponents (the combined Sinn Feiners and Nationalists) carried twelve seats and abstained from taking part in the new body. There was practical unanimity in the victories of the Sinn Fein throughout all the constituencies of Ireland that pertain to the Dublin Parlia-



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ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS, WITH MRS. SIMS

(From a photograph taken as the Admiral sailed for Europe in June. Admiral Sims's present assignment is head of the Naval War College at Newport)



THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, MR. DENBY, TALKING WITH THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF AN "EAGLE" BOAT

ment as created by the Home Rule Act. But since it was the avowed purpose of the anti-British elements, who profess to be already carrying on an Irish Republic, not to take their seats in the Home Rule Parliaments, there has, of course, been no assembling at Dublin of the members-elect. Mr. Thomas Lamont expressed the opinion last month, after a brief visit to Europe, that in the near future Ireland would accept a Dominion form of government.

*Admiral Sims
Expresses
Himself*

We have no desire to comment at this time upon the incidents created by the remarks of Admiral Sims at a luncheon in London given by the English-Speaking Union. The Admiral doubtless felt that where there has been so much freedom of speech on one side, there should also be freedom for controversialists on the other side. But it may be said as a general principle that high American officials and functionaries do not help to make things better by speeches delivered on foreign soil that deal with pending disputes. Meanwhile, a good part of the agitation at Washington over the Sims speech was due to the fact that next year we have popular elections for every seat in the House of Representatives and for one-third of the seats in the Senate. The friends of Irish independence are now very active in American politics; and in some states, at least, they might make it unpleasant

for candidates seeking re-election who had seemed to condone the remarks of Admiral Sims in his attack upon the pro-Irish voters of the United States. Sensible Americans, looking world conditions in the face, are eager to have the Irish question acceptably adjusted in order that there may be no obstacle to hearty coöperation, for world peace and a sane program of disarmament, between the British and American governments.

*The President
in June
Speeches*

There can be no doubt whatever about the President's ever increasing concentration upon the world problems of peace, disarmament, and economic reconstruction. Furthermore, it is plain that he finds members of his Cabinet broad in view; not men of parochial minds, but able to think in "terms of continents." On an academic occasion in June at Washington, where the distinguished Canadian statesman, M. W. Rowell, made an address, Mr. Harding gave strong expression to the accord between the United States and Canada as a contribution toward the wider understandings that must prevail. Ambassador Jusserand, speaking for France, emphasized the coöperation of his own country with the United States and Great Britain for world stability. At Annapolis, Mr. Harding addressed 260 graduates of the Naval Academy on June 2. He called upon the cadets to support a republic of conscience, sympathy, and high ideals, as well as one of strength; and complimented Secretary of the Navy Denby, who had preceded him in addressing the graduates. Mr. Denby had formerly served in the Navy as enlisted man and also as officer, while it so happens that the Secretary of War, Mr. Weeks, is also a graduate of the Naval Academy. At Valley Forge, on June 5, President Harding declared that "the world could never settle its present-day turmoils and complications without the helpfulness of American influence and example."

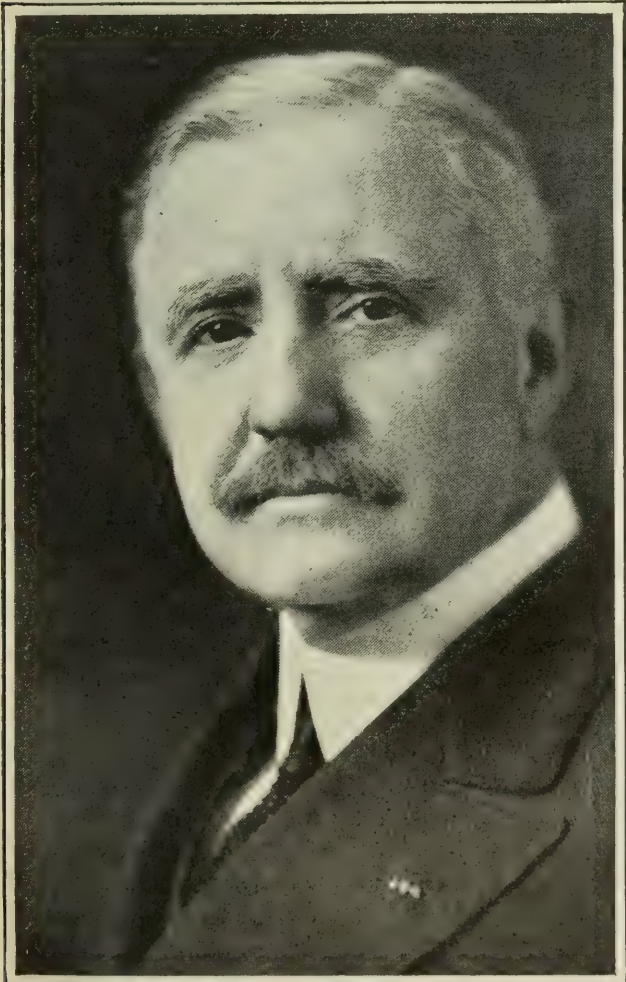
*Admitting
American
Responsibility*

This informal address at Valley Forge revealed the President's point of view as fully as any of his more deliberate utterances. He spoke for "an America that can maintain every heritage and yet help humanity throughout the world." On June 6 he spoke to an audience of negro students at Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, and extolled education as the best remedy for racial difficulties. Perhaps the most widely read of the President's recent

addresses was that which he gave on Memorial Day in the great amphitheater at Arlington Cemetery. He eulogized the men who had fought in American armies, and idealized their achievements. He accepted the doctrine of American responsibility, and predicted that our country will never fail to measure up to the demands presented to it in behalf of humanity. "Civilization," he declared, "must face disaster if there shall be denial either of common responsibility or of essential equality among sovereign States and persons." We make allusion to these recent speeches by the President principally because they show along what line his mind is working and how he is endeavoring to evolve an American international policy.

*Alaska and
Its New
Governor*

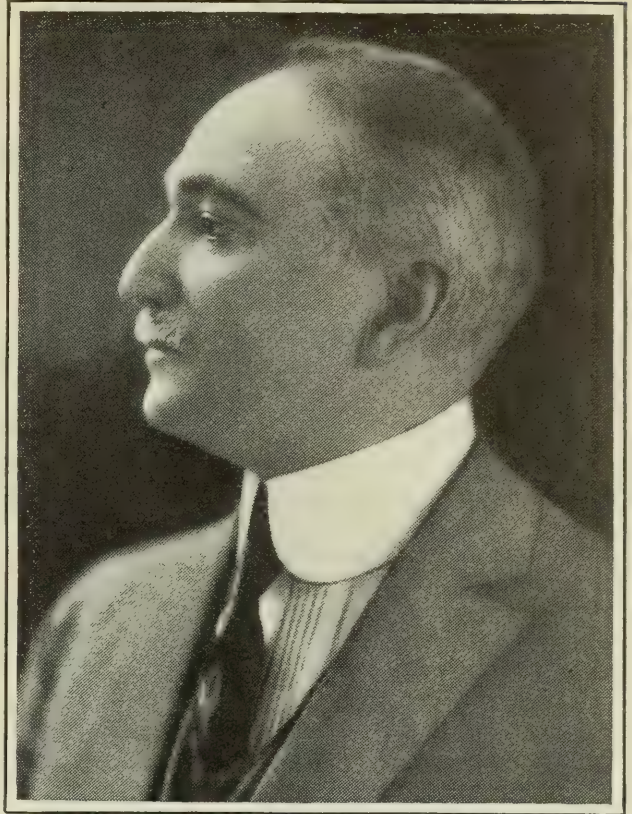
The President has informed citizens of Alaska that he was making plans to visit that great American Territory late in the summer, if pressure of business in Washington should permit. Meanwhile Mr. Harding has been commended for the appointment of Mr.



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HON. SCOTT C. BONE, APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF ALASKA

(Mr. Bone has had a long and distinguished editorial career, in Indianapolis, Washington, D. C., and Seattle)



HON. WALLACE R. FARRINGTON, APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF HAWAII

(After graduating at the University of Maine and serving a brief newspaper apprenticeship in New England, Mr. Farrington went to Honolulu in 1894, where he soon established himself as a leader in newspaper enterprise, and took his place as one of the most public-spirited and useful of Hawaii's citizens)

Scott Bone as Alaska's new Governor. Mr. Bone has had a long journalistic experience, including a residence of some years at Seattle, where he was editor of the *Post Intelligencer*. He was especially active in those years as an advocate of the development of Alaska on the best lines, and was familiar with Alaska's resources and its problems of government, transportation, and commerce. The government-built railroad in Alaska is not yet finished, and the census shows a falling off in population during the last decade. There is a great future for the various industries, the coal mines, and the fisheries of Alaska; and a visit from the President would doubtless help the Territory by directing attention to its needs and its possibilities.

*Hawaii,
Also, Has a
New Governor*

A conspicuously fitting appointment is that of Mr. Wallace R. Farrington as Governor of Hawaii. Mr. Farrington was graduated from the University of Maine in 1891, his father having been a distinguished educator and professor of agriculture in that State. The son became a working newspaper man and

after varied experiences he went to Hawaii some twenty-five years ago. He was one of the advocates of the annexation of the Islands by the United States, and soon became a leader in the local policies of development along American lines. He became an editor and later a controlling owner of newspapers, and is now at the head of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, foremost of Hawaii's newspapers. His public-spirited activities have been varied, including membership in the territorial Board of Public Instruction and the chairmanship of the Regents of the Hawaiian University. No one could be more thoroughly versed in the problems that affect the present and future of Hawaii than the new Governor. It is his aim to build a thoroughly American commonwealth out of the population elements that are on the ground.

*Hawaii's
People and
Future*

The native Hawaiians are fast disappearing, and the Japanese are the largest single element, with a considerable body of Chinese; while another large labor group is made up of Portuguese. The children of the Orientals are all taught English in the public schools, although the Japanese children go also to their own language schools for a part of the day. Training in vocations, and particularly in agriculture, is now made prominent in the Hawaiian schools. The most immediate emergency relates to the shortage of labor, and the chief question of public policy relates to making the Islands a desirable place for new population elements. Hawaii also has on its program the improvement of the Territory in all those aspects which concern its scenic beauty, its natural wonders, and its attractiveness as a resort for visitors. There is no man who could be more fully alive to the opportunities for progress than Mr. Farrington. He has faith in the great future of Hawaii, and believes in meeting difficulties with practical solutions. It should be remembered that the organic act under which the Territory of Hawaii is governed provides that the office of Governor must be filled by an actual resident of the Islands. The Alaskans had advocated this same principle; but in the appointment of Mr. Scott Bone they are securing a new Governor who is so well versed in their affairs, and so staunch a champion of their interests, that they have no feeling of having a "carpet-bagger" imposed upon them. Attention is due, more than ever before, to American concerns on the Western Coast and in the Pacific Ocean.

*Japanese, and
the Racial
Instinct*

The Japanese in Hawaii will in the near future have passed from the second to the third generation, and should be, in every sense of the term, American citizens. It is to be hoped that there will be enough breadth of sympathy on the part of citizens of all racial origins to secure a steadily diminishing sense of racial difference, and hearty accord in loyalty to the Stars and Stripes. Japan is giving the whole world an object-lesson in intense nationalism and racial ambition. The very fact of this tendency to racial assertiveness particularly well qualifies the Japanese for understanding a more or less similar instinct in other races and peoples. They can readily perceive that British, French, German, Spanish and Italian strength as members of the family of European nations is largely due to the facts of national unity as resulting from centuries of local evolution. The Japanese can in like manner understand that the people of the United States have been developing a certain national type, founded mainly upon British origins, but with later blending of many European stocks. So large a nation as ours can admit of variations. Thus, there can be a bi-lingual State of Porto Rico keeping its Spanish traditions; and there can in the future be a State of Hawaii with a citizenship largely of Japanese origin but wholly trained in American institutions and educated in American schools. On the other hand, a large and rapid infusion of Japanese or Chinese population in our Pacific Coast States at the present time would check the course of thorough Americanization.

*Japan's
Imperial
Ambition*

The people of the United States have long looked with great admiration upon Japan, and have marked its unprecedented strides in adapting Western economic institutions to the life of an Oriental nation. There is danger now that Japan may yield to the temptations that go with power and ambition. The Japanese statesmen and thinkers are evidently of divided opinion regarding the program of imperial expansion, but the expansionists are said to be dominant. If certain American writers and political leaders are now sharply criticizing Japan's program for control of China it is not because America has any of the spirit of rivalry in that direction. Our Monroe Doctrine does not hint at dominion of the Western Hemisphere in our own interest. It is a doctrine of equality, of

independence, and of justice for all of the American republics. There would seem to be no situation in the Far East that justifies the assertion by Japan of a sweeping paramountcy. The time has come for a thorough study on the part of a joint commission of Japanese and American publicists of all points about which the two countries might usefully agree or might dangerously differ.

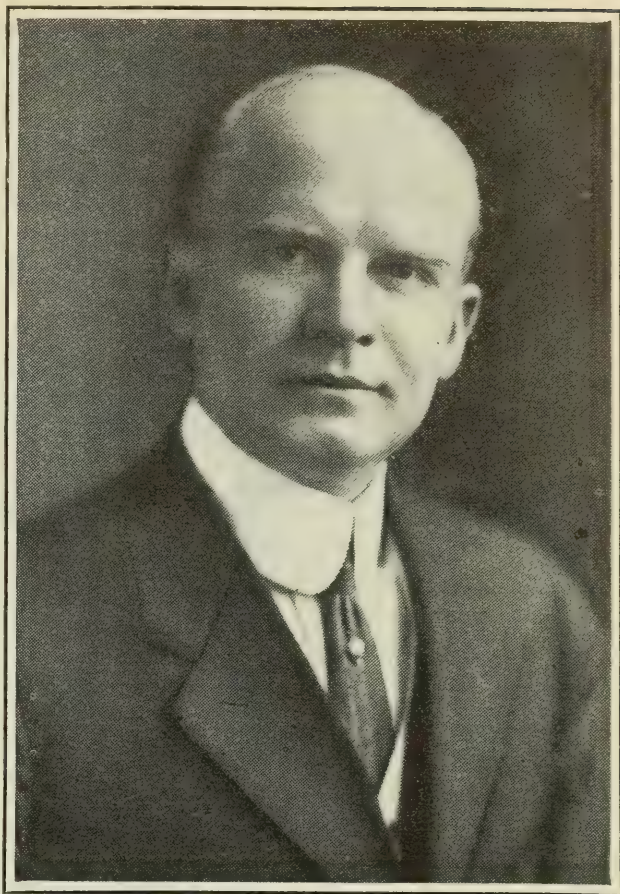
*Nature of
Anglo-Japanese
Alliance*

Meanwhile it is of no little consequence that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should be studied in all its bearings before agreement is made to renew it. The circumstances in which it had its beginning have completely passed away. If Japan should be entering upon an unwise program of aggrandizement, with China protesting, and with the Russians of Siberia also planning future resistance, it might appear to the world at large that a renewal of the alliance signifies that Great Britain condones, even if it does not expressly champion, the aims of Japan's militaristic planners of what may soon be the greatest empire of all history. An Anglo-American *entente*, on the other hand—with Japan, France, and Italy adhering to a project for naval coöperation, and for a prompt reduction of armaments—might lead to the rapid stabilizing of the entire world. After all, there are no differences between Japan and the United States that do not seem slight when set over against the traditions of friendship, and when compared with the advantages to accrue in the future from good understanding.

*Mexican
Issues
Culminating*

The political and diplomatic situation in Mexico was attracting more attention than usual last month, because the questions at issue between the United States and the Obregon Government seemed to be approaching some form of adjustment. On June 7, following a Cabinet meeting, Secretary Hughes issued a statement on our relations with Mexico. "Safeguarding of property rights against confiscation" is set down as the fundamental issue. "Mexico is free," says Mr. Hughes, "to adopt any policy which she pleases with respect to her public lands; but she is not free to destroy without compensation valid titles which have been obtained by American citizens under Mexican laws." In defense of this dictum, Mr. Hughes proceeds with as lucid a statement as could be desired. He informs us that the United States has offered to Mexico a treaty of amity and commerce

July—2



HON. GEORGE T. SUMMERLIN, AMERICAN CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES IN MEXICO

(Who has been representing our State Department in efforts to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce between Mexico and the United States)

looking to the settlement of claims and containing agreements regarding property rights. We are informed that on the 27th of May Mr. Summerlin, our *chargé d'affaires* at Mexico City, laid these proposals before President Obregon. Mr. Hughes states that the acceptance of this agreement by the Obregon Government would in itself constitute the desired recognition, and would lead to resumption of full diplomatic and official relations.

*What
Mexico
Needs*

Mexico needs a substantial loan, and can hardly expect to obtain it elsewhere than in the United States. But, obviously, until the Mexican authorities agree to respect property rights, it would be out of the question to seek financial aid. Not only are large American interests involved, but the welfare of the Mexican people in many ways is awaiting a return to intimate business relations and full coöperation between the two countries. It is hinted that the apparent deadlock last month was due not so much to Obregon's hesitation as to the fact of internal discord, even members of the Obregon Cabinet being opposed to the plan of restoring to outside

interests the full benefit of their investments and enterprises. We are summarizing in other paragraphs in this Department the astonishing magnitude of the recent output of the Mexican oil fields. Through forms of taxation authorized by the Carranza constitution of 1917, the oil properties (which are chiefly owned by American and European companies) are unfairly treated.

*Delay
Over Taxes
and Tariff*

When the new Congress was called together in the present extra session, the foremost do-

mestic problems with which it was expected to deal were financial. It was to revise and improve the tax system, and to reduce the appropriations. It was to pass an emergency tariff bill for the agricultural interests as a preliminary to the general tariff revision which was to proceed without delay. The Emergency Tariff has been duly passed; but, although it was to be in force for only six months, its passage took as much time as a general tariff measure ought to occupy. It was reported in the middle of June that President Harding was losing something of his cheerful patience, and was sending

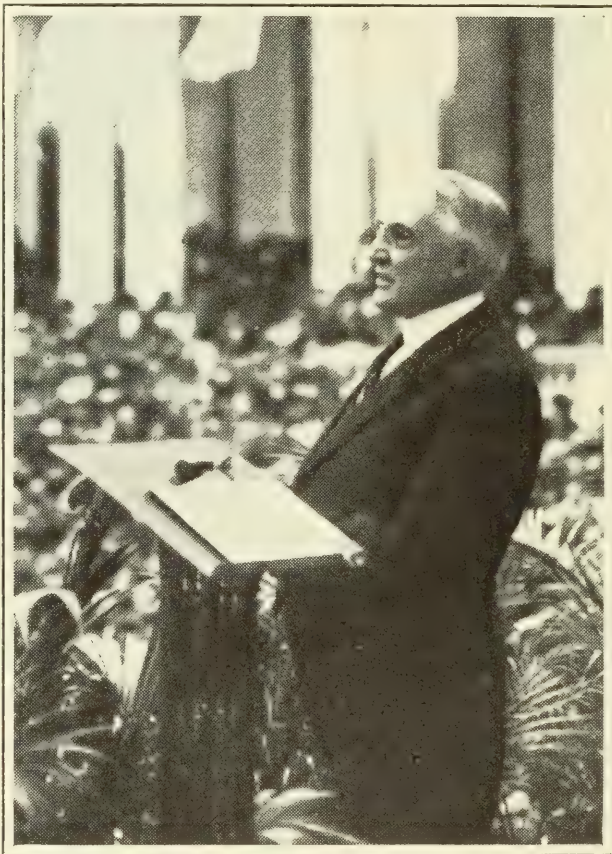
word to the leaders of Congress that the proposed tax reforms and the new tariff should be brought to the front at once, even if other pending matters should be postponed to the regular December session. Undoubtedly a great deal of work has been done on financial measures behind the scenes in committee; and during July these subjects will probably come to a focus.

*Reform
of the
Machinery*

The Budget bill is now on the statute books; and while it will not automatically do much to lessen expenditure or to put cash into the Treasury, it will help to make Government

on its business side more efficient. The Budget Bureau will be in the Treasury Department, but under the immediate direction of the President. The proposals for reorganizing departments, including the President's favorite plan of a new Welfare Department, will not be expedited. This subject is not to be neglected or forgotten, but its difficulties require patient study. Mr. Walter Brown of Ohio is the President's able representative on the joint commission of Senators and Congressmen engaged in studying this complex topic. It was very

plainly asserted by Mr. Brown last month that the work of the commission was encountering adverse propaganda on the part of certain public employees, who are opposed to changes which may displace officials in certain bureaus. The President has checked this selfish opposition by threatening summary removal from office. There is much overlapping and needless duplication of work in the immense official machine that has been expanding at Washington. A real overhauling will be a Herculean job; and the President will be entitled to great credit if he can bring it about.



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PRESIDENT HARDING DELIVERING HIS ADDRESS ON
MEMORIAL DAY IN THE AMPHITHEATER AT THE
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

*Will Prices
Continue
Falling?*

Prof. Irving Fisher's independent habit of thought and bold method in economic discussion give special interest to the article in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS dealing with the probable course of prices in the immediate future. It is an all-important subject. After the unprecedented decline in prices that has come practically all over the world during the past nine months, proceeding with unheard-of violence since last November, business men are afraid to buy stocks of goods, enlarge their plants, or even make much-needed replacements, until they are fairly certain that they are not purchasing

commodities and labor at price levels that, however favorable as compared with a year ago, may look dangerously high six months or a year hence. Thousands of men are hesitating to build their needed homes for the same reason. Business is simply blocked by the suspicion that lower prices are still to come, as well as by the fact that prices of some kinds of commodities have fallen so much less than others.

*The Course
of the Cost
of Living*

Thus, in the June issue of the *Bureau of Labor Statistics* (the United States Department of Labor) one finds that in the city of Chicago food prices are now down to a level only 41.9 per cent. above the figures of 1914, whereas a year ago they had been 120 per cent. above the 1914 level, which one may assume to be normal. But in the same city, furniture and housefurnishings are even now 162.4 per cent. above normal, and they had been—in June 1920, at the peak of price inflation—215.9 per cent. above pre-war levels. Fortunately, furniture and housefurnishings require only about 4.4 per cent. of the average family's expenditure, while food demands 37.8 per cent. So the abnormal part of the price of furniture is now nearly four times as much as the increase in food prices; clothing is higher than the normal by three times as much as of food.

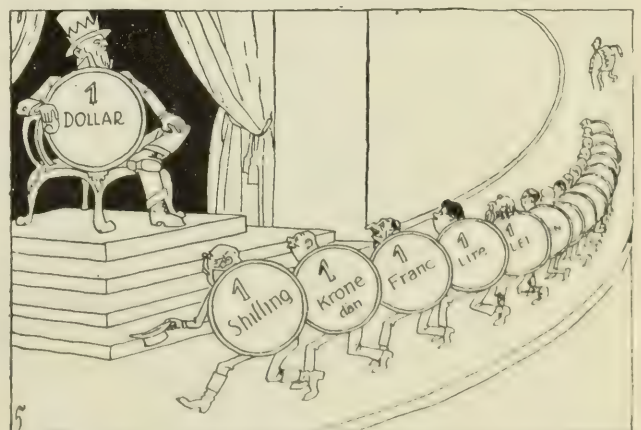
*A Sixty-
Cent Dollar,
Now*

Taking into account all of the items of family expenditure, the Department of Labor works it out that at present the cost of living in Chicago is 78.4 per cent. higher than in 1914. The figures for other cities differ slightly, New York showing an increase over pre-war levels of 81.7 per cent., Philadelphia 79.81 per cent., Cleveland 84.7 per cent., and Detroit 93.3 per cent. The higher figures for Detroit are easily accounted for by the sudden boom expansion of the automobile industry in that city during the past five or ten years, the high wages paid during the war and post-war periods, and the rapid influx of well-paid workers. For the whole country, the National Industrial Conference Board finds that in May last the average cost of living had fallen from its peak in July, 1920, when it was 104.5 per cent. above the pre-war levels, to 65.7 per cent. above normal. According to these figures, on the assumption that a dollar was worth one hundred cents just before the war, it was worth in July, 1920, only forty-nine

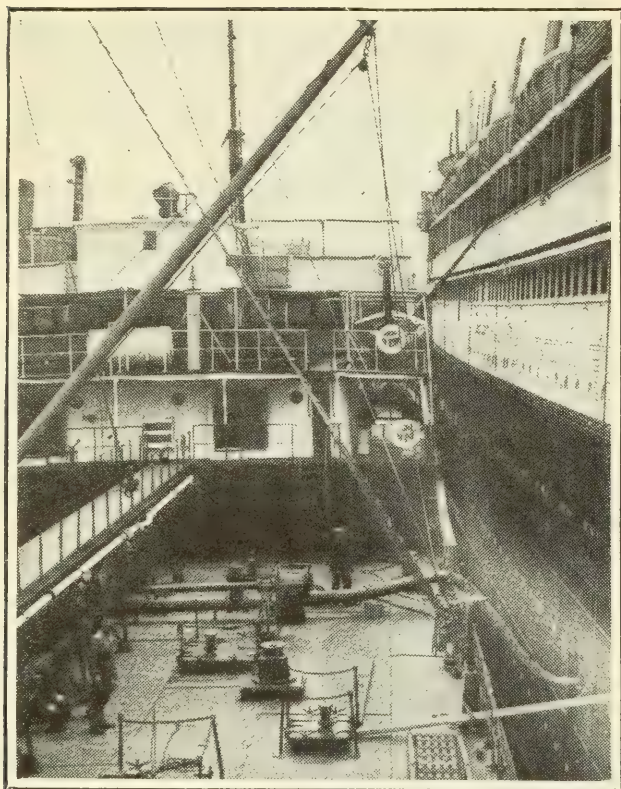
cents, and a month or two ago it had come back to a value of sixty cents. It will be remembered that there was a decided drop in the cost of food and clothing during the six months following the armistice, but in the spring of 1919 began that tremendous advance which carried prices to their peak in July, 1920.

*Commodity
Prices Becom-
ing Stable*

Even if Professor Fisher's prediction of a renewed advance in prices is wrong, it now looks as if the great historic decline is near the end so far as many of the basic commodities are concerned. There will still be a vast deal of readjustment, and a lengthy and painful realignment of prices, in the absolutely necessary process of getting the different groups of producers near the same price level. But such basic commodities as cotton, copper, rubber, leather, and many products of the farm are already entirely too low in price as compared with other commodities and nearly all manufactured articles. Indeed, there are concrete examples of the stabilizing of many prices around the present levels. Of the twenty-six representative commodities selected by the National Bank of Commerce in New York, sixteen showed increases in May, while four stood still, and only six continued to decline in price. Some movements of this sort are, of course, seasonal in character; nor does any well-informed person find in such movements alone evidence that we are about to enter a new period of generally rising prices. Certain commodities—like silk, leather, rubber—began their downward course much earlier than others and went very far; and they naturally reached their equilibrium before other commodities that did not begin their decline until much later. Oil and steel were the last basic commodities to feel the effect of the great



THE PROCESSION BEFORE THE AMERICAN DOLLAR
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



THE "AQUITANIA" AS AN OIL-BURNING LINER

(The coal shortage during the war period gave impetus to the movement for substituting oil as fuel for ocean steamers. The greater part of the scene above is the deck and bridge of an oil-tanker. At the right may be seen the side of the giant *Aquitania*, and across the foreground runs the pipe line which feeds fuel oil from the tanker into the liner. Contrast this method with the laborious and dirty scenes incident to loading coal)

readjustment, and neither of them yet has reached a stable price.

*Even Oil
Is at a
Discount*

The uses for petroleum were extended so rapidly during the world war and following it, especially in the substitution of oil for coal on ocean-going ships, that it is easy to see how the momentum of the huge demand should have brought it about that oil was one of the last things to feel the slackening of demand in the present trade depression all over the world. More oil is being produced this summer than the world is currently consuming, but no one doubts for a moment that there will be use for it; and the great refineries fortunate enough to possess cash or credit are buying crude oil at its lower price and storing it away. Nor has there been the least let-up in the national rivalries for control of the oil-producing regions. In this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS Mr. P. W. Wilson makes a clear and unprejudiced statement of the world situation in regard to oil supplies for the future, and quotes some startling facts concerning the small total available supply of petro-

leum, so far as the present known fields of production are concerned.

*The Startling
Figures of
Mexican Oil*

News came early in June that the Mexican Government contemplated placing so heavy an export duty on oil—a new specific duty in addition to the regular *ad valorem* charge—that the great English and American companies operating in that country would be seriously hampered. They are, of course, using all their influence to get their home governments to make effective protests to Mexico. In the United States, however, the effort is offset by the counter-protests of our own oil producers who have gone to Washington to oppose any activities of our Government to aid the threatened Mexican companies. It is obvious that a heavy export duty, if enforced by Mexico, would be equivalent to a tariff protecting United States production, for the petroleum imports of the United States from Mexico are almost unbelievable in the light of our own tremendous production. By 1912 the development of the Mexican oil wells had become highly important and their output naturally moved to the nearest trade center from which it could be put into marketable form, and then distributed to consumers. In that year we imported 150,000,000 gallons, whereas previously the average had been only 10,000,000. The growth of our oil operations in Mexico since 1912 has been astounding. In 1913 our total imports, which are almost entirely from Mexico, jumped to over a billion gallons of crude oil; in 1915 the amount was 775,000,000; in 1917 the billion-gallon line was again passed; in the fiscal year 1921 the imports amount to four and three-quarter billion gallons, and undoubtedly they will reach five billion gallons for the current calendar year.

*Mexico's
Oil Pre-
dominance*

To show how predominantly important Mexico is in this question of oil, one has to go no farther than the figures for the current fiscal year: in the ten months to May, 4,791,000,000 gallons of crude oil came to us from Mexico, and less than half a million from all other countries. The oil is brought from Mexico in tank steamers, movement by rail being almost negligible. About a third of the great flow from the South enters the Gulf Coast at Galveston, Sabine, and New Orleans, while most of the balance goes by

water to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Such petroleum importations will amount this year in value to nearly \$100,000,000. These remarkable figures of the recent sensational development of oil production in Mexico and our use of it will have added importance when read in connection with Mr. Wilson's article showing how limited the known world-supply is, as compared with the rapidly mounting consumption.

*Mr. Lasker
Heads the
Shipping Board*

On June 8 announcement was made of the appointment of Mr. Albert D. Lasker, of Chicago, to be chairman of the Shipping Board. Mr. Lasker made his earlier successes as a business man in the firm of Lord & Thomas, advertising agents. He is an energetic citizen, able to look facts in the face and to act boldly and decisively. If ever there was a call for such qualities it comes just now from the situation of our suddenly built mercantile marine fleet. We decided during the war that we must have our own vessels in order to do a respectable part of our carrying trade and to supplement our navy in time of war. We proceeded to build—of necessity expensively, hurriedly, and wastefully—a great fleet of vessels, steel and wooden, at a cost of about three billion dollars. There is no cause for criticism so far: we had to have ships and the only way to get them in haste was to pay about \$200 a ton for them in spite of the fact that they could have been had for about \$50 a ton before the war, and in spite of the probability that they would soon be replaceable for even less.

*A Fleet
in the
Doldrums*

But the crash has come, and the wisest and sternest policy of readjustment will be needed to obtain what can be saved out of the present situation. More than half of the ships are lying idle at the docks, for the ocean tonnage to be carried has slumped to a point where there is not nearly enough to load the thousands of vessels built in half a dozen countries under the impetus of the great profits possible during the war. Furthermore, we cannot get our share of what traffic is left, because an engineer or an able seaman on one of our vessels must be paid nearly twice as much as the same man receives on a British ship, and much more than twice as much as he earns on a Scandinavian or Japanese cargo-carrier. Furthermore, the operating accounts of our ships are seriously handicapped by the regulations of our Seaman's



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ALBERT D. LASKER, OF CHICAGO, NEWLY-APPOINTED CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD

(Mr. Lasker is not known as an authority on shipping, but he brings to his new task a reputation as one of the country's most successful business organizers)

Act, prescribing the numbers of officers and men, overtime rates, and other matters which foreign competitors do not have to deal with.

*Writing
Off Two
Billions*

Mr. Lasker, then, will have, as the new head of the Shipping Board, as puzzling and difficult a task as any of our public servants, and an impossible task unless he is helped by Congress and public opinion. It is announced that the Government will straightway begin getting out of the shipping business so far as operation is concerned; which is good as far as it goes. The big fleet, costing \$3,000,000,000, will have its value written down to going figures, which are estimated to be somewhere between \$750,000,000 and \$1,000,000,000. This means that we will take a cool loss of something like two billion dollars on the construction account alone, writing it off as one of the exigencies of war. Over and above this loss comes, of course, the hundreds of millions now being currently lost in the Government ownership and partial operation of the fleet. The ships are to be sold for what they are now worth to private owners, and these owners are to be helped in the opening up of new routes which

promise to be profitable. How, even when this is done, our ships can compete with foreign ones paying half the wages, and enjoying government aid instead of expensive government restrictions and regulations, is not at present easy to see.

*Our
Falling
Exports*

It is not that people do not need the goods that would be carried by the thousands of idle ships in the world. They need them sadly; but those that need them most are least able to pay for them. The decline in world purchasing power resulting from the waste, inflation, destruction and dislocation of the war has affected every country, and now even the hitherto prosperous American manufacturer. Our exports in April were only \$171,000,000 as against \$352,000,000 in the same month last year. It is only this year that we have felt in our foreign trade the world weakness; even last January showed an increase of 24 per cent. But February brought a decline of 15 per cent., March of 51 per cent., and April the same. It is true that the quantities of goods have not decreased as rapidly as these figures suggest, much of the startling loss of foreign trade resulting from lower prices. Automobiles, chemicals, cotton, and rubber manufactures have suffered especially in price reductions. It is noteworthy that our trade with every part of the world has lost ground through low purchasing power and renewed competition.

*Our Huge
Stock of
Gold*

While these great losses in foreign trade have been mounting up, the United States has continued to increase its supply of gold through importations until now its accumulation is beyond anything ever heard of before in this or any other country. We have, then, enormous producing power to give foreigners the goods they need so badly, and we have also nearly all the surplus money there is to buy the goods with. The Government's report on June 1 showed our gold stock to have increased nearly \$400,000,000 since January 1, and to have reached the record total of \$3,175,000,000. No other nation has so much as one-fourth of this amount, which is about 40 per cent. of all the gold in the world. In a sense this gold has been forced on us; it is more than we require, and we are piling it up, curiously enough, while prices are falling and deflation is still under way. It is not even being used as a basis for increased bank credits.

*Railway
Wages
Cut*

Our American railroads had in January, February and March of this year the poorest earning record shown in any three months of their history. Any prolonged period of such inadequate earnings would mean sure bankruptcy for most of them, and Government ownership with the nation heavily taxed to make up the deficits. The April earnings reported in June were slightly encouraging, though still far too small to maintain the lines and pay any living wage to the capital that is invested in them—much less to attract the new capital sorely needed for extensions and improvements. Nothing can be done to get the railroads out of their financial plight until wages are readjusted. Their unskilled labor is now costing them probably 50 per cent. more than they could obtain it for if wages were not regulated by the Government. Partial relief is promised by the action of the Railway Labor Board, which has announced, after extensive hearings of representatives of the roads and of labor, that, beginning July 1, a cut in wages averaging about 12 per cent. can be made. The unions were, in the middle of June, considering this program, with various prophecies afloat as to their acceptance or rejection, but with the balance of opinion in favor of their taking the lower scale without a strike.

*Trying to
Cut Railway
Expenses*

This 12 per cent. reduction in wages is estimated to save between \$350,000,000 and \$400,000,000 per year for the railroads. There have been some sharp criticisms of the action of the Labor Board in prescribing so small a reduction in the face of a much larger decrease in the cost of living, and as compared with the very much larger saving the roads could effect if they were free to get labor at the lowest price that would draw the men. But even if the reduction is too small to solve the financial problem and allow any general reduction of freight rates, it was probably the part of wisdom to move slowly in the matter, and treat the employees with such consideration that there would be no decent excuse whatsoever for a strike. In addition to the saving through this wage reduction, the roads will have a chance, beginning July 1, to reduce expenses by a sum estimated as high as \$300,000,000 through the abolition of the so-called "national agreements," which originated in the federal control and operation period and which, in an ill-advised attempt at standardization of wages, produced very wasteful and illogical

results. The managers of the roads are not altogether optimistic concerning this second saving, however. In abolishing these "national agreements," under the strenuous protests of the railroad executives, the Labor Board laid down sixteen principles which should govern the getting together of individual railroad companies with their employees on revised rules and regulations. Many railroad executives fear that these general prescriptions of the Government may give the unions an opportunity to prevent clearing up many illogical and uneconomical arrangements that had come into being under federal control.

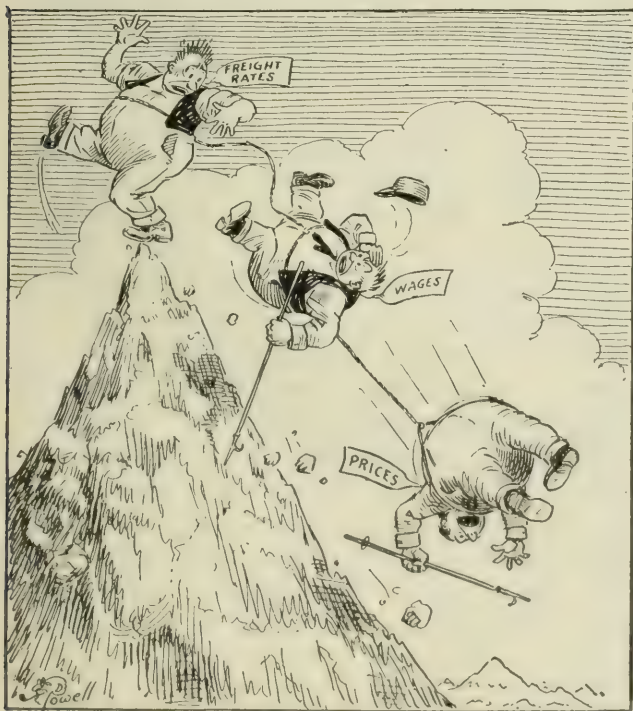
*Are
Freight Rates
Too High?*

Calls are heard from hundreds of business interests and different geographical sections for a lowering of freight rates. Congress has evidently been much impressed and is in a favorable mood. President Harding has considered the matter important enough to consult with the Interstate Commerce Commission on the advisability of a general reduction of rates. But even if the roads obtain all the help that the most optimistic have hoped for from the lower wages and new rules—some \$700,000,000 a year of reduced expenses—it is utterly impossible to effect a general reduction of freight rates until the volume of traffic has regained a substantial part of the 30 per cent. it has lost. It is a simple matter of arithmetic. The rates can be reduced; but if they are, the roads cannot

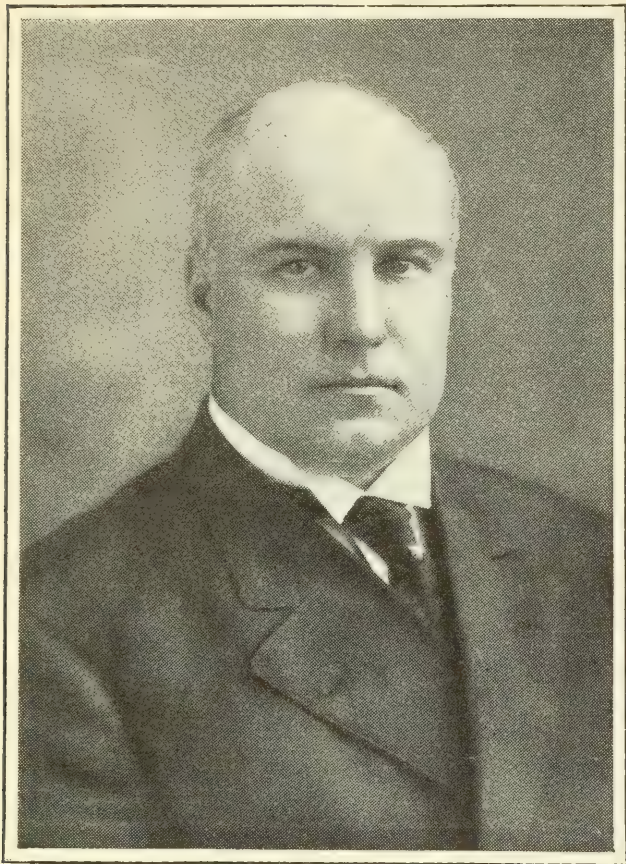
finance themselves. This does not mean that all rates should stand as high as they are. No large general horizontal increase of rates such as the recent advance can fail to get certain rates too high. These should be taken up on their merits and brought down to where the traffic can bear them. The indications are that in spite of the hue and cry from all over the country and from Congress, the Administration appreciates the situation truly and that the Commerce Commission will pursue the unpopular but necessary course of studying the merits of each proposed rate reduction and treating each according to its deserts. Already reductions have been ordered on fruits and vegetables from the Pacific Coast, which were being diverted to the water route through the Panama Canal.

*Some Huge
Railroad
Claims*

It will be many years before the tangle of the accounts of the railroads with the Government, arising out of the period of war control, will be settled to the last dollar. A particular disagreement one hears little of in public, but of very great importance to the railroads on the one side and to taxpayers on the other, is the great body of claims against the Government for undermaintenance of the roads during the period of federal control. They were taken over by the nation with the most explicit agreement that their roadbeds and equipment and plants generally should be maintained at the same rate as they had been maintained in the test period selected for determining average annual earnings, to the end that they should be finally handed back to their private owners in substantially the same physical condition they were in when the nation took them over for war purposes. According to the spokesmen for the railroads, the railroad administration did not so maintain the lines, but were satisfied with merely spending money for maintenance, during federal control, at the same rate as it was spent for that purpose during the test period. This, the roads point out, is grossly unfair and contrary to the spirit of the contract because of the fact that each dollar, in consequence of the general rise in prices, bought about only half as much maintenance during federal control as it purchased in the test period. Certainly the roads were not returned to their owners in anything like so good physical condition, on the average, as they showed when the Government began to operate them. The claims on this score are said to aggregate more than \$800,000,000.



IT NATURALLY FOLLOWS
From the *Bee* (Omaha, Neb.)



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THE LATE FRANKLIN K. LANE

(Franklin Knight Lane was born July 15, 1864, in Prince Edward Island, Canada, but removed to the United States in early childhood. He was graduated from the University of California in 1886, and later practiced law at San Francisco, serving as Corporation Counsel for the city and becoming a leader of the Democratic party. He was a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission from December, 1905, to March 4, 1913, when he entered President Wilson's Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior)

*Mr. Lane
a National
Character*

During his period of service as Secretary of the Interior throughout Mr. Wilson's first Administration and most of the second, Franklin K. Lane had gained a steadily increasing hold upon the confidence and admiration of the American public. In his earlier career in California, he had shown himself a man of courage and public spirit. He had been his party's candidate for several elective offices, including the governorship. President Roosevelt called him to Washington as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, where he served for a number of years. He showed judicial qualities that secured the respect of railroad officials, while always considering the public interest. His experience and training as a lawyer, and his services on the Interstate Commerce Commission, would have entitled him to a high place in the judiciary. As Secretary of the Interior he had many decisions to make which illustrated this judicial quality of mind. Few men saw the reconstruction problems of



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THE LATE CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE

(Edward Douglass White was born in Louisiana November 3, 1845, the son of a former Governor. He served in the Confederate Army, and began practicing law in 1868. He was a member of the Supreme Court of Louisiana from 1878 to 1891, when he entered the United States Senate. Three years later he was appointed to the United States Supreme Court, and in 1910 was made Chief Justice. His successor will be the tenth to fill the position)

America as clearly as did Secretary Lane. His gifts as a speaker and writer were unusual, and the play of his imagination was often poetical and at times humorous.

*The Late
Chief Justice*

When a great public servant dies at his post, it is fitting that his memory should be crowned with tributes of honor and praise. There has been entire accord in the expressions of the country upon the career of the late Chief Justice Edward Douglass White. The President, Secretary Hughes, and leaders in Congress aptly characterized the public services of this eminent jurist and noble personality. He had served as Senator from Louisiana and was appointed to the Supreme Court Bench by President Cleveland. He was designated as Chief Justice by President Taft on the death of Chief Justice Fuller, in 1910. It would be hard to find any man who more completely than Mr. White could measure up to all the requirements of our highest judicial office.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 15 to June 15, 1921)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 16.—The Senate receives a report on the oil policy of the Government, signed by Secretary Hughes, who transmits the Djambi (Sumatra) and Mexican correspondence.

May 18.—The House passes the Senate's cable landing license bill, upon recommendation of the Secretary of State.

May 20.—In the House, Mr. Moore (Dem., Va.) introduces a resolution to change House rules covering budget estimates, quorums, and notice to members of the bills about to be passed.

May 24.—The Senate refuses, 45 to 23, to reduce the navy enlistments from 120,000 to 100,000.

May 25.—In the Senate, the Borah amendment to the Navy bill, calling for a disarmament conference of leading powers, is passed unanimously.

The House Interstate Commerce Committee reports the Sweet bill for consolidating ex-soldier activities of the Government under a "Veterans' Bureau."

May 26.—The Senate confirms David W. Blair, of North Carolina, as Internal Revenue Commissioner.

The House passes the \$100,000,000 Deficiency Appropriation bill, carrying \$200,000 for dry law enforcement.

June 1.—In the Senate, the Naval appropriation bill is passed, 54 to 17, carrying \$494,000,000; the measure now goes to the House.

June 3.—The House Foreign Affairs Committee favorably reports the peace resolution introduced by Mr. Porter (Rep., Penn.).

The Senate passes the second Deficiency Appropriation bill of \$154,000,000, allowing the Shipping Board \$111,000,000, of which \$61,000,000 is for construction.

June 7.—The House, voting 232 to 110, leaves its conferees free to substitute the Porter for the Borah peace resolution, and the Navy bill goes to conference for settlement of the disarmament dispute.

June 8.—In the Senate, the Army Appropriations bill is passed, 36 to 32, reducing enlistments to 150,000 and carrying \$113,000,000 less than last year, with a total of \$334,000,000; the measure goes to conference.

June 9.—The Senate adopts a resolution calling for investigation of Admiral Sims' remarks regarding Irish sympathizers in America, in a speech at London.

June 11.—The House Appropriations Committee Chairman, Mr. Good (Rep., Iowa), resigns to practise law in Chicago.

June 13.—The House, voting 305 to 61, passes the Porter peace resolution; some Democrats make vociferous objection, but 49 support the bill.

June 14.—In the Senate, the House Porter peace resolution is disagreed to on motion of Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) and sent to conference.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 16.—The United States Supreme Court decides that increased value of corporation assets must be included in profits for tax purposes. . . . The ratification clause of the Prohibition Amendment is upheld.

Masonry builders at New York are let off with \$500 fines, after pleading guilty to conspiracy in restraint of trade under a State law.

May 17.—President Harding nominates Richard Washburn Child, of Massachusetts, as Ambassador to Italy, and Jacob Gould Schurman, of New York, as Minister to China.

President Harding declines to send federal troops to Mingo County, W. Va., until State resources for maintaining order are exhausted; Kentucky guardsmen patrol the Tug River borderline.

May 18.—Ex-Governor Sidney J. Catts, of Florida, is indicted in the United States Court at Pensacola for negro peonage.

May 19.—President Harding signs the immigration restriction law.

May 20.—The New York housing investigation reveals a glass combination controlling a business of \$350,000,000 a year, said to have raised prices 400 per cent. since 1915.

New York City police announce 3817 prohibition-enforcement arrests and confiscation of \$12,000,000 worth of liquor since April 4, when the State enforcement law went into effect.

The New Jersey Board of Public Utility Commissioners refuses to grant a 10-cent trolley fare, holding to 7 cents, with 1 cent for transfers; study is begun to determine a permanent fare.

Mingo County, W. Va., is put under martial law by Governor Morgan; mine unionists ask for federal mediation.

May 23.—President Harding, in a speech at New York, suggests a distribution of the Allied war debts among the American people in order to reduce Government costs.

May 24.—The New York housing investigation reveals 400 per cent. profits on labor in the tile, grate, and mantel building industry, under conditions in restraint of trade.

May 25.—The housing investigation in New York terminates building-trade inquiries owing to failure of the courts to impose jail sentences on offenders.

May 26.—The New York housing investigation inquires into insurance exchange practices said to add \$150,000,000 a year to building costs in the United States, \$30,000,000 in New York State alone.

President Harding holds the first of a series of conferences with American bankers, regarding flotation of foreign loans and revival of American industry and exports.

May 27.—President Harding signs the Emergency Tariff bill, which goes into effect.

June 1.—Immigration Commissioner W. W. Husband issues figures setting the limits of immigration for 1921 and 1922 under the new law.

June 2.—The New York housing investigation uncovers a practice among building mortgagees of exacting 20 to 50 per cent. from borrowers in bonuses and commissions.

Secretary Hoover recommends extension of the Federal Trade Commission's powers to advise business where it violates anti-trust laws; the departments of Justice and of Commerce are investigating price and trade-organization violations of such laws.

June 6.—In Chicago judiciary elections of twenty judges of the Cook County Circuit Court and one judge of the Superior Court, Mayor Thompson's slate is utterly defeated by coalition candidates.

The Federal Supreme Court holds the Arkansas road construction law invalid, because of excessive taxation.

June 7.—Secretary Mellon initiates a program for distribution of the \$7,500,000,000 debt for the period between 1923 and 1928 by offering \$500,000,000 short-term notes in one- and three-year certificates.

Stock fire insurance companies in New York agree to reforms in business practice which are expected to save policyholders about \$130,000,000 annually.

Secretary Mellon urges the House Banking Committee to place \$50,000,000 at the disposal of the Federal Farm Loan Board for the relief of agricultural interests.

June 8.—The Republican National Committee changes Southern representation for 1924 by adding one delegate each for Arkansas and Virginia, two each for Florida and Tennessee, and cutting the Georgia delegation from 17 to 10, Louisiana from 12 to 9, Mississippi from 12 to 4, and Texas from 23 to 21; the changes result from reapportionment of district delegates on the basis of votes polled.

Secretary Denby demands an explanation from Admiral Sims of London remarks regarding Irish in America.

President Harding nominates a new Shipping Board, headed by Albert D. Lasker, of Illinois, and composed of Messrs T. V. O'Connor, George E. Chamberlain, Edward C. Plummer, Frederick I. Thompson, Meyer Lisner, and Admiral Benson.

June 9.—The New York housing investigation committee inquires why savings banks do not make more building loans; the banks control \$500,000,000 of loanable deposits.

June 10.—Roy Haynes, an editor from Hillsboro, Ohio, is appointed national prohibition commissioner.

President Harding signs the bill providing for a federal budget system.

June 14.—Gov. Nathan L. Miller, of New York, convenes the Appellate Division Court to test the constitutionality of bonus bonds which failed to receive bank bids. . . . At Buffalo, N. Y., the housing investigation unearths 300 per cent. increase in brick prices in four years, which stopped building in that section.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 13.—Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, confers with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Indian Nationalist, at Simla.

May 16.—In Ireland, thirty-three persons are killed over the week-end.

In Italy, Socialists lose fifty seats in the general elections, Catholics 20; the Constitutional Bloc gains, Giolitti's National Coalition party winning 266 seats, Socialists 134, Catholics 102, Republicans 8, ex-Premier Nitti's group 15, Slavs 6, and Germans 4 in a light vote; 63 voters are killed in riots.

May 18.—Peru declares a moratorium, due to severe price declines and inability to export basic commodities.

May 20.—Dr. Alfredo Zayas is inaugurated as President of Cuba.

May 23.—Egyptian Nationalist riots at Alexandria result in 37 deaths and 151 other casualties; troops and police quiet the disturbance.

The Portuguese Government resigns after strong demonstrations by the military.

May 24.—North Ireland Parliament elections are held in Ulster.

Premier Briand defends his German policy in the French Chamber, striking a new note of tolerance in a long speech against Nationalist demands.

May 25.—Sinn Feiners raid and burn the Custom House at Dublin, destroying the building and its records; more than 100 are captured or wounded.

May 26.—Premier Briand receives a vote of confidence from the French Chamber, 403 to 163, on his policy of moderation toward Germany.

May 27.—Vladivostok is taken by anti-Bolshevik Kappell troops and the imperial flag is flown from the public buildings; the new government is headed by M. Merkudoff.

May 28.—In Buenos Aires, Argentina, over 600 arrests are made of reds and anarchistic labor leaders.

Premier Lenine, of Russia, having won approval of his economic reform program from the Trade Union and Economic councils, presents a plan for unlimited freedom for capitalism to the all-Russian conference of the Communist Party.

May 29.—Salzburg, Austria, in an unrecognized plebiscite on union with Germany, casts a 90 per cent. vote in favor of fusion.

May 31.—British railway and transport workers withdraw their ban on handling imported coal.

May 30.—The Russian Communist Congress closes after approving the Lenine program for economic revival; peasants are to pay a tax in kind of one-third; coöperatives are to be restored and extended; the transportation, leather, salt, and textile industries are to be kept under state control; and small traders and manufacturers are to be encouraged.

June 3.—Crown forces in Ireland suffer during the week casualties from ambush of 30 killed and 60 wounded; the British shell factory at Dublin is destroyed.

Lord Byng, of Vimy, is appointed Governor-General of Canada, succeeding the Duke of Devonshire.

June 4.—Premier Lloyd George informs British coal miners the Government's offer of settlement in their strike is conditioned upon acceptance by them within a fortnight.

Anti-Bolshevists capture Omsk, Siberia, 2800 miles from Vladivostok; General Semenov is prevented from landing from Dalny; Japan is reported transporting General Wrangel's troops to Vladivostok to join the Semenov and Kappell forces.

June 7.—The Ulster Parliament of North Ireland is formed at Belfast; the 40 Unionist members are sworn in; Sinn Feiners and Nationalists refuse to take oath; there are 52 seats in the Parliament.

June 8.—President Obregon, of Mexico, decrees an increase of 25 per cent. in export taxes on petroleum products, effective July 1.

June 11.—King Victor, of Italy, opens parliament and welcomes representatives from new territories annexed under the peace settlement.

King Constantine, of Greece, sails from Athens for the Smyrna front, to resume, with British aid, his campaign against Mustapha Kemal's Turkish Nationalists.

June 14.—In British Columbia, wartime prohibition ends and a new régime of Government liquor control is inaugurated by which drink may be purchased under official seal on permits costing fifty cents for two quarts of liquor or twelve quarts of beer, limited to ten permits a year.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 18.—Secretary Hughes rejects as a matter solely for European concern Poland's request that the United States support her in the Upper Silesian dispute.

Lloyd George, British Premier, rebukes French newspapers for abusing the Allies, and says, "the fate of Upper Silesia must be decided by the Supreme Council, and not by Korfanty."

May 19.—Ambassador Harvey outlines in a speech at London the American position on the League, saying the present Government will have nothing to do with it.

The Chinese Government at Shanghai publishes its protest to Great Britain over a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which expires in July, and requests participation in the conferences for revision of the agreement, so far as it concerns China.

May 23.—George F. Summerlin, American chargé, starts for Mexico City to confer with President Obregon regarding American recognition.

May 24.—Secretary of the Navy Denby announces the appointment of Rear Admiral Samuel Sherburne Robison as Military Governor of Santo Domingo to relieve Admiral Thomas Snowden; withdrawal is announced, to take effect as soon as practicable.

May 26.—At Leipsic, Germany, a sergeant is convicted of war crimes and sentenced to ten months' imprisonment.

May 27.—British troops drawn from the Rhine arrive at Oppeln, Silesia, to keep peace, equipped with tanks and airplanes.

May 29.—Germany delivers the equivalent of

840,000,000 gold marks in twenty, three-months' treasury notes to the Reparations Commission, thus completing the initial payment of 1,000,000,000 marks.

May 30.—Poles and Germans fight at Beuthen, Silesia, and 400 are killed or wounded.

At Leipsic, Capt. Emil Müller is convicted of cruelty to war prisoners and is sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

The League Finance Commission decides at London that Austria can be rehabilitated if other nations will help by postponing claims for twenty years and giving priority to loans made within the next five years.

May 31.—It is learned that President Harding has instructed Ambassador Harvey to make informal inquiries regarding international naval disarmament conference prospects and views among the Allied Powers. Japanese Prince Hirohito is received at Paris with royal honors.

June 1.—President Alessandri proposes to the Chilean Congress that a plebiscite be held in the Tacna-Arica region to determine whether the territory shall remain under Chile or go to Peru.

June 2.—Salomon Teilirian is acquitted of the charge of the murder of Talaat Pasha, by a Berlin court; confirmation is given by German officers of Turkish cruelties to the Armenian race.

June 4.—At Leipsic, the German submarine commander who sank the British hospital ship *Dover Castle* is acquitted because, though he admits the act, he pleads obedience to orders.

The Reparations Commission officially recognizes the right of the United States to 600,000 tons of German ships seized; they are deducted from the German statement of 4,500,000 claimed surrendered, as are also the 1,800,000 tons seized in Allied ports.

June 7.—Secretary Hughes states that American recognition will not be given to Mexico until it is willing to bind itself "to the discharge of primary international obligations."

President Harding receives Señor Don Mariscal Garay, Panaman Minister of Foreign Affairs, who protests against the Panama-Costa Rica boundary award.

Allied troops in Upper Silesia complete the formation of a neutral zone, the British fronting the Germans, the French the Poles; the belligerents will be allowed to cool off.

June 10.—The Far Eastern Republic's representative at Peking hands identic notes to the diplomatic corps, protesting against Japan's interference in Siberian affairs and reiterating that Japan has furnished Kappell troops with arms.

June 12.—Belgium replaces Germany as protector of the Duchy of Luxembourg, which consolidates its railways, abolishes customs formalities, and adopts Belgian money.

June 12.—The American Red Cross ends its China Famine Relief by turning over to the Chinese Government at Yucheng-Sang, Shantung, 400 miles of roadway built under its auspices.

June 14.—Winston Churchill lays a plan before the House of Commons for an Arab State in Mesopotamia; Zionist Palestine is to be maintained (7000 Jews have entered under the scheme); Kurdistan garrisons will remain.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 19.—Mme. Marie Curie is presented with the gold medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences at New York.

The ship *Eclipse*, the first electrically-propelled American built vessel, returns from a 26,500-mile voyage and reports excellent results with the new equipment; twelve other vessels are receiving the same power installation.

May 20.—At Albany, N. Y., State troopers quell street-car strike riots.

The American Federation of Labor reports 1,325,061 persons out of work in 210 cities—a slight decrease of unemployment compared with April 1.

May 26.—The National Board of Fire Underwriters reports property losses by fire in the United States during 1920 as approximately half a million dollars, of which 80 per cent. was insured.

May 27.—Foreign exchange figures fluctuate erratically; sterling drops to \$3.86, francs to 8.15½ cents, lire to 5.18, and marks to 1.57¼.

May 28.—Farmers' organizations unite to form a \$100,000,000 Farmers' Finance Corporation under the laws of the State of Delaware.

May 29.—At Morgantown, Md., an army ambulance airplane crashes with seven occupants, who are killed, in the worst accident in the history of aviation; the plane was caught in a violent wind and electrical storm.

May 31.—The United States Railway Labor Board reduces railwaymen's wages an average of 12 per cent., making an estimated saving of \$400,000,000 a year to the roads, effective July 1.

Mr. Edward W. Bok establishes an annual prize of \$10,000 for the public-spirited citizen who does the most for the progress of the city of Philadelphia.

June 1.—The 30,000 Amalgamated Clothing Workers at New York, who have been on strike since December 2, return to work on a 15 per cent. wage reduction basis.

At Tulsa, Okla., 25 whites and 60 negroes are killed in a race riot involving 3000 armed men; the city is placed under martial law.

June 4.—Large sections of the city of Pueblo, Col., are ruined by bursting dams, resulting from cloudbursts that flood the Arkansas and Fountain Rivers.

The Carnegie Corporation adds \$17,462,000 to the funds of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh and the Carnegie Institute of Technology, conditioned upon their raising \$4,200,000 from outside sources.

June 5.—Construction plans for accommodation of 13,000 families in New York City are reported filed to date, as a result of an ordinance passed through the efforts of Borough President Curran, which frees new buildings costing less than \$5000 a family, from taxes for ten years if built in 1921 and 1922.

June 6.—The International Paper Company cuts its newsprint price for the quarter to 4¾ cents per pound from 5½ cents last quarter.

June 13.—Ship workers agree to terms formulated after conference with the Shipping Board; wages are reduced 15 per cent.

June 13.—The American Federation of Labor

holds its forty-first annual convention at Denver, Col.

Bankers agree to pool \$25,000,000 from the East and \$25,000,000 from the Middle West to finance cattlemen under long-term credits.

June 14.—The American Legion executive committee at Indianapolis elects John G. Emery, of Grand Rapids, Mich., as its new commander.

OBITUARY

May 16.—Lt.-Col. Charles C. Pierce, head of American War Memorials Commission. . . . Thomas Benton Catron, former United States Senator from New Mexico.

May 17.—Dr. Edward Bennett Rosa, chief physicist of the United States Bureau of Standards, 60. . . . William Wesley Canada, ex-Consul at Vera Cruz, Mexico, 72.

May 18.—Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior in the Wilson Cabinet, 56.

May 19.—Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, 76.

May 20.—Justice Ashley Mulgrave Gould, of the District of Columbia Supreme Court, 62.

May 22.—Major Hallett Alsop Borrows, Rough Rider veteran, 58.

May 25.—Col. Thomas Curtis Clarke, noted coal and coke engineer, 48. . . . Right Rev. Matthew Harkins, Roman Catholic Bishop of Providence, 75.

May 26.—Rear Admiral Augustus Francis Fechteler, U. S. N., commandant of the Fifth Naval District, 64.

May 29.—Brig.-Gen. Horace Porter, last survivor of General Grant's Staff, ex-Ambassador to France, 84. . . . A. G. Batchelder, formerly editor of *Motor*, 48. . . . Abbott Thayer, artist and camouflage expert, 72.

June 1.—Charles Pickering Bowditch, archeologist, of Boston, 79.

June 2.—Rev. Phebe Ann Hanaford, first woman minister ordained in New England, fourth in the world, 92.

June 3.—Dr. Simon Baruch, authority on hydrotherapy, 71.

June 5.—Laura Bromwell, foremost aviatrix of America, 23.

June 6.—James A. Bradley, who founded beach resorts of Asbury Park, Ocean Grove, and Bradley Beach, N. J., 91.

June 7.—Alvin Tobias Hert, Republican National Committeeman from Kentucky, 57. . . . William Brown Cogswell, inventor of the Solvay process of making ammonia soda, 87.

June 9.—Col. Frederick W. Galbraith, Jr., national commander of the American Legion, 47. . . . John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers of America, 58. . . . Dr. Luis Maria Drago, noted jurist of Argentina, 63.

June 10.—Dr. James Bruton Gambrell, a former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, 80.

June 12.—Murphy James Foster, ex-Governor of Louisiana and former Senator, 72.

June 13.—Henry Clay Ide, ex-Governor-General of the Philippines and Minister to Spain under Taft, 76. . . . Gen. Jose Miguel Gomez, ex-President of Cuba, 65.

WORLD PEACE AND BUSINESS IN CARTOONS



THE WELCOME SUNSHINE
From the *Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



THE BELATED GUEST FROM AMERICA
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



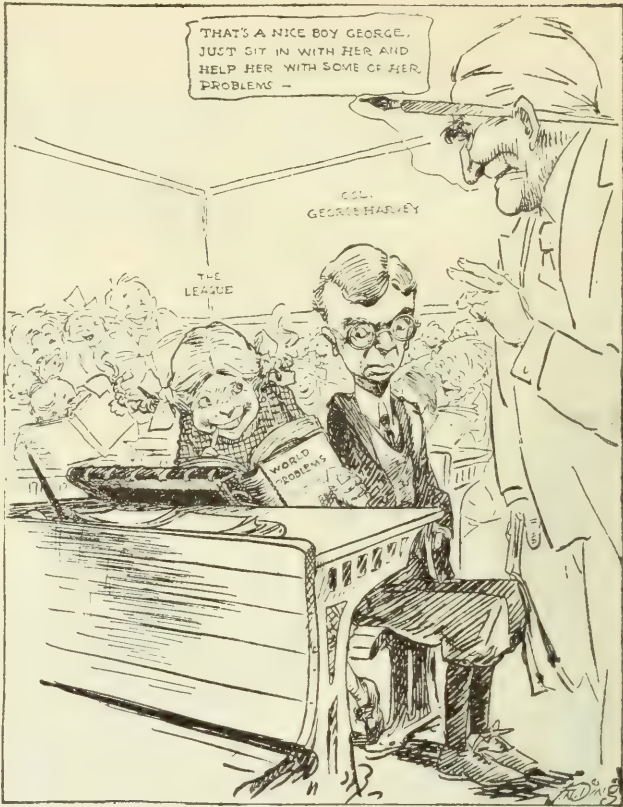
SITTING ON THE SENATE "BITTER-ENDERS"
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



THE ADMINISTRATION EXPLODES THE BALLOONS
OF THE SENATE IRRECONCILABLES
From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)



"EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON YOU, SAM!"
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)



"THE WOMAN HATER"
PRESIDENT HARDING (to our new Ambassador at London): "That's a good boy, George; just sit in with her and help her with some of her problems."
From the Tribune © (New York)

THE fact that Uncle Sam has once more taken his seat at the international council table—though not as a participant in settling controversies with which he has no real concern—has seemed to produce a widespread

feeling of optimism after a protracted period of gloom. There are still many questions awaiting settlement; and American opinion as reflected in these cartoons shows a desire to be of service to the rest of the world.



THE CHAPERON (MISS COLUMBIA) AND THE NEGLECTED LEAGUE
From the News (Detroit, Mich.)



NOW WE ARE THE "BIG 5" AGAIN!
From the News (Detroit, Mich.)



SENATE AND HOUSE: "THIS WAY, MADAM!"
From the *World* (New York)



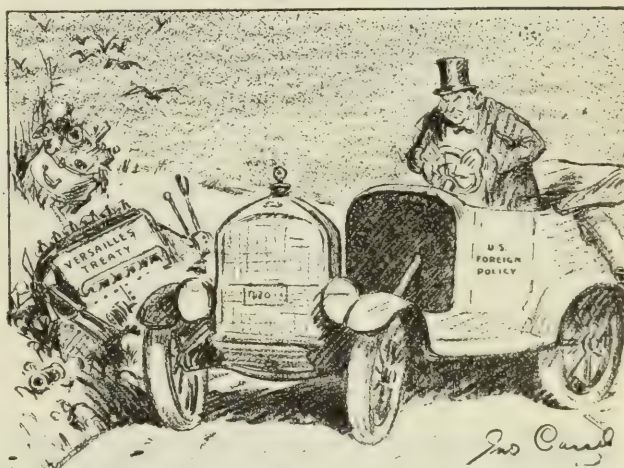
CONGRESS LETS NOT THE LEFT HAND KNOW
WHAT THE RIGHT HAND DOETH
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



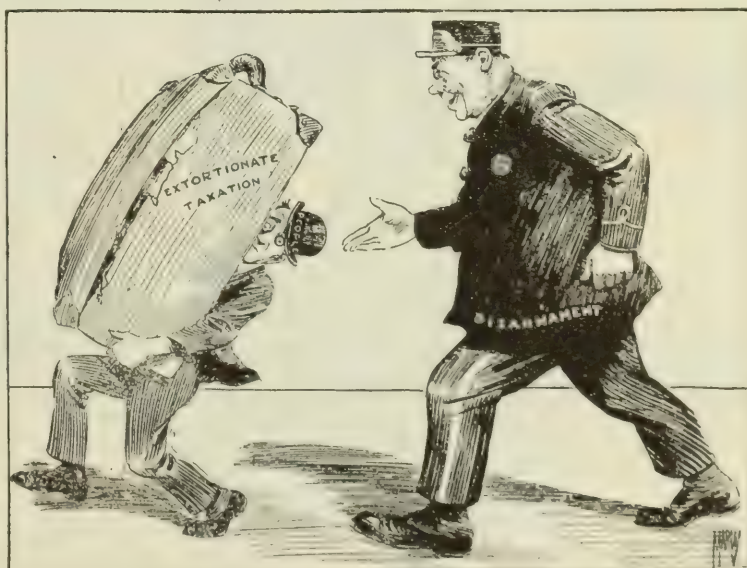
UNCLE SAM, AS "THE THINKER"
From *La Victoire* (Paris, France)



DISARMAMENT
"What are you doing there?"
"We are sharpening our unsheathed swords against
militarism."
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



HAVING SCRAPPED THE ENGINE!
[How can there be a foreign policy, the cartoonist
implies, with the Versailles Treaty scrapped?]
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



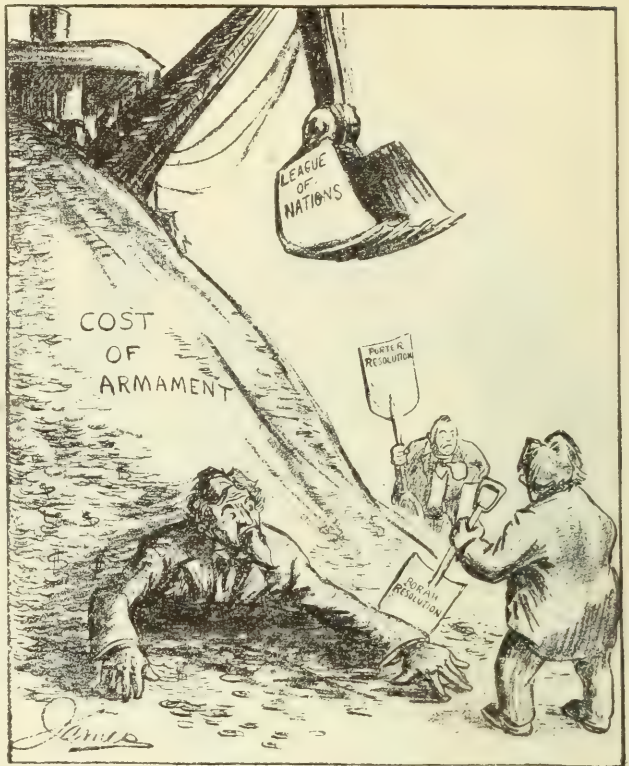
"HELP YOU WITH YOUR LUGGAGE, SIR?"
From the *Times* (New York)



JOHN BULL'S WORLD PEACE PROPAGANDA PROGRESSES
("We'll all go together.")

From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

Hand in hand with the topic of world peace is that of disarmament. The movement for limitation of some sort is nation-wide and even worldwide. Americans are prone to think of their country as leader in this movement, but the *Montreal Star* puts



WHY NOT USE THE STEAM SHOVEL?

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

[Mr. Porter, in the House, and Mr. Borah, in the Senate, are seeking to reduce military costs through a disarmament agreement or a "naval holiday"]

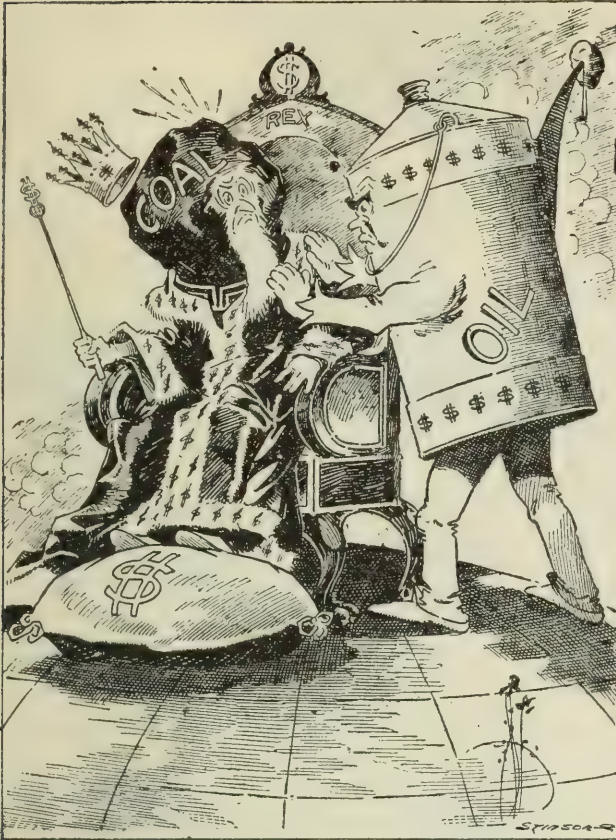
John Bull forward as the moving spirit. Naturally, the huge sums required for modern navies play no small part in forming opinions of business men and laboring men in this period of depression. Thus appropriation bills figure largely in the discussions.



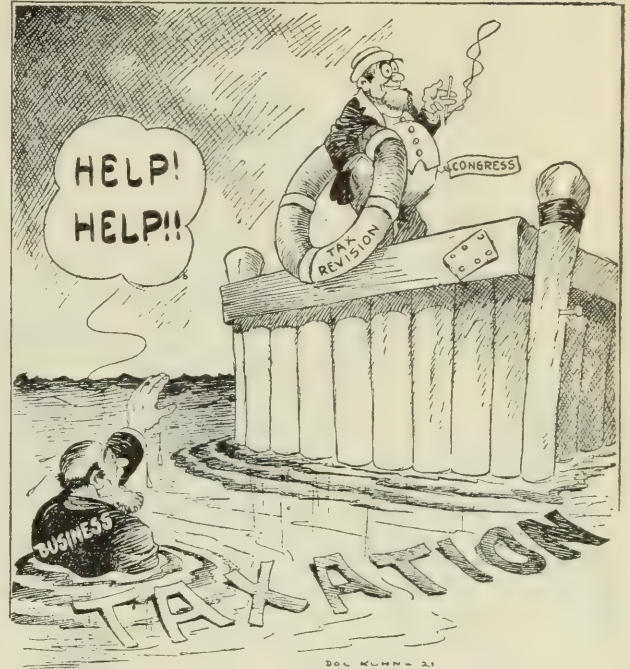
CURFEW SHALL NOT RING TO-NIGHT
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



THE SENATE REDUCES HIS RATIONS!
From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Neb.)



A NEW KING, OIL, COMES TO TAKE THE THRONE
SO LONG HELD BY KING COAL
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



ABOUT TIME CONGRESS THREW THE LIFE-PRESERVER
From the *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colo.)

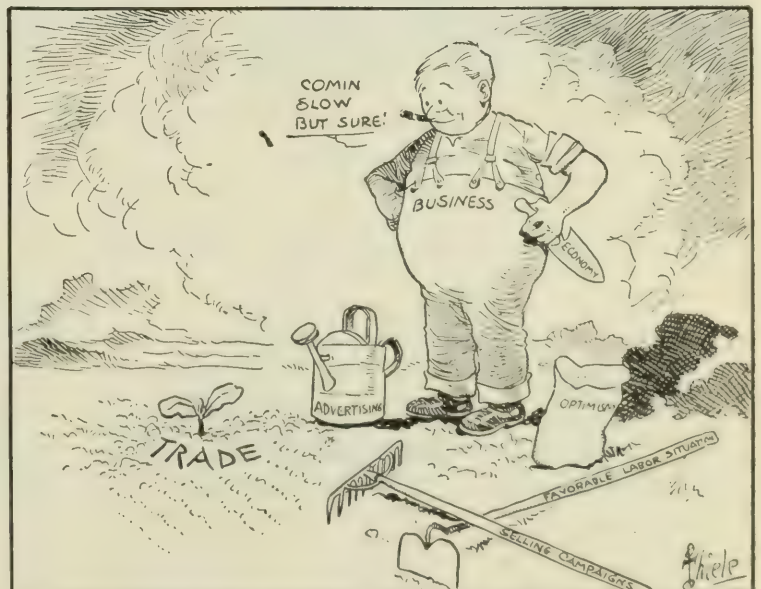


"THE STORM IS OVER"
By Hanny, in the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



THE LAW OF ECONOMIC GRAVITATION
[This Canadian cartoonist implies that the
only safe way to return to normal business
conditions is for Wages and Prices to come
down together]

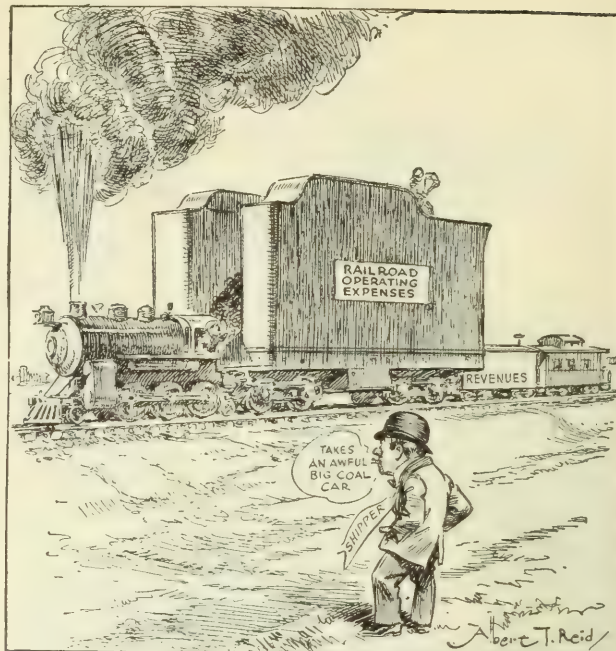
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)
July—3



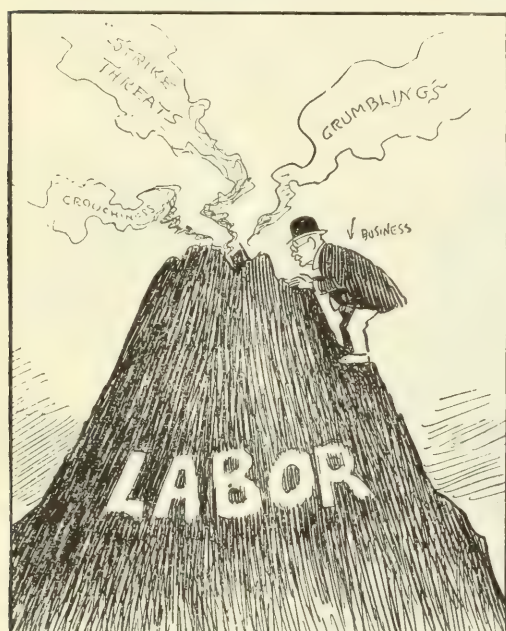
WELL CULTIVATED!—NOW FOR SUNSHINE
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



LOOKS AS THOUGH UNCLE SAM WOULD HAVE TO HELP
From the *Telegram* (Portland, Ore.)



OUT OF PROPORTION
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



IT'S QUIETING DOWN
By Morris, in the *Spokesman Review*
(Spokane, Wash.)



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY PAINTS A
CHEERFUL PICTURE
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



PRETTY SOFT FOR THE TRUCKING COMPANIES!
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

[The railroad company's money pays for buying, building, and maintaining a right-of-way. But the taxpayer's money pays for the roads which the railroad's competitors use]

HOW TO AVOID STRIKES

Conciliate if Possible; Legalize Arbitration Findings

BY HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

(Secretary of Labor)

IT has always seemed to me the saddest fact in life that human labor, the work of human hands, should be subject to the laws of the market. Yet it must be so. The value of work and the product of work must rise and fall together. When that value had shrunk, within recent weeks, it was seen that wages had to come down.

The industrial adjustment now in progress follows an orgy of extravagance which makes harder to bear the hardships which all must endure. We cannot hope to avoid a certain amount of suffering all along the line as the process of lowering costs works itself out. We have been demanding an adjustment on the part of others, ignoring the contribution which each of us must make before normal conditions can be restored. The way back to prosperity is to *work* back. We must think of what we give for what we get.

It has taken times of strain and distraction, such as we have now, for employer and employee to learn that their interests are the same and that the path of prosperity is the path of fellowship. The factory is useless without its hands. And the hands have no work when no one is there to employ them. The two together prosper only as the employer is fair to his men, and as the men give an honest day's work for a living wage. But above all that, their temper must be right toward each other.

We have a somewhat distorted conception of present-day conditions resulting in part from the prominence given to industrial disturbances. We are inclined to be unmindful of the millions of workers steadily carrying on in perfect harmony with their employers, and forgetful of the half million men who, for one reason or another, at all times, are out of work.

Last year approximately two million workers participated in more than three thousand strikes, which continued an average of thirty-eight days—one worker in every ten a striker.

This disturbed condition of affairs in American industry would seem to justify some governmental legislation that would minimize the enormous losses resulting from strikes. While every American has the right to quit his employment, it is most unfortunate that misunderstandings should become so common in our industrial life. It is to be hoped that something can be done to diminish such losses and attendant suffering.

While I do not believe it feasible to pass laws against employers and employees resorting to such tactics, I believe there should be laws to make all parties to industrial disputes try to get together before the public is subjected to the disastrous effects of these industrial crises.

Impartial commissions for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration are to-day our only recourse. The Secretary of Labor has been authorized by Congress to act as a mediator and to appoint commissioners of conciliation in labor disputes whenever in his judgment the interest of industrial peace may require it to be done.

The Department has succeeded in making satisfactory settlement in three thousand of the four thousand disputes that have come before the Secretary for adjustment, disputes in which more than three million workers were directly affected, and as many more indirectly concerned.

The basis for conciliation and the principle that must be followed in all conciliatory effort was suggested by President Harding when he said:

The human element comes first, and I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage-earners, and I want the wage-earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the republic. Out of this understanding will come the unanimous committal to economic justice, and in economic justice lies that social justice which is the highest essential to human happiness.

In creating the Department of Labor, the American people through their Congress charged the Secretary of Labor "to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." This is a big task since practically the whole people are wage-earners.

Differences between the employer and the employee are bound to arise. From the days of the Pharaohs down through the centuries history records the constant recurrence of disputes between the employer and employed. With the development of industry have come large and powerful organizations of employers and employees—have come strikes and lockouts as means of enforcing the observance of their respective rights as they have seen them. With the growth of organization the losses have increased.

To avoid such losses, if at all possible, or if they occur to attempt a speedy settlement, the Department seeks to effect conciliation by getting the parties together for the purpose of clarifying and modifying demands in such a way as to give to each an insight into the individual problem confronting the other, as the President has suggested.

With authority conferred by the Congress, there has been built up within the Department of Labor a Division of Conciliation with a score or more of Commissioners—industrial peacemakers. In addition to this group, the Department has temporarily, at various times, utilized the services of many men who have been called in to contribute of their time and experience in the adjustment of industrial conflicts.

In the early history of the Department, the conciliatory service of the Department was not enlisted until, in 70 per cent. of the cases, a strike had been called. Now conditions are reversed and only 30 per cent. of the cases have reached the strike stage. It is easier to harmonize conflicting viewpoints before a stoppage of work occurs than it is to start the wheels going again.

No set rules have been established to govern the conciliators in their work. Never are the elements entering into a trade dispute exactly the same. The commissioner is compelled to meet each situation in the manner best calculated to bring the contending parties together. He must discover a common ground for agreement which the interested parties in the heat of controversy or eagerness to secure advantage have overlooked.

If the commissioner can get the employer and employee to sit down at the council table and thrash out their differences, the battle is more than half won. The mere getting together in council indicates they have confidence, one in the other. It shows a desire to give and take, to negotiate peace on a basis acceptable to both. It affords opportunity to lay before each the individual problems confronting the other, and only with this full understanding of the whole problem can a lasting industrial peace be effected.

The accumulated experience and knowledge gained by the conciliator have generally enabled him quickly to gauge the situation and by adroitly leading the discussion, with here and there a suggestion which appealed to the good judgment of the contending parties, a settlement may be reached. However, it calls for diplomacy of the highest order.

As industry was conducted in early days, the employer could call each of his workers by name and a spirit of friendly coöperation existed between them. This has all changed. It was then a personal management with close association and understanding existing between the employer and the employed. With the growth of industry and the development of large plants employing thousands of workmen, the salutary effect of friendly contact has been lost. The change has also presented new problems, among them controversies over open and closed shops, shop committees, collective bargaining, and many others unknown to our grandfathers.

If in the treatment of these many controversies conciliatory efforts fail, there is nothing left but to submit to arbitration, if a shutdown of the industry is to be avoided. Then each party has a day in court.

The weakness in present arbitration proceedings is that there are no means supplied for enforcing the decisions of the arbitrators. For the protection of both parties, as well as the public, *some such provision should be made*. When the parties agree to abide by arbitration, it is essential that both parties live up to the stipulated terms. To-day, public opinion is the only power that compels compliance with the terms.

No matter what method of adjustment may have been used, the essential element in all such settlements is good faith—confidence of each in the other, and, if an outsider serves as arbitrator or mediator, in the impartiality of the tribunal. The aim must not be merely the temporary cessation of hostilities, as an armistice, but a peace which will be the basis

for lasting harmony between the employer and employee.

An incident which occurred years ago at Martins Ferry, Ohio, illustrates the psychology back of misunderstandings in industry, as well as conciliatory measures.

A strike was on at one of the shops and the employers and the workmen refused to speak to each other, because they did not trust each other. And they did not trust each other because they did not know each other. It is easy to distrust the man whom you don't know, and it is hard to hate a man after you have really become acquainted.

Fortunately, one of the officials, W. T. Graham, now of New York, believed that a man was a man, no matter what his job might be. He also believed in the fundamental honesty and sense of justice and fair play in all men.

Graham knew most of the men by their first names. He liked the men and they

liked him, because they knew him. So he went out one morning and said to the strikers on picket duty:

"Boys, let's have a game of ball."

He called out some of the office men, and one grouchy old director glowered at the workmen, and they glowered back at him. They looked mad because the director looked mad.

"You fellows make me tired," said Graham, laughing. "You remind me of wild animals rather than human beings."

Everybody laughed and the ball game started. When the game started the strike ended. The strike was over because employers and workmen were together. The details were not decided that afternoon—in fact, they were not mentioned. But when morning came, the atmosphere had cleared, and when Graham suggested they get together and thrash out their problem, all differences disappeared.

THE CRISIS IN OIL

BY P. W. WILSON

HOW has the oil-crisis arisen? To the United States, the production, refinement and distribution of oil is a source of wealth, of national security and of legitimate pride. To strike oil, as Moses struck the Rock of Horeb, is an American phrase, and it was in the United States that men first appreciated the infinite possibilities of rock-oil or, as it is translated, *petroleum*, flowing from the earth, plentiful as water. Within a brief period of sixty years, American citizens have developed their oilfields, first in the Eastern, then in the Western States, not only drilling the wells, but analyzing and refining the product, utilizing every fractional ingredient, distributing it by train, tanker and pipe-line, and instituting a complete revolution in many other industries. This breathless exploitation of liquid fuel was attended naturally by rough and ready scrambles among the pioneers and by some criticism of the great corporations that emerged. In the reduction of chaos to order, some unfair things were done, but the net result of the whole process is that an annual output of 377,000,000 barrels of 42 gallons content has been secured, or nearly 70 per cent. of the world total. Out of 7,500,000,000

barrels of oil produced in the world since 1857, no less than 4,500,000,000 came from the United States. It is one of the most amazing of industrial achievements.

It is, however, at the very zenith of their success that the American oil-magnates have to face an uncertain future. The "gusher" enjoys a rich but a brief life. Oil statistics are not always exact, but in 1916 it was officially estimated by the Department of the Interior at Washington that of known oil in the country, 32 per cent. had been exhausted, or roughly one-third. There remained, it was estimated, about 7,500,000,000 barrels to be drawn. The output is rapidly increasing. In 1910 it was 209,500,000 barrels. In 1916 it had risen to 300,000,000. In 1919 it was 377,000,000. At this figure there remains in the oilfields of the United States about twenty years' supply. But in 1920 the production *per diem* rose from 1,096,000 barrels in January to 1,300,000 barrels in December; and if the output still grows apace, and no new resources within the Union are discovered, the yielding period of the oilfields must be taken as only fifteen years. We are confronted by the staggering idea that within our lifetime

the fabulous resources of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Oklahoma, Texas, California, and other States will be exhausted.

How to meet such a situation is thus an urgent problem. Doubtless it is true that much oil is wasted, especially on high-power automobiles, used only for pleasure. Of oil-driven vehicles, the United States has now nearly 8,000,000 of all kinds. In a year they consume more than 2,000,000,000 gallons of gasoline. They are many times more in number than the automobiles of all other nations put together. But it is ridiculous to suppose that with Henry Ford just completing his five-millionth "flivver," and with most Americans regarding the car as an Arab regards his steed, we shall see any substantial saving of petroleum on the Lincoln and Roosevelt Highways. Indeed, one reason why railroad receipts are stationary is the use of oil-driven transport for short hauls. Similarly, the motor-bus and jitney are strong competitors in many places of the electric car.

The war has shown that you can ration most things, when necessity arises, including oil. But if joy-riding were thus restricted, there would continue to be ever increasing demands for petroleum in other directions. Railroads themselves in the United States consume about 45,000,000 barrels every year on oil-driven locomotives, of which there are some on certain British lines. Then there is the use of oil for power in factories, greatly stimulated over Britain by the coal strike. The entire traffic of the air, whether by planes or dirigibles, must be dependent upon oil-engines. So also with submersible warships. Indeed, with surface vessels, whether naval or mercantile, oil is now as a rule the most economical fuel. Half the new marine of the United States is so constructed for oil use. This Marine and the American Navy consumed in twelve months as much oil as did the railroads. As trade revives, we may take it for granted that demands for oil everywhere will become greater and that we shall never return to the days—the early days of the oil boom—when there was more of the crude on the market than the market could absorb. On ships, to take one instance, the convenience of using oil in preference to coal is seen at once. There is cleanliness. Loading and firing are mechanical and much expensive labor is saved.

Command of oil thus represents a real international empire, and all over the world, while alert governments watch what is going

on, prospectors are examining new fields, and eager interests are capturing concessions. For the year 1918, the world production in barrels was given as follows:

United States.....	355,928,000
Mexico	63,828,000
Russia	40,456,000
Dutch East Indies	13,285,000
Roumania	8,730,000
India	8,000,000
Persia	7,200,000
Galicia	5,592,000
Peru	2,536,000
Japan and Formosa.....	2,449,000
Trinidad	2,082,000
Egypt	2,080,000
Argentina	1,321,000
Germany	711,000
Canada	305,000
Venezuela	190,000
Italy	36,000
	<hr/>
	514,729,000

It is on figures like these that Britain claims an oil output which, with Persia, amounts to only 20,000,000 gallons, under her own sovereignty or political influence—that is, about 4 per cent. of the world's production. As matters stand to-day, this is a mathematical fact. But Americans contend that the case may wear a very different complexion ten or twenty years hence, when their country's domestic supplies are approaching depletion.

The first thing to recognize in this situation is that it affects not two nations which happen to speak English but all nations. France has at present no oil of her own and Italy practically none. An equitable arrangement over raw materials like oil, which are available only in certain areas but are needed everywhere, is of international importance.

Secondly, we should bear in mind that during the considerable period in which the United States has been supreme in the oil industry, there have been no complaints of substance against her distribution of supplies. In every industry there are grievances over prices and qualities; as an instance, one might mention the various attacks upon low-flash oil. These were heard at one time in London, but not only in London. Vigilance was also exercised in New York. It was not because the oil was American but because it was a commodity of variable composition that inspection was needed. Just as milk may be better or worse, so may paraffin. Nor is it suggested that before the war the oil industry of the United States boycotted any market. On the contrary, the complaint was

rather that markets were captured and monopolized. American distributors had their fleets of tankers carrying the product everywhere and it was sold wherever a sale would yield a profit. The so-called "octopus" had its tentacles in Germany, Britain—and every available country. The question is, therefore, whether in the future we have reason to fear a new policy whereby one nation or group of nations will withhold oil from those who have it not, against the normal forces of supply and demand. If this contingency is to be anticipated, what are the safeguards to be adopted against it?

For the present year the demand for petroleum throughout the world is estimated at 700,000,000 barrels. Of these, 565,000,000 barrels will be consumed by the United States alone, or 220 gallons *per capita*, compared with 14 gallons on the average for the rest of the world. Every American thus uses fifteen times as much oil in time of peace as citizens of other countries use. The American production is put at 445,000,000 barrels and the United States will thus have to import 120,000,000 barrels, chiefly from Mexico. The United States is thus beginning to be dependent upon the world market.

That market is controlled broadly by two main groups of interests—sometimes described as American and British but more accurately to be labelled "Standard" and "Shell." On both sides there are infinite ramifications of investment and control. On both sides the shares are widely distributed among holders who need not belong to any particular country and are quoted on stock exchanges where dealings are international. On both sides the great game is played as skilfully as chess, and it is played all over the world. On the whole, it is a game played in the interest of the public. It promotes the essential output of oil and oil products. But the game includes politics and propaganda and at times has its dangers of which public opinion should be aware.

Take the case of France. Before the war, there was in France a cartel of ten distributing oil companies which dealt with "the Standard." In 1917 this arrangement was rudely interrupted by submarines and by huge American demands for "the Standard's" output. France therefore turned to the other great market. The position today is that the cartel of distributors continues in being and will doubtless serve as the instrument for what looks like a virtual government monopoly of sale. But where is the oil to

be obtained? At the moment, France has not looked for oil in her own possessions. The search will, however, begin at once and when oil is struck, which of the great expert groups, if either, will be called in as concessionaires? Last year an agreement between Britain and France was reached at San Remo whereby the oil of the Near East was shared between these countries. At once the United States protested and urged that in fields like Mesopotamia there must be an open rivalry among exploiting groups. The British, through Lord Curzon, answered that their concessions antedated the war and, like "the Standard's" similar oil rights in Palestine, had been obtained from the Sultan. Here the Turks came in with a suggestion that the pre-war concessions may only have been informal correspondence—in any event, if there could be a loan to Turkey by the United States of \$100,000,000 a year for each of three years, Turkey would turn out the English, pacify Mesopotamia and secure the oil of Mosul as desired!

In Trinidad, a British possession, it is asserted that Americans are admitted to control of oilfields and while Canada has recently insisted that her own resources be developed by her own citizens, this does not exclude from such enterprise the employment of American capital. Americans on their side point out that British capital is employed in the oilfields of the United States, and both nations are reserving certain output for their respective navies. The American reservation lies within her own territory, for instance, California, and the British consists of the pre-war agreement between the Government in London and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. This corporation recently declared a profit of £3,577,000 and as illustrating how these concerns weave a network of links with all markets, one may mention that the Anglo-Persian has completed arrangements with the Scottish American Oil and Transport Company, with the Commonwealth (of Australia) Oil Refineries, Ltd., in which the Commonwealth Government invests half of the capital, £500,000, with a new French company capitalized at 100,000,000 francs, with the British Oil Bunkering Company with a capital of £1,200,000 and with the Tanker Insurance Company, Limited.

What I have called "the Shell" is, of course, the Royal Dutch-Shell Company of which the genius is Mr. E. A. Didering of Holland. This remarkable man works with

the Rothschilds of Paris and the Samuels of London. The announced capital of his companies in the United States is \$107,000,000. Wherever there is oil, he is alert, just as Lord Cowdray has been alert in Mexico. The question is how far these groups have secured in advance by commercial or dollar diplomacy enormous fields in many countries, not yet developed, so excluding the future enterprise of the United States. The anticipation of geology appears to be that the oil resources of the world are as yet untapped and that long before we are driven to utilize deposits of shale, new fields will have been discovered. But in the meantime the fight goes on. The British remark that they are not made welcome as oil prospectors in Haiti and the Philippines. From the Tinoco Government in Costa Rica, moreover, they obtained the Amory concession. But the validity of this concession is denied at Washington on the ground that neither Britain nor the United States recognized the Tinoco Government. In Colombia there were other alleged British concessions. The friendship between the United States and Colombia is, however, restored by the payment of \$25,000,000 compensation for Panama, hitherto refused by the Senate. In Congress, during the debate, oil was mentioned and it will be generally agreed that in Colombia the chances of British capital have declined.

Still more complicated is the case of Mexico. There you have a government chronically unstable and open to undue financial influence. You have officials, moreover, controlled by American and by British capital. Holding property of this inflammable character, both groups have a common interest in maintaining law and order, measures for which, however, under the Monroe Doctrine, are determinable chiefly at Washington. Law and order include respect for the original conditions under which foreign money was invested in the country and this respect is held to be denied under the Constitution of 1917. Against this Constitution all the oil interests protested and the recent allegation by Senator Fall is that, despite this joint protest, the British group has made terms with President Obregon and so secured unfair advantages. The story is full of dramatic interest. Mexico had reserved to herself rights over the banks of streams—a strip of ten meters each side—and it was found that in the last week of its holding office, the Huerta Administration signed

away these river rights to "the Shell" groups, which thus obtained access to the very heart of previously allotted fields. Naturally, there has been considerable irritation in other quarters. The British Government stoutly denies that it supports or is interested in the activities of the companies of which complaint is made by Americans in Mexico. According to the U. S. Bureau of Commerce, there were twenty-seven companies working Mexican oil in the year 1918. Of these, seventeen were American, five Spanish-Mexican, three Dutch and two British. This information does not, however, carry us much farther unless we also know the output of the companies and how their shares are held.

Finally, we have the big fight now proceeding in the Dutch Indies over the oil of Sumatra. The "Standard" has approached Holland for the right to develop this oil, or some of it, but there was "the Shell" also in the field and at The Hague, the Dutch Parliament has by a vote of 49 to 30 endorsed the view that the Djambi oilfields must be dealt with as a whole and "the Standard" bid thus barred out. The American Government recognizes that foreign companies as such are excluded but asks that in the Dutch companies which obtain concessions, there should be permitted American as well as other foreign—*e.g.*, British—capital. In the Dutch Parliament, the matter has been hotly debated. Charges of bribery on one side and on the other have been flung across the floor. The Government has been accused of holding back the note of the United States in the interest of "the Shell" and the contents of the note were apparently disclosed to the public in Holland by unofficial cables. The whole subject is, of course, one of profound international importance. For two and a half centuries the sovereignty of Holland over Sumatra has been undisputed. In international law, the title deeds are beyond challenge. There is here not a mandate under the League of Nations but a sole and direct possession in the political sense—maintained without challenge by a civilized power. On the other hand, the principle of the open door, asserted in this matter by the United States, is fundamental to her foreign policy. This country is without empire in the larger European sense and her commercial expansion abroad depends upon an equal opportunity being granted in existing empires to foreign citizens of all nationalities.

THE OLD ORDER RETURNS IN EUROPE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. UPPER SILESIA

THE past month has been dominated in the foreign field by a single problem, that of Upper Silesia. The United States has resumed her place in the Supreme Council, and Germany has complied with the conditions of that ultimatum to which she surrendered in May, paying her first instalment of \$250,000,000; and as a consequence there has been a general improvement in the world outlook. But Upper Silesia has supplied the first clear evidence that the old order has returned in Europe, that we are getting back to conditions and methods which belong to the period before the war.

In the present article I mean to deal first with the Upper Silesian problem itself, then to pass to the larger issues which are involved, the policies represented in the discussion, and the reasons for the conflicting views of the several nations concerned. It is essential for all Americans who would follow European affairs accurately henceforth to perceive the facts which are emerging from the chaos of the old war. Above all, it is necessary to perceive, as was not perceived in Paris by the American representatives, that underneath each immediate issue lies something far more profound and permanent.

Turning then to the Upper Silesian problem, the facts are these: A majority of the population in the whole district is of the Polish nationality—rather more than 60 per cent. Thus, at the Paris Conference it was at first proposed to give Upper Silesia to the Poles outright; and this arrangement was contained in the draft of the Treaty of Versailles which was presented to the Germans. In making this allotment the Allies set their seal of approval upon the Polish claim.

But when the Germans presented their counter-claim, emphasis was laid by them upon the fact that the territory had not belonged to the Poles for six or seven centuries, that the population—although Polish by race—had become Germanized in part at least.

Accordingly they demanded that Upper Silesia should be restored to them. Furthermore, they laid great stress upon the fact that in this area was the second coal and iron district of Germany, with the largest coal reserves. If they were to be called upon to pay large reparations sums, they argued that it was for the interest of their creditors not to deprive them of one of their main assets.

As a consequence the Allies compromised by proposing a plebiscite for the region, which was a fair-enough compromise. But according to the terms of the provision for an election, the vote was to be counted by commune, that is, by the smallest units, and the Allied commissioners were to pay attention not to the total vote, but to the decision in the separate units. This, of course, forecast a division of the territory.

On March 20 the election was held and, as had been generally foreseen, the Germans carried the plebiscite territory by a decisive majority: 705,000 to 473,000. On the basis of these figures they at once set up a claim for the whole district, which was naturally and immediately rejected, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. It remained, then, to divide the territory. But this was by no means an easy task.

Upper Silesia is divided into twenty-one circles, or districts, which might be compared with our own counties. Of the twenty-one, the Germans carried, by decisive majorities, nine which are so situated as to constitute a solid block. These are Oppeln City, Oppeln Country, Leobschütz, Ratibor City, Ratibor Country, Kosel, Kreuzberg, Rosenberg, and Lublinitz. The figures of the vote for these nine circles were: Germans 343,000, Poles 90,000. Although the Poles claimed certain outlying communes belonging to these districts and included them in the line drawn by their leader, Korfanty, and later familiar as "Korfanty's Line," German claims to the nine districts hardly admit of serious dispute. But, it must be recalled, all nine are outside of the mineral and industrial region.

For the remaining twelve districts, or cir-

cles, the Poles submitted a blanket claim. Their majority in the whole area was 20,000. The total vote was: Poland, 382,000; Germany, 362,000. Of the districts the Poles had carried seven, all rural, the Germans five, four city and one country. But looked at by the figures of the communes, the Polish majority was enormous, the German vote being concentrated in a few cities and large towns. Moreover, these German centers were only tiny islands in the sea of Polish country districts.

The French accepted and endorsed the Polish claim. The British and the Italians rejected it. As a substitute the British proposed that Poland should receive the two circles of Rynik and Pless, adjoining their frontiers, which they had carried by a vote of 101,000 to 46,000. These two circles contained a very large proportion of the coal reserves of the Upper Silesian fields, but were as yet little exploited. The Italians, in their turn, while rejecting the French thesis, which was, of course, the Polish claim, proposed and apparently persuaded the British to concede to the Poles most of Kattowitz (country) which they had carried 66,000 to 53,000. This would have allowed the Poles only three of the seven districts which they had carried outright, the vote in these three being Poland 167,000, Germany 98,000.

Thus, eliminating the nine districts carried by the Germans and the three granted to the Poles, there remained nine districts, of which the Poles had carried four and the Germans five, and these are precisely the circles in which are the great industrial and mineral regions. These the British and Italians proposed to give to Germany absolutely. In this region the vote had been: Germany, 264,000; Poland, 214,000. Thus, of the 472,000 who had voted for Poland in the whole Upper Silesian area 304,000 were to be turned over to the Germans, while of the 705,000 who had voted for Germany, only 98,000 were to be assigned to the Poles. And of the seven districts which they had carried beyond question, the Poles were to have but three. This was the Anglo-Italian solution rejected by the French, criticized by the Germans, who claimed the whole district. It was never formally adopted by the Plebiscite Commission, but there was no concealment of the main features.

Once more it should be recalled that at the Paris Conference the Poles had been promised the whole area, thus bestowing a

moral sanction upon the Polish claims. Then the plebiscite had been agreed upon, but with the understanding that it should be viewed from the angle of the decision of communes. With these circumstances in mind, the Polish emotion can be better understood.

II. KORFANTY A LA D'ANNUNZIO

When the news of the proposed settlement reached the Poles of Silesia, their representative and leader, Korfanty, put himself at the head of the Polish majority in the south and proceeded rapidly to overrun all of the country and certain of the city districts, occupying most of the region on the Polish side of Korfanty's line, including all seven of the rural districts Poland had carried and several of the five circles, four city and one rural, which had gone German.

This was a plain imitation of Garibaldi's great exploit, when he set out for Sicily with his Thousand; it was also an invoking of the D'Annunzio precedent of much more recent date. In the total area there were not more than 15,000 Allied troops, of which 10,000 were French and 3,000 Italian. Before the storm the French were both helpless and wholly reluctant to oppose their Polish allies, whom they regarded as having the right of the situation. The Italians made some resistance and suffered considerable losses, showing how little Italian policy cared for an Italian principle, when adopted by Poles. The British, having practically no troops, did nothing.

But the Polish uprising at once became an issue in London, Paris, and Berlin. Lloyd George burst out in several astounding public declamations in which he lectured the Poles, the French, and Europe in general. His most revolutionary suggestion was that if the Poles could not restrain their own fellow-countrymen, if the Polish Government at Warsaw could not prevent Poles from flowing over into Upper Silesia, then the Allies might have to consider the possibility that Germany should be allowed to use her own troops.

This statement was met by a prompt public retort from Briand, the French Premier, that France would consider the use by Germany of any troops in Upper Silesia as a *casus belli*. Lloyd George's suggestion roused the whole French press, which incidentally came in for a scolding from the British Prime Minister. On his part Lloyd George

promptly disclaimed any wish to see German troops sent to Upper Silesia. But for the rest he stuck to his guns and the world was treated to the first open and undisguised clash between the French and the British since the outbreak of the World War.

In the *mêlée* Upper Silesia was quite forgotten and charge and countercharge flew back and forth over the Channel. Briand replied to Lloyd George's insinuation that French troops had aided the Poles by pointing out that the British had carefully refrained from using their troops and France could not be asked to bear the whole burden—a taunt which led presently to the despatch of more British troops to the scene of the trouble.

Meantime the Germans took heart and German irregular troops began to flock into the Upper Silesian war zone and presently pitched battles were taking place along the Oder. This is the situation at the moment I write these lines. Requests for a conference by Lloyd George have met with postponing excuses of Briand. Many proposals for settlement have been press-agented from London, all of them unfair to the Poles, but of a real settlement there is no sign yet.

It has been suggested that the Germans receive at once the nine districts which they carried, that Pless, Rybnik and Kattowitz (country) be similarly assigned to the Poles, and that some sort of compromise be worked out for the remaining nine districts. All these compromise suggestions originated in London and carry with them the implication of the loss to Poland of the whole coal and industrial area, but the imposition of restrictions upon German title, which would prevent the use of the minerals for war preparation. Naturally these suggestions do not appeal to the Poles.

Such, then, is the bare outline of the history of the application of the principle of self-determination to a single area in Europe. Anyone who has read Mr. Lansing's book will perceive that in this case all of his worst fears have been amply realized.

III. BRITISH POLICY

Having thus discussed briefly the actual problem of Upper Silesia, it remains to deal with its international aspect, its relation to the policies and conceptions of the Great Powers and of the three European powers directly participating in the debate. And in this discussion, quite naturally, the point of depar-

ture must be the British attitude toward Poland. Why has Great Britain manifested on every critical occasion a fundamental hostility to Polish interests, Polish aspirations, Polish rights?

That this has been the case hardly admits of debate. It was the British who argued President Wilson into accepting a reduction of that Polish corridor, which was erected in conformity with one of his Fourteen Points. It was British influence which circumscribed Polish control of Danzig, which prevailed upon the Paris Conference to change its mind and order a plebiscite instead of giving Upper Silesia to Poland outright, as was done in the first draft of the Treaty of Versailles.

Since then British policy has been invariable. When the Bolsheviks invaded Poland two summers ago, a British Commissioner at Danzig, representing the League of Nations, prevented the despatch of ammunition to the hard-pressed Poles—ammunition furnished by the French. When Polish fortunes were most desperate, it was from London there emerged the proposal that Poland should agree to a frontier which involved the surrender, not alone of the districts east of the Bug, but also of Lemberg. Finally it was British influence which prevailed to permit the emigrants from Upper Silesia, German adherents to the last individual, to return and vote at the plebiscite, thus swelling the German vote by more than 200,000 and supplying the German majorities in most of the communes in the coal and industrial region.

There is, I think, a twofold explanation of the British course. In the first place, as I pointed out last month, Poland is an ally, in a sense, a vassal of France—that is, France has been from the beginning the first friend, the consistent champion, the loyal ally of Poland. It was French generals and French munitions which saved Poland two years ago. On all occasions France has protected, defended, championed Poland. It follows logically that Poland, now bound to France by an explicit alliance, will stand with France in the European situation.

But a really great Poland with forty millions of people, with coal, oil and enormous agricultural resources, having an army based upon conscription, could give to France an enduring hold upon the continental situation. With Germany disarmed and held strictly to a disarmament obligation, the Franco-Polish force would be dominant on the Con-

continent. France would occupy the situation which Germany held before the recent war.

French policy, too, expanding the Franco-Polish alliance, has sought and will seek to join to France and Poland the other Succession States: first, Czechoslovakia, like France and Poland, threatened by any German resurrection; second, Rumania, having with Poland the common danger of a hostile Russia; and finally, Jugo-Slavia, like Rumania and Czechoslovakia menaced by the Hungarian determination to regain lost provinces on the Theiss, the Drave and in the Carpathians.

Such a system of alliances, designed to protect the members from common enemies, from Germany, Hungary, and Russia, would in the nature of things constitute a controlling influence on the Continent and would in the main be, itself, dominated by its most powerful member, France. But in British eyes this same system of alliances would lead directly toward war, because of restraint applied to Germany, and because of Polish and Rumanian determination to hold lands on which the Russians at least camped for a century.

France, herself, strong by reason of this alliance, strong by reason of the support assured to her by nations whose debt to her would be very large, if only on the military side, would in British conceptions resume her old imperial aspirations. France would seek control on the Rhine; endeavor to keep Germany permanently bound, strive to promote and achieve the disintegration of Germany, its dissolution into smaller states. And were this to happen, French supremacy on the Continent would be beyond all question.

The old historic British instinct for the balance of power is thus roused by the new situation in which France finds herself. As she opposed the dismemberment of France after Waterloo, Britain has more recently held fast against the disruption of Germany. And the real dismemberment of Germany has been threatened, not on the French but on the Polish side. True, the regions claimed by Poland have been in the main unmistakably Polish, representing the booty of German thefts in past centuries.

But the British are not interested in the examination of the German title; they are concerned solely with keeping Germany a potential force in the European situation, a balance to France. They fought Germany when she sought the domination of the Continent; just as they fought France under

Louis XIV and Napoleon on precisely the same issue. But when France was beaten, England was interested in preserving France as a factor. And obviously the way to restrain France now and to protect Germany is to oppose all Polish aspirations, whether at the expense of Russia or of Germany and without regard to the question of the right or wrong of Polish claims themselves.

On the political side this is the simple and complete explanation of the British hostility to Poland, which directs British policy and reveals itself again and again in all British comment, press and otherwise, on Polish affairs. France *plus* Poland spells a new threat to the balance of power in the minds of British statesmen, while a system of alliances built up by the French, with the Succession States included, might control the Continent and be able to carry out a policy of aggression which would be beyond British influence to control without a new war.

At the Paris Conference, when President Wilson was thinking about self-determination and a peace of conciliation, when the French were occupied with the questions of the Rhine, the Sarre, and reparations, the British, who alone considered the future with some detachment from the existing situation, thought of Poland—and acted. They saw the Europe that was to evolve and strove to assist in the shaping of the forces which would come into play.

IV. THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

Now laying aside the purely political aspect, there is for the British a side to the Polish Question which is both economic and political. The last war was the most terrible calamity in British history. Victorious, Britain found herself not only gravely weakened, but in some fields outstripped by a rival, which after a long period of neutrality had entered the struggle on the British side and been a faithful and invaluable ally. One direct consequence of the war had been the loss to Britain of supremacy in fields in which not even the Germans had seriously challenged her.

But if the American rival was friendly, if no question of war or dangerous competition leading to war entered into the calculation, the economic problem was still serious in the extreme. Britain was a nation living on relatively small islands, tremendously overpopulated, so far as the question of self-feeding was concerned, dependent for the

existence of millions of people upon her foreign investments, which the war had gravely diminished, upon her shipping now challenged by the new American merchant marine, and beyond all else upon her capacity to turn raw materials imported from abroad into finished goods to be exported to all the nations of the planet.

Unless there were a market for these goods, there would be no cargoes for the ships; and two of her chief sources of income, of wealth with which to purchase food for her millions, whose bread and meat must come from abroad, would disappear. But the war by enormously reducing the capacity of the people of the world to buy, by just so much restricted the foreign market for British production. And the persistence of political disturbances engendering economic disorder aggravated the condition.

To-day upward of three millions of men and women are out of work in the British Isles and the hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping are tied up for want of cargoes. In addition, strikes, themselves the outgrowth of the war, have paralyzed the coal industry, one of the most important of all the elements in the complicated system by which the British brought food from foreign countries to their working millions.

This is what the World War did for Britain. The United States has suffered measurably from the same cause, but the United States is self-contained. So far as food is concerned, we still have a surplus. Now, the actual occasion of the war was a Balkan episode, and here, to British eyes, another Balkan condition is forming on the Vistula. A settlement between Germany and the Poland which thrusts an arm between East Prussia and Pomerania is in British eyes a truce, at best. Peace between Poland and Russia based on similar arrangements may be equally illusory.

But a German attack upon Poland means another Franco-German war, just as an attack upon Serbia seven years ago brought Russia in. Even if Britain were able to stay out of this new war, which would be exceedingly doubtful, for Germany at Calais would always be a danger, since a war in itself would mean the prostration of European markets anew. It would mean new periods of unemployment for British labor. It might mean ruin for all of Europe, Britain included. In the Balkans the British were, in the past, always ready to sacrifice the claims and the rights of small nationalities

to preserve the peace of Europe. Why should their Polish policy be different?

At bottom I think the instinctive dislike and distrust of Poland, which reveals itself in most of British expressions, official and unofficial, as well as in governmental actions, grows out of the perception that the Polish problem constitutes the gravest menace to the peace of Europe for the future that has survived the recent struggle. British judgment would have preferred to see Poland restricted to those Russian and Austrian provinces the possession of which would have raised no serious protest either in Berlin or Petrograd.

President Wilson opened the way for the deluge, from the British point of view, when he insisted upon a Polish corridor to the sea. The best Lloyd George could do was to whittle down the corridor, but thus reduced it still transfixes Prussia. Congress Poland plus Western Galicia, a state comprising lands purely and indisputably Polish, landlocked, even dependent upon Germany, economically—this was and is the British ideal, because such a state would invite neither German nor Russian attack. Indeed, the interests of both powers would be best preserved by the existence of such a barrier.

But, as it stands, Poland is another Serbia, with all that this implies. Her existence is a threat to Germany—more than a threat, a realized division of Prussia, while on the Russian side, the acquisitions of Poland at Riga must equally stimulate the hatred of the Russian patriot. But a German attack upon Poland corresponds to the Austrian attack upon Serbia in 1914, with France occupying the position Russia occupied then. And with the entrance of France, a new Continental catastrophe, another general war, would be almost inescapable.

The British would sacrifice Poland to escape the ruin to them and to the rest of Europe, as well, that they see as the inevitable consequence of the erection of a Polish state, to include West Prussia, Posen, and enclosing Danzig, and now seeking to extend its frontiers to include the coal regions of Upper Silesia. And the same situation holds good in the east, where the Poles have occupied all the marches between the Bug and the Pripiet and have laid claim to Vilna on the north.

With the British the basis of Polish claims is of little consequence. Vilna and Lemberg may be Polish ethnically and historically, Posen and Thorn may be as Polish as Warsaw and Cracow, but the important fact is

that Polish possession of these cities carries with it an almost certain heritage of disaster for Europe. Wherefore Britain supports and will continue to support the thesis of a small Poland, will oppose every Polish gain at the expense of Russia or Prussia, basing her policy not upon recognition of immanent justice but upon avoiding impending conflict.

And if the policy seems cynical, and even is cynical, yet it represents the instinct of self-preservation, the most accurate appraisal of the world situation, present and future, to be found anywhere. One may point out that in the end the policy of restriction, which the British would like to see employed with respect of Poland, when actually employed in the case of Serbia, postponed but did not prevent a world war. But even postponement of war, given the present European condition, given the existing situation in the British Isles, would seem an undisguised blessing in English eyes.

In any event there is no mistaking the fact of British policy in regard to Poland. Into the explanation of this fact a multitude of factors enters, but all of them combine to create hostility to Poland, hostility to France, in so far as France champions Polish aspirations; readiness to yield to German claims now, at the expense of Polish hopes and even rights. And this policy, with all its frank injustices, will find moral warrant in Britain, at least, in the fact that such injustices now will diminish the extent of the calamity some years hence, when Germany resumes her old pathway and feels herself strong enough to strike for her old unity.

V. FRENCH POLICY

When one turns from the British to the French attitude in the matter of Poland, the problem is simpler. France is weaker than Germany; her population is a half less. Unless France can find an ally to bridge the gap between French and German numbers, France must ultimately succumb to German attack or passively resign herself to German hegemony in Europe. Poland supplies the numbers, takes the place Russia formerly occupied for France on the eastern marches of Germany. Poland has the same German peril to surmount as has France. Thus a Franco-Polish alliance is at once natural and inevitable.

But having joined Poland to herself France has every reason for wishing that Poland shall be as strong as possible. More-

over, since Germany is the deadly enemy, every cession of German territory to Poland at one time weakens a foe and strengthens an ally. Now, when you have said this it becomes quite clear that one must look henceforth for French support of Poland wherever Polish claims have even a shadow of warrant, just as one must expect British opposition to Poland whenever there is a colorable pretext for blocking Polish designs.

In the matter of the Upper Silesian coal regions it happens that the coal there mined is best adapted to the manufacture of precisely those gases which became a most potent factor in the German offensives of the last war. Moreover, it is in Upper Silesia and not in the Ruhr that Germany has her greatest coal reserves. To-day French guns command the Ruhr region. If the Upper Silesian coal mines passed to Polish hands, the danger of a German attack would be enormously reduced.

Poland with the Upper Silesian mines would be bound to become a highly industrialized state, the competitor of the German in the Russian markets, a field for French investment and exploitation. In peace, the presence of Polish garrisons within a hundred miles of Berlin would be bound to exercise a modifying influence upon German policy on the Rhine. In war, a million Polish troops ready to march at the close of the mobilization period would remove the weight from a German blow in the west, would make a new advance to the Marne unlikely, even if France in time evacuated the occupied areas and retired within the frontiers laid down at the Conference of Paris.

With France it is primarily a question of self-preservation. The only difference between the French and British policy is that for France the danger of German attack is clear, unmistakable, while the things the British see in the future, equally menacing to their existence, are a little more remote and a little less tangible. As to the British charge that Poland is for France an adventure in European supremacy, what is there to say beyond the fact that whatever may develop as a consequence of a Franco-Polish Alliance, the dominating purpose of the alliance is the French need for some ally to hold Germany in the east and make good the disparity between German and French numbers.

I think one may say quite fairly that the French like the Poles and the British do not.

There is an inherent distrust in the British mind in the case of the Poles. Despite their brilliance they seem to the average Englishman unstable. "The Irish of the East of Europe," more than one Englishman has characterized them to me. By contrast there has always been close friendship between France and Poland. Napoleon found at least one marshal and many thousands of soldiers in Poland. One division of Poles fought on the western front under the French flag in the World War.

What the element of liking and disliking counts for in the equation is hard to say. Less than might appear, one would think, for the explanation of the different feelings of the British and the French toward the Poles is too obvious to require psychological analysis. For France, Poland is a necessity, and the stronger Poland is, the greater the insurance against a new German attack. For Britain, Poland holds out the promise of another Continental War, ruinous for Britain, even if she is not herself a belligerent—and who can predict that the nation which was enmeshed by Serajevo can escape the next storm?

Yet, despite all the divergence of opinion between France and Britain, they will not part company over Upper Silesia—they will not because they cannot. Complete separation would spell chaos. We shall have less of suppressed differences, less of apparent harmony. The divergence between national policies and interests will inevitably crop up more and more frequently and obtain greater and greater publicity. But the British and the French, like the Italians and the Japanese, and henceforth, it would seem, Americans too, will continue to meet in international conference and strive to arrive at some solution of the successive problems, because, save for such conferences, there can be nothing but international anarchy, equally intolerable for every one of the nations concerned.

But it is well to discriminate between the conferences of the future and those immediately following the World War. We are passing into a new period, or better, Europe is returning to the old ruts. The international conferences are now the successors of the old Concert of Europe, not of the sessions of Paris. It is not a common danger from the German which dominates the new gatherings and brings them about. It is a common interest in avoiding new disturbances in a war shaken world, to which in the end

must be subordinated all questions of mutual jealousy, rivalry, suspicion.

In the end each of the three European powers will sacrifice something of its own policy and purposes rather than elect the only alternative, namely, to leave the world firm and undertake business alone. Lloyd George showed this when he stood with France in agreeing that if Germany did not comply with the terms of the ultimatum the Allied forces would occupy the Ruhr. Briand showed it when he yielded to Lloyd George's urgings that there should be an ultimatum before any advance to the Ruhr. He has showed it in many utterances since.

A day is to come when Germany will seek and obtain admittance to this Supreme Council. When that time comes, actual divisions and secessions may take place. But this admission of Germany is still a little in the future at least and the European powers are likely to hold together now, if only to hold one another back. America's entrance into the conferences has added a great stabilizing influence. Though we do not vote on purely European matters like the Upper Silesian affair, which Washington regards as exclusively political, the fact that we are present adds greatly to the influence and permanence of the Supreme Council, just as it detracts enormously from the prestige and influence of the League of Nations.

Nothing is perhaps more significant of the decline of the fortunes of the League than the fact that in the Upper Silesian dispute it has not even been mentioned, up to the present moment. Yet this question is precisely the sort of issue which the League was, theoretically, to deal with and dispose of, in the interests of world peace.

VI. THE ITALIAN ANGLE

It remains to say a word of the Italian point of view, which is something quite different from both the British and the French. In the Mediterranean, France is the rival of Italy—the successful rival, since she has acquired Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, which constitute part of the old Roman heritage in North Africa. Italy, with an overflowing population capable of peopling the region from Tripoli to the Straits of Gibraltar, finds herself forestalled by France; and her emigrants who settle in these regions become absorbed from generation to generation. Of all the North African prizes, Italy has obtained only Tripoli's doubtful blessing.

Here is a permanent basis for rivalry, not for war. A war between Italy and France is almost as completely out of the question as a conflict between Britain and the United States, but on the other hand partnership, alliance—both are well-nigh impossible. Moreover, in the Adriatic, France has supported Jugo-Slavia, not because of the Italian aspect, but as a detail in the larger problem for France of erecting an alliance against Germany.

But French support of the Jugo-Slavs, or at the least, French failure to support Italian claims at Paris, has left a bitter resentment in the Italian mind. Moreover, the French desire to see a Danubian Confederation rise on the ruins of the old Hapsburg Empire and include the states which were once a part of the old Austrian Empire has roused Italian apprehension, for Italy desires no strong state on her eastern frontiers. She has achieved the disintegration of the Empire, which for her had the same menace Germany carries for France, and any effort to revive this state carries with it the certainty of Italian opposition.

In the Egean, too, France has, in the past, with Britain, supported Greece, and Greece is the Italian rival in Albania, in the islands of the Asiatic Coast, in Asia Minor from Smyrna to Adalia. Even in the Red Sea, France, at Jibuti, holds the only good seaport which might serve the Italian colony, representing so much of sacrifice and of disappointment for the Italians. Thus on the north shore of Africa, in the Adriatic and the Egean, and in the Red Sea as well, Italian and French interests clash.

It follows that Italy as a matter of policy and as the result of ungenerous and even indefensible French action at the Paris Conference, finds herself able and glad to repay her debt by supporting British policy against Poland, even when that policy leads immediately to advantaging Germany. With Germany, Italy had no quarrel. Austria was a hereditary enemy, which held Italian lands. Since Germany supported Austria, Italy, very reluctantly and long after her declaration of war upon Austria, joined Germany in the list of her enemies. But economically and politically German and Italian interests run parallel, not toward collision. Germany is, for Italy, the normal and natural ally, exercising a restraint upon French aspirations on the Continent and supporting Italian ambitions against French in the Middle Sea.

The economic aspect is even more im-

portant. Before the war Genoa was the base of a great German mercantile marine. German bankers and industrial representatives played an enormous part in the development of Italy. Now, as always, German coal is a matter of absolute necessity for Italy. To turn the Upper Silesian coal mines over to Poland; and thus, in reality, to place them under French control—this would be to make Italy in a sense an economic dependent upon her political rival, France.

In the same way the creation of a strong Poland, as it swells the strength of the armies which will march under French direction, adds enormously to French influence upon the Continent. And Italy frankly and freely holds against French supremacy on the Continent, sharing all the British objections and having certain of her own in addition. One must recognize that the Italians are jealous of the French, that they have been rather badly treated by the French in recent years and that, while they feel that they have been treated as inferiors, the Italians now point to an equal population and count upon the approach of a time when Italy will be more powerful than France in the councils of Europe.

At the Paris Conference Italy offered France unqualified support on the Rhine, provided France would extend the same aid to Italy in the Adriatic. Here was the opportunity for a liquidation of all old differences and the cementing of a new alliance. But Clemenceau rejected the offer, because it carried with it the inevitable break with the Anglo-Saxon nations. France elected to follow President Wilson, and Italy, as a consequence, saw her dearest aspirations expire, and finally withdrew from the Conference in angry hopelessness.

As a result, the break between Paris and Rome was complete. Italy felt and feels that her sacrifices in the war, great as they were, brought her no commensurate return. To-day she must pay to her allies, France, Britain and the United States, sums amounting to more than half of the capital sum which the Germans have undertaken to pay, that is, more than half of the \$12,500,000,000. As a result of the war Italy has acquired a strategic frontier and a lot of wonderful scenery. But she has won nothing to compare with Alsace-Lorraine industrially, or with any of the colonial acquisitions of Britain or of France. Even Greece has been more fortunate than Italy.

Economically Germany is necessary for Italy. Politically Germany supplies the balance in Europe which Italy seeks against French supremacy. This sufficiently explains the Italian attitude toward the Upper Silesian question. Henceforth, as in the past, one must reckon Italy and France as rivals and expect to find them on opposite sides of most disputed questions. As I have said, this does not make for war, even remotely. But it is an element in the complicated game of European politics, of international affairs, which must be understood.

To-day Italy supports Britain against France in Upper Silesia. At the same time she assists Germany. To-morrow a return of Italy to the German alliance is not only conceivable but very likely, because this is the natural position for a nation which is a rival of France.

VII. THE AMERICAN INTEREST

I have dwelt upon the circumstances in the present European situation in some detail because they have a new American appeal, since we have just resumed our place in the Supreme Council. We have become a member of that international association which at the moment controls the world and closely resembles in purpose and in character that Holy Alliance of a century ago. What happens henceforth in Europe has real concern for us, since we are directly parties to the consideration and regulation of world affairs.

Our interest, to be sure, is not political. We are concerned purely and simply with the economic aspects of world conditions. We suffer at home from the reduction in the capacity of the world to buy our goods and our raw materials, and we suffer increasingly because the war enormously expanded our productivity, while, once peace had been restored, it similarly operated to restrict the capacity of the world to buy our increased output.

Moreover, a prolongation of a state of unrest and disorder, new wars, new occupations of territories, anything that interrupts business and further curtails production, has an immediate repercussion in our factories and our fields. Our interest, then, is to aid as far as possible in getting the watch of the world to ticking again. Our policy must lead us to oppose every other policy which tends to disturb business, extend disorder, paralyze reconstruction.

It follows quite logically, then, that in the main our policy will fall in with the British, since the chief concern of the British is to get business started. For them it is a matter of life and death; for us it is more exactly a question between prosperity and hard times. We can live without the world markets, although not as we have lived, but England must restore the old conditions or send millions of her population out into the world.

In a world industrially and economically restored we shall be the chief rivals of the British, just as the French find the Italians their most conspicuous rivals in the European political field. Our interests will not in the longer future invariably run parallel with the British, but even when they clash it is inconceivable that as a consequence we should be involved in open conflict or even in the association with any anti-British alliance.

Our gravest danger, now that we have returned to Europe, must be found in our unfamiliarity with European facts. For a long time all European nations will seek earnestly to enlist our support for their aspirations and their rights. Ours will be the decisive vote for many years to come. The three other great powers immediately concerned (for the Japanese interest, outside of Asiatic fields, is relatively insignificant) are not only our debtors for many millions, but feel the need of our moral and material support in the period of reconstruction.

No one will pretend that we could have stayed away. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Hoover, who have shaped our course and brought us back to Europe, have done no more than recognize the fact which the war established, namely, that we were in the world and that every European disorder had its immediate and injurious effect upon our cotton producer, our wheat farmer, our copper miners and even our factories. Isolation is a theory; entanglement is a fact, a condition which will not disappear, but rather will intensify, as time goes on.

Our return to Europe, moreover, coincides with the arrival, or at least the approach, of a period when the immediate consequences of the war are beginning to disappear. The German surrender in May, the first payments on the reparations account in June, seem to me fairly clear signs of the disappearance of the old acute menace of a new invasion of Germany, a new and general chaos in the middle of Europe. Rather,

it appears to-day, the worst is now over, and, perhaps in zigzags, but not less steadily, the international situation is likely to improve.

With the current month we come to the seventh anniversary of that fatal July crisis of 1914 which ended in the worldwide catastrophe which was the World War. And despite all the clouds still upon the horizon, one can say that the prospect for peace is, on the whole, better than at any moment since the Austrian ultimatum was sent to Belgrade. In the larger sense the transformations of the war have been accomplished. A new map of Europe has been substantially completed. We shall have a host of changes in the future, but piecemeal, as they followed the settlement of the Congress of Vienna, more than a century ago.

The great period of readjustment to the conditions established by the war is at last

in full swing and our return to Europe is, perhaps, one of the most striking evidences of this fact. The peaceful solution of the recent German crisis, in its turn, marks what may prove a turning-point in contemporary history. And even in this we played a part, if a relatively humble part. Henceforth our rôle is certain to become more and more influential.

And with the month which has just passed and by the action of the Harding Administration in resuming American participation in world councils, it seems to me, a new period in the history of the United States definitely begins. In reality it began when we entered the war. It began when the war came to the United States and found us in our traditional isolation. But full significance of the truth, itself inescapable, has only now been clearly established.

KORFANTY AND SILESIA

BY EDWARD T. HEYN

[The following article is appended to Mr. Simonds' careful review of the Silesian situation because of the light that it throws on the picturesque personality of the insurgent Polish leader. No brief is held for Korfanty or the cause he represents.—THE EDITOR]

IN my present aim to tell something of Adalbert Korfanty, the leader of the insurgent Silesians, I desire not merely to consider his twenty years' activity as the spokesman of Polish nationality, but more to call attention to the circumstance that all his life he has been the warm exponent of the rights and aspirations of the working people. His agitation at one period of his life for the miners of Silesia, with whom he had worked, in order to study their conditions of life, incurred the disfavor not only of the Prussian Government but of the mine-owners of Silesia as well. As a result, Korfanty spent several months in jail.

And it should also be said that as a friend of the plain people Korfanty did not hesitate to oppose the Polish nobility and the land-owners of his own party represented in the Reichstag, Prussian House of Lords and Prussian Landtag, or in provincial legislative or municipal bodies. In consequence, he was bitterly hated by the conservative members of his own party, although he had to be tolerated by them in the interest of the Polish national aspirations and of the Polish language. Needless to say the conservative

German opinion of the Province of Silesia also regarded Korfanty as an interloper and radical agitator.

Korfanty was born in 1873, at Sadzwaska, near the important mining town of Kattowitz in Upper Silesia. As a gymnasium student in Kattowitz he became well acquainted with the German tongue—a knowledge which later in life enabled him to effectively reply to his adversaries in their own language in the Reichstag.

While at the Kattowitz Gymnasium Korfanty first became interested in the Polish national movement. It will be recalled how Bismarck had greatly stirred up the Polish populations of the Provinces of Posen and Silesia through his restrictive anti-language laws. Bismarck's successors in office, including Chancellors von Buelow and von Bethmann-Hollweg, continued their opposition to Polish aspirations in Germany. Prussia sought to crush all Polish societies, to prohibit the teaching of religion in the Polish language, and to compel all Polish-speaking children to learn German. Above all, the Prussian Government aimed to dissolve the "Schuelerbund," a secret organization con-

sisting of pupils attending gymnasiums. Korfanty, while at the Kattowitz Gymnasium, belonged to such a Polish society, and, when his connection became known to the authorities, he was promptly expelled from the school. However, undiscouraged by this action, Korfanty, aided by a Polish prince who was a man of means, continued his academic education at a gymnasium in Berlin. Then he went to the University of Breslau in Silesia, where he studied history and political economy.

After his graduation from the university, Korfanty decided to become a journalist. He served in Berlin as correspondent of leading Polish newspapers and at the same time was very active in behalf of the Polish cause. It was due, in large measure, to his energetic agitation that Upper Silesia from year to year became more and more Polish. Polish lawyers, engineers, and workers settled in the Province, and Polish newspapers and political societies were established there. Even many of the Polish Catholic clergy, which previously had not given much attention to Polish aspirations, first secretly, then later openly, supported Polish aims. It was then that the Prussian Government endeavored to enforce the law compelling Polish children to learn German, although the children of Germans in the Province were not forced to study the Polish language. As a result a peculiar condition followed, that, while the Polish rising generation could speak German, the Germans did not know Polish. German factories were compelled to employ Polish workmen, but later, when many of these employees became prosperous and established themselves as small business proprietors or artisans, the Germans who formerly formed the middle class were crowded out of the commercial field. Korfanty's influence grew powerful, not only among the small Polish business men, but also among the workers and especially the miners. Korfanty had become the owner of several newspapers published in the Polish language and of a printing establishment. He greatly favored the

mine-workers and was especially interested in their welfare, having at one time in his life, as has already been stated, worked in a mine himself.

Korfanty soon realized his aspirations to be a political leader and he was repeatedly elected as a deputy to the Reichstag and to the Prussian Landtag. It should be said in connection with Korfanty's political activities that previous to the establishment of a separate Polish party in Germany, the Polish inhabitants of Upper Silesia had belonged to the Catholic Centrum Party, which party even to-day is still important in German political affairs. At first Korfanty's influence in the "Polish Faction" was not very great. He was considered a young beginner by the noble-born leaders who dominated the Polish party. However, when the anti-Polish laws were severely enforced by the German and Prussian Governments, radicalism rapidly spread among the Poles. Polish noblemen belonging to the Polish party, such as the Radziwills, Hutten-Czapski, and others, rapidly lost their influence. These Polish magnates in reality, while pretending to be the spokesmen of Polish nationality, frequently expressed their loyalty to the Kaiser and to Prussia. Finally, Prince Ferdinand von Radziwill, a friend of the Hohenzollern, who for



ADALBERT KORFANTY

a decade had been the leader of the Polish party, at the age of eighty resigned his position, Korfanty had won out completely as a strong political leader.

But even up to the time of the World War Korfanty had many enemies among the Polish-speaking inhabitants of Upper Silesia, especially among the mine-owners because he was the spokesman of the miners, of the small business men and of the hand-workers. Korfanty, above all, is an idealist and a man of temperament.

Shortly before and during the war, Korfanty continued his Polish agitation. Discussing his plan of action with a German journalist, he openly said: "We are completely prepared. Our Polish societies and Polish trade unions, organized in every city

and village of Posen and of Silesia, are ready to take military action. Every individual member of the organization, indeed, when prompt action is needed knows exactly what to do."

And next followed Germany's complete defeat. Korfanty visited Warsaw, the Capital of Poland, and was there received as a liberator. He entered the Pilsudski cabinet, but was not in such a position very long. He returned to Posen and stirred up the people of this province. Next he was made Plebiscite Commissioner. While in this position, Korfanty in May, 1920, charged that a German society, "Kampf Organization Ober-Schlesien," was responsible for an attack made on Polish inhabitants of Upper Silesia. Korfanty also claimed that he had come in possession of a secret report of a meeting held by the German military organization in which German Government officials had participated.

The Insurrection

While the subject of Upper Silesia was still under active discussion a bomb was thrown into the already much-disturbed international relations by the news of a Polish insurrection led by Korfanty. Korfanty before and during the plebiscite did much active work for the Polish cause. Indeed for more than a year, from his headquarters in Beuthen, Upper Silesia, he energetically directed his campaign in behalf of the Polish nation. A correspondent of the New York *Times* who interviewed Korfanty at that time wrote of him:

He is certainly the most striking personality in this and perhaps any other part of the world. For more than a year he has conducted from his headquarters at Beuthen a campaign of propaganda that has been the real driving force of the whole Polish nationalistic movement in Silesia and the despair of his enemies. Three attempts to assassinate him have been made.

I found him in the farthest corner of a huge building which is like a fortress, with iron gates at every stairway and wire netting outside all the windows. His only companion in the room where I interviewed him was a huge wolfhound which bared its fangs as I entered and was only quieted when Korfanty touched him with a leather whip which he keeps on his desk for the purpose.

Master of half a dozen languages he spoke excellent English. Boasting of a secret service organization which is widespread over Europe, he told me how he had been able to foil the Germans and trace arms from the moment they left Prussia to when they arrived in Silesia in boxes labeled soap or marmalade.

When I questioned him about the alleged Polish terror he denied the existence of anything of an organized character. "Of course," he said, "not every Pole is an angel nor is every German a saint."

Korfanty admitted the possibility of serious trouble after the plebiscite results are declared, but said he had issued a proclamation appealing to his people to maintain order. The chief danger embodied the possibility that sections of Polish workers persecuted for years may seek revenge, if a majority favors their country, by forcibly ejecting German officials.

Provision against danger from either side has been made by the commission, but the next two days are looked forward to with considerable anxiety by all in official quarters.

In an interview in Beuthen with a correspondent of the Associated Press in January, Korfanty said: "Upper Silesia has never really been part of Germany and the Germans developed it for 500 years only as a colony. This campaign is against the Middle Age system by which the industrial barons have been able to hold a majority of the working people in literal slavery. This working population is overwhelmingly Polish; its social and national interests are Polish, and its sympathies are there."

The Germans charged at that time that Korfanty had an army of 30,000 men in Silesia, that he held over ten million marks in contributions and was supported financially by the French Government. The present insurrection led by Korfanty lends color to some of these charges. Colonel Cockrell, the British Commissioner in Beuthen, said in May: "The insurrection is on a large scale and is well organized. It is not merely a peasant uprising. Many of the insurgents are evidently soldiers in civilian dress. They are well supplied with machine guns."

The insurrection spread from Kosel to Tanowitz. Korfanty claimed that he was moved to take action and establish his own government because the Germans were preparing a *coup*. Italian troops were next surrounded at Kybrik, but made a superior fight against the insurgents, although confronted by superior numbers. Drastic steps were taken by the leaders of the Polish insurgents to prevent plundering. The food situation at the beginning of June near Kattowitz became very serious, there being a lack of fresh meat and milk. The number of Poles, however, noticeably increased and they were armed with machine guns.

A SOUTH AMERICAN ALLIANCE?

BY WILLIAM E. DUNN

(Dean of the National School of Commerce at Lima, Peru)

THE apparent failure of the League of Nations in its present form to meet the expectations of its framers has created a feeling of uncertainty in the South American republics, practically all of which were at first favorably disposed toward the Wilsonian ideal. The overwhelming defeat of the Democratic party and its renowned leader at the polls last November came as a shock to South America, but was instantly perceived to have rendered exceedingly doubtful the success of the world league to which the southern countries had committed themselves. In consequence, there has been and continues to be much casting about by them for new international readjustments and possible regional understandings.

The best known of the intercontinental alignments of South America has been the familiar "A. B. C. alliance," so-called, of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. This alphabetical union, which was probably nothing more at any time than a vague gentlemen's agreement to maintain peace and friendship among its members, entered into a state of actual dissolution as a result of the conflicting attitudes assumed by the three countries in question during the Great War. Brazil's active participation in the struggle raised that nation to a position of recognized predominance over its neutral neighbors, and brought it unreservedly into harmony with the policies of the United States and the European entente.

This situation doubtless had much to do with the isolated action of Argentina at the recent meeting of the League Assembly at Geneva, when the River Plate republic proclaimed its independence of the League and made a bid for the leadership of the Hispanic nations. The failure of Latin America to respond to this maneuver has left the field still open, and has aroused the hopes of other republics which aspire to the hegemony of their respective spheres of influence.

During recent weeks there has been considerable evidence of a move to revive the old "A. B. C." alignment. The South American press has devoted much comment

to a proposed visit of President Alessandri of Chile to Argentina and Brazil, supposedly for the purpose of renewing the former understanding. No definite date was set for the contemplated tour, although inspired statements were frequently published in regard to it in the Chilean newspapers. The new president of Chile is said to cherish the ambition of settling once for all the international problems of South America, including the old spectre of the Tacna-Arica controversy between Chile and Peru, which is recognized to be the chief source of secret diplomacy and constant unrest in the southern continent. It has been intimated that any attempt to restore the entente between Chile, Brazil, and Argentina would be due to Alessandri's conviction that only by the frank coöperation of the three most powerful countries could peace and justice be maintained among the entire group of southern republics.

A serious setback to Alessandri's foreign program has apparently been administered by Argentina, if one may judge from the comments made by the press of that country in regard to the proposed visit of Chile's president. *La Epoca*, the recognized organ of the Irigoyen administration, published the following editorial in that connection:

The "A. B. C." alliance is a precarious conception rendered obsolete by world events, and must be reinterpreted to meet changed conditions in the relations of the American nations. It is a charnel house of dead ideas. . . .

Argentina cannot accept, without injury to prestige, the unjustifiable attitude represented by such an alliance, which would signify the union of three strong powers for the purpose of imposing their will on the other nations of America.

Whether or not this undoubtedly inspired editorial will cause the Chilean president to abandon permanently his efforts to renew the understanding in the south cannot of course yet be discerned, but the unmistakable rebuff from Argentina makes the general situation still more uncertain, and lends additional interest to a counter movement which is being

vigorously agitated in the northern group of South American states. This new movement, which has as its object the formation of an entente in the north, is led by Colombia, and is directed to the immediate neighbors of that republic.

In a significant speech delivered last December, President Marco Fidel Suárez of Colombia appealed for a closer union between the five countries formerly comprising the Republic of Greater Colombia, viz.: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. While no formal alliance was suggested, the Colombian president declared that the consistent policy of his country would be to work for a more harmonious relationship with the countries which were united by the historical memory of their great patriot and liberator, Simón Bolívar.

This appeal, made at a time when the relations between Venezuela and Colombia are more cordial than has been the case for half a century, has been warmly received in Peru and in Bolivia. Ecuador's attitude is more problematical. There has been much friction between that country and Peru on account of boundary disputes, and because of the apparent cordiality manifested by Ecuador toward Chile, the inveterate foe of the Peruvians. Whether the active propaganda in favor of this northern movement has in any way been responsible for the negative attitude of Argentina toward the renewal of the "A. B. C." can only be surmised, but it would not be surprising in view of Argentina's aspirations to leadership among the Hispanic-American nations.

The key to any intercontinental policy in South America must still be sought in the perennial Tacna-Arica question involving the provinces of Peru and Bolivia which were taken over by Chile as a result of the War of the Pacific in 1879. The plebiscite which was authorized by the treaty of Ancon in 1884 has never been held, and Chile has remained in possession of the nitrate region in spite of the protests of Peru. The formation of a league of nations based upon the principles of international justice and equity was welcomed by the Peruvian people, who are fully convinced that an impartial arbitration of the dispute will result in the triumph of their cause.

The landlocked republic of Bolivia also looked to the League for a possible readjustment of territory which would afford its inhabitants an outlet to the Pacific Ocean, and drew up a petition to the League Council to

that effect. The refusal of the Council to take up the matter at that time showed that the League was not yet ready to infringe on the Monroe Doctrine as long as the United States was not represented in the body. The Peruvian delegates had also drawn up a memorial presenting their side of the Tacna-Arica dispute, but the results of the November elections in the United States led to its withdrawal.

Peru's traditional friendship with the United States has made it unwilling to take any action that would seem to ignore the new Republican administration. The present government of Peru has enlisted the aid of American experts in connection with a number of domestic problems and reforms. An American sanitary commission is now engaged in stamping out yellow fever and other contagious diseases in certain provinces of the republic. American naval instructors are training Peruvian cadets and reorganizing the naval service as a whole. An American educational mission has been entrusted with the administration of a new system of public instruction along American lines. A large New York corporation has a contract for the execution of extensive public works throughout the republic. American ideas and influences are in evidence in Peru to-day on an unprecedented scale.

These factors must be taken into consideration in discussing any possible regrouping of South American states. Efforts to revive the "A. B. C." alliance are inevitably believed to be inspired by the desire of Chile to win support for its position in reference to the "captive provinces." The ratification of the Colombian treaty by the United States Senate will facilitate the rapprochement of northern states for obvious reasons. The Colombian proposal therefore affords a tangible foil against the regional alliance led by Chile in the South.

If Argentina's disinterested attitude is sincere, as there is every reason to believe that it is, some step looking to the adjustment of the Tacna-Arica question may be pending. Until the problem of the nitrate fields is settled on the basis of mutual justice to all parties concerned, no movement for inter-American solidarity can achieve any real measure of success. If Argentina can prevent the erection of new barriers between the South American nations and can lead to the removal of existing ones, no surer pathway to the undisputed moral leadership among its sister republics could be discovered.

EUROPE'S DEBT TO AMERICA

What Could Be Done to Insure Its Payment and Make It a Positive Benefit to Both Europe and This Country?

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

EUROPE owes the United States in government and private debts probably from \$16,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000. In the present period of depression and uncertainty, it is not unnatural that many people should regard government obligations as more or less doubtful assets. Debts which represent the supreme exertion of peoples are in every generation greater than ever before; and each generation has its pessimists who are sure they cannot be paid. Yet Europe is probably better able to pay its present debts than it was to meet those of the Napoleonic era. There can be no question at present of remitting these obligations; and as to the great bulk of them, there is no reason for misgiving about their security.

But the process of funding them, of distributing them among the people, of putting them on a business basis; the determination of interest rates, terms of extensions, etc., represent a wide field for consideration with a view to the interests of all concerned. In all these details, it is possible for the United States to consider the wishes and convenience of the creditor countries, without sacrificing any part of its own claims. And in making such accommodations, it would be perfectly proper to ask, by way of reciprocity, consideration for the broad interests of this country in Europe. Our great investment in Europe, and Europe's keen wish to have that investment increased by the extension of private credits in large volume, give us a measure of influence in European councils that we have never possessed before, and that with perfect propriety could be employed to induce Europe to consider modifications of its economic system, advantageous to it and to us.

If, by the exertion of such influence, we could confer lasting benefits on Europe, and also make for the earlier and more certain payment of Europe's obligations to us, it would certainly be desirable on both sides. I am convinced that this is possible, and that a rather simple program, if definitely adopted and consistently maintained, would bring it

to pass. I believe a convincing statement of the policy which Europe needs to-day can be obtained from a casual inquiry into the policy which the United States has followed in internal commerce since the adoption of the Constitution. I mean the policy of absolute free trade, unrestricted exchanges, and unimpeded commerce, among all parts of a great continental area.

Free Trade Among Forty-eight States

Americans are so accustomed to traveling and trading, in all parts of their huge domain, without interference or hindrance, that they do not realize what it means. If we could think of the Hudson as a Rhine, of the Missouri as a Vistula, of the Mississippi as an internationalized Danube, we would begin to think in European terms. If we would vision the Gulf of Mexico as a *mare clausum* dominated by an alien power in control of the Straits of Florida, and of the Great Lakes as a Baltic Sea, with Chicago frowning out on everything between it and the Atlantic—then we would have begun to picture America in European hues. Finally, if we could imagine our forty-eight States struggling in everlasting competition, with tariff walls around them all and industrial jealousies everywhere—then we would gain a pretty fair idea of the advantages which we possess as compared with Europe.

Imagine a proposal to erect a tariff barrier at the Mississippi that would prevent Iowa hogs going to Chicago! Or another tariff wall at the Hudson that would keep Chicago meat out of New England! Think of the wail from both Alabama and New Hampshire, if there were suggestion of interference with the movement of cotton from the South's fields to New England's mills!

It requires a stretch of imagination to conceive such intrusions upon commercial freedom in this continent. Yet the foregoing are only colorless suggestions of the picture that disjointed, competing, embittered Europe presents. Imagine everything east of

the Hudson consumed with fear of everything west of that stream; conceive the Missouri as a dividing line between bitterly hostile communities; picture the central Mississippi valley turned into a "corridor to the Gulf" for the perfectly frank purpose of keeping these rivals from either quarreling or consolidating—and you have a little stronger suggestion of what European conditions would mean if applied to America.

Obviously, America's industrial greatness would never have come under such conditions. Almost as obviously, Europe's industrial strength cannot come back unless these conditions are changed. If ever there was possibility of America making its counsel heard in favor of easier trade, frank recognition of interdependence, and non-interference with natural movements of commerce, it is now. Europe lies prostrate and enervated. It sees America as the source of succor and help. It will listen if America will insist. America's experience with nation-wide, almost continent-wide, freedom of internal trade points the way Europe must travel.

No seeming of intrusion need be involved. Europe beseeches American interest and assistance. Our commercial and financial involvements make aloofness impossible. Our counsels, if wisely and considerately put forth, would have more than respectful attention. There would be sincere wish to comply whenever possible, and the greater willingness when it was apparent that compliance meant more advantage on the other side than here. Our position would be that of the relatively disinterested and sincerely welcomed mediator.

Such a program need involve no remaking of the treaty of Versailles, no recast of Europe's map, or any impossible counsel of perfection. It would mean merely to pursue, in the most correct fashion of diplomacy, the path of a definite, continuous, and conscious policy. To suggest the elements of such a policy is the purpose of the present article.

What Would Hamilton Say to Europe?

If Alexander Hamilton could come back, survey this world, and prescribe for it, he would get respectful hearing. He would, I think, say to Europe:

"Look at America; it represents the working of continental free trade for 130 years. There, this policy has dried up the founts of ancient jealousies, enabled the amalgamation of many races into one people, and made

friendly coöperation supersede deadly competition."

Let us imagine Hamilton coming back for such a survey of the present-day world.

He would find it smaller, in time and distances, than the fringe of colonies along the Atlantic seaboard which he welded into a nation. He would learn about South America, which was little more than a hypothesis in his time; about Africa, which he knew as a huge blank on the maps; about the East, the Pacific, the Postal Union, railroads, radio, electricity, flying, Waterloo, radium, prohibition, Foch, excess profits, government debts on a modern scale, Bolshevism, rag time, "the conquest of the tropics" with quotation marks still hanging on at both ends, but with a hopeful view of the future. He would study the similarities and differences between the Federal Reserve system and his own Bank, and would enjoy a glow of satisfaction that his protection theories had been vindicated in Pittsburgh and Cleveland and Fall River, and pig iron and typewriters and national wealth.

He would read the League of Nations debates, and learn that the precepts of "Washington's Farewell Address" had been more quoted in opposition than any other dicta of statesmanship. Then, I suspect, he would decide on a trip to Europe. When he got back, I should be at the dock to interview him, and the first question would be:

"Did you note any analogies, Mr. Hamilton, between Europe as it is to-day, and your thirteen colonies as you knew them between 1781 and 1789?"

I have a feeling that Mr. Hamilton would have developed a more definite notion about European conditions than has been possible for people closer to events of the last few years. I suspect he would tell me that he had found Europe in a state quite similar to that of the American colonies between the Revolution and the Constitution. He would, of course, explain this was but a general view, to which numerous exceptions must be noted, and would admit that the European position afforded no possibility of such a political consolidation as was accomplished under the Constitution. But he would pass from that to economic conditions, and show many similarities. Finally, I believe he would draw lessons from the experience of the colonies when they merged themselves into a nation, that would point the way to much of helpful accomplishment for Europe to-day.

Hamilton did not take a great part in the

convention that framed the Constitution, because he wanted a different sort of instrument from that which his colleagues favored. He would have submerged the sovereignties of the States, or at least have subordinated them utterly. He had small faith in federal government. Being overruled, he faced about and became the most effective advocate of the Constitution's ratification, securing by an almost single-handed fight the favorable vote of the New York legislature, without which it is doubtful if the Constitution would have been adopted. The event has proved that his misgivings at Philadelphia were unjustified, while completely vindicating his ardent advocacy at Albany.

America's Homogeneity

Among the provisions of the Constitution that helped reconcile Hamilton to it was the following:

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

That rule was imposed on a group of colonies numbering hardly more than 3,000,000 inhabitants. As these have grown rich and more numerous, the rule has meant complete freedom of trade within a vast continental area. Nowhere has such a rule been applied to a community so great in area, resources, and population. It has enforced that economic unification which is the basis of political unity and strength. No merely political device could have drawn the great areas, differing populations, diversified interests and resources, of this continent, into that singleness of spirit, acquaintance, and aspiration that has been accomplished. It has led to the establishment of common customs, business methods, modes of life. It has fused together in the "American type," that we are assured is beginning to manifest itself, all the racial elements that have been gathered here. It has made for oneness in language and literature and interest. It has cost us something in variety and picturesqueness, no doubt. We are almost painfully alike. We read the same news, the same periodicals and books.

We are so accustomed to this business-suit monotony that we don't think of what it implies. We're a drab and colorless lot, no

doubt; but there are compensations. We don't know what passports are, or customs inspection every hundred miles. We do business with a hundred million people and never think of tariffs or variations in exchange. The policeman on the crossing is a guidepost, not a pest. We motor through a dozen States, without having our home credentials questioned. After forty-eight hours on a Pullman train, I have seen a party of highly intelligent people in hopeless disagreement as to what States they had crossed.

European Conditions in Contrast

All this is so commonplace with us that we never think of it—until we have tried living and traveling in Europe, especially in war-time and post-war Europe. That experience will set any American thinking, and if he thinks long enough he will get back to the section just quoted from the Constitution. He will realize that to this law of unrestricted trade on a continental basis, the United States largely owes its industrial preëminence. He will see a new significance in the fact that the United States produced in 1914 more iron and steel than Germany and Britain combined, and in 1918 more than twice as much as those two combined, and more than all the world outside this country. He will find it yet more impressive, if he will consider that nowhere are iron ore and fuel transported such long distances, preliminary to making the iron, as in this country. The iron from the head of the Great Lakes comes to meet the coal at their foot, and the long journey is no bar to erecting the world's foremost iron and steel industry. But suppose that, along the route from Duluth to Cleveland and Pittsburgh, and Youngstown, there had been interposed a series of international boundaries, studded by custom houses, and every custom house frowning down the effort to develop the industry, except on its own side? What would have been the chance for the American steel industry?

Yet the case is comparable with that of Europe to-day. Iron in Lorraine and coal in Westphalia are natural industrial complements. Divorce them by decree of the tariff tinkers or map makers, and the industrial balance is hopelessly out of joint. Over to the eastward, Silesian coal presents another phase of the same problem. The controversy over it, not settled apparently by the plebiscite, illustrates the struggle between politics and productivity.

Again, Italy has neither coal nor iron, but industries that must get both. The treaty allocated a share of German coal to Italy for a certain period. It is an insecure basis for industry. Italy has had to depend largely on Britain for coal, and when uncertainties arose about this supply, turned to the United States. The iron of the Scandinavian and Spanish peninsulas, and the coal of Spitzbergen, have always served Europe less usefully than they should, because of political and tariff factors.

The American textile industries may be contrasted to this. Cotton from the South moved unrestricted to New England, where capital, milling capacity, ships, and labor were present to manufacture and merchandise it. The same was true of our wool from the West. But, again, suppose there had been as many tariff systems as there were States—what would have been the effect on our textile industry, when it started in competition with Europe's established business?

America produces 60 per cent. of the world's petroleum, though our share of the world's natural resources is said to be less than 10 per cent. Our domination grew up while we were still a borrowing nation, lacking capital for such huge developments. But American enterprise had free rein to prospect, develop, transport. The privilege of pipeline gridironing a continent, without thought of diplomatic negotiation, international intrigue, or community jealousies to interfere, is a large part of the explanation.

Industrial freedom within the boundaries of this country has certainly contributed quite as much to our development as has tariff protection against the outside world. The United States does not present the sole argument in support of such a conclusion. The German Tariff Union insured to the states federated in the German Empire the same freedom of domestic commerce. Germany, like the United States, became industrially great, under the policy of domestic free trade coupled with tariff protection against the outside world. In each case that policy brought about the substantial industrial hegemony of a continent.

The essential interdependence of the different parts of Europe has increased with the factory system and modern transportation. Tariffs and bounties, embargoes and Orders in Council, decrees and octroi, ingenious taxation methods and silly interferences with transportation—all these together could not entirely prevent neighbors who need to ex-

change their products finding the way to do it. Political rivalries and ancient jealousies may indeed make it difficult and expensive, and are certain to cause the volume of exchanges to be lessened to the disadvantage of all parties; but communities will find means of carrying on trade. Before the war, despite the tense relations between Germany and France, each was, among all countries of the continent, the best customer of the other. Hating didn't preclude trading—when there was advantage for both in the trade.

It has been said that Serbian pigs caused the Great War. They were the chief Serbian export staple, and their natural market was Austria. Hapsburg folly interposed a variety of obstacles to their importation. Serbia suffered for want of an outlet to the Adriatic through which they could be sent elsewhere. The result was typical of happenings in many like cases before and since the war. The Serbians felt that economic strangulation was being applied to them, while uninformed Austrians developed a grievance against Serbia. Austria suffered in order that agriculture in Hungary might be protected. Thus there was a three-sided grievance, which was a real contribution to beginning the war.

The Lessons of European Tariffs

The tariff history of Europe powerfully argues that both the economic well-being and the political stability of the continent are most likely to be promoted by tariff liberality. The German Zollverein, formed just about one hundred years ago, grew into an establishment of free trade among the German states except Austria, while even with Austria there were reciprocity arrangements that at last made them allies instead of enemies. A decade before the war of 1870 Germany even entered into a reciprocity covenant with France, and similar treaties were extended over much of Europe.

Undoubtedly the more liberal tariff policy of Europe during the Nineteenth Century helped establish recognition of interdependence and was responsible for greater political stability. Also, it was intimately related to that process of political integration by which the great nations of Europe were organized. Even the wars of the Nineteenth Century were largely for establishment of national unities; and these in turn involved further liberality in trade. The continent became increasingly free from dependence upon the British workshop; and yet this emancipation

meant no corresponding disadvantage to Britain. The trade of the United Kingdom grew by leaps and bounds, its shipping and investments brought greater and greater wealth.

Europe's tariff history shows most prosperity, least danger of domestic or international wars, in the eras of greatest trade freedom. The resultant increase of wealth enabled Europe to seek investments all over the world, to the advantage of all concerned. The United States was the most favored field for investments, but no continent was denied some share.

During the Napoleonic era France strictly prohibited importing manufactures, the object being primarily to deny the French market to England. Unfortunately, this policy continued nearly half a century after Waterloo, and Germany, more liberally disposed, and having the advantage of domestic free trade, advanced toward industrial leadership. The protected industries in France objected to a more liberal policy, and not until Louis Napoleon had established his domination was it possible for France to adopt it. The Franco-Prussian war came before the new system had been tested by fair trial, and it provided the French protectionists with arguments against intimate relations with Germany. So the French gradually resumed their comparative exclusiveness. About thirty years ago France revised its tariff on a highly protective basis, but with provision for reciprocity arrangements, which considerably moderated the program. French agriculture, however, insisted on the maximum rates, while industrial products were generally given minimum duties.

Almost at the same time, Germany adopted a contrary course and lowered duties, especially agricultural. The result was to increase still further the gap between French and German economic power.

As contrasted with these shifting policies, Holland and Belgium, both clinging determinedly to the policy of free trade, steadily increased in wealth and prosperity. Holland had rich and populous colonies, while Belgium was not a colonial power except as it had the doubtful advantage of exploiting the Belgian Congo. Holland was a trading, financial, and agricultural country; Belgium was industrial. Yet both, with free exchanges, prospered greatly. As to England's program, the test of the world war has provided a reasonably convincing argument that the British economic system was on a fairly

secure foundation, and in both war and peace measurably able to take care of itself.

Briefly, the tendency has been toward greater freedom in international trade, and toward the creation of large political units within each of which real free trade has prevailed. The world war wrenched apart a scheme to which industrial, financial, and trade factors had been pretty well adjusted. Old states were ripped to pieces and their parts redistributed to establish a political balance of power, with utter disregard of economic considerations. Lorraine is restored to France, where politically and sentimentally it belongs. Adjacent Westphalia, by a like rule of right and race, is German. The interdependence of their iron and coal ought to be a guarantee of good relations between them. Instead of recognizing this, politicians erect a customs barrier between Westphalia and Germany, demand heavy customs taxation on German goods entering France, and generally follow a course calculated to strengthen old hatreds rather than to foster the feeling of common interest. Those geologic forces which placed the iron of Lorraine and the coal of Westphalia in close neighborhood would seem to have been guided by a more accurate comprehension of human needs than have been the human forces.

If Austria, oppressing Serbian pigs before the war, menaced the peace of the continent, Italy, in denying Serbia a practicable port on the Adriatic, has more recently been doing the same. The policy which has severed industrial Austria from agricultural Hungary, and then forbidden Austria to associate itself with diversified Germany, is off the same piece.

The practical question is whether the revival of ancient animosities and antagonisms shall carry Europe back to the Eighteenth Century's national exclusiveness, or whether statesmanship shall guide the continent into a more enlightened era and frankly recognize the economic facts of modern society.

Europe in the past has progressed far toward this recognition. The Postal Union was a long step. The Brussels sugar conferences dealt effectively with questions of tariff, bounties, and national industry. The Berne bureau which supervises international relations of railroads is a splendid international coöperation. The international control of the Danube, and many other arrangements, could be cited. The "most favored nation" clauses recognize international com-

mercial equities. Reciprocity treaties have demonstrated that accomplishment along these lines is feasible.

There never was a time when the evidence was so complete, or the mass of people so convinced, that friendly relations are needed and antagonisms are ruinous. Despite political animosities, business is being resumed. On one recent day when France was proclaiming a purpose to occupy Germany in order to enforce reparations, it was announced that German interests were invading French film-land to syndicate the "movie" business there!

America's Attitude

What can America do to promote better relations among the states of Europe? A certain school will protest, of course, that a protectionist America would be false to its own traditions in urging continental free trade on Europe. Not at all. America has free trade among forty-eight States. It is only proposed here to influence Europe to seek a like condition. America, holding so great a bulk of European obligations, is in position greatly to influence Europe's economic and fiscal policies. The new Administration at Washington has made plain that it has no purpose of aloofness. Rather, it intends to resume helpful participation, which Europe so earnestly desires, in European rehabilitation. Europe needs our raw materials and manufactured articles; but is able to buy only on long-time credits. Manifestly, we are entitled to expect that if we extend such credits we will be helping a solvent Europe, able in some reasonable future to pay; and a Europe restored to industrial activity, productivity, and peace, will be best able to pay.

It will be altogether within the proprieties for the American government to manifest the most lively interest in all trade, financial, and economic arrangements among the states of Europe, with a view to protect American interests. It should be a part of American policy to keep Europe mindful of our real and intelligent interest in all these matters. We should have a continuing and firm purpose of leading Europe toward the amelioration of commercial difficulties, the removal of obstacles, the facilitation of exchanges.

Recently it was proposed in the French Chamber of Deputies to impose a 50 per cent. duty on all imports from Germany. It was explained that France did not really want such a duty, but that England wanted France to impose it in order to strengthen England in the French market, as against

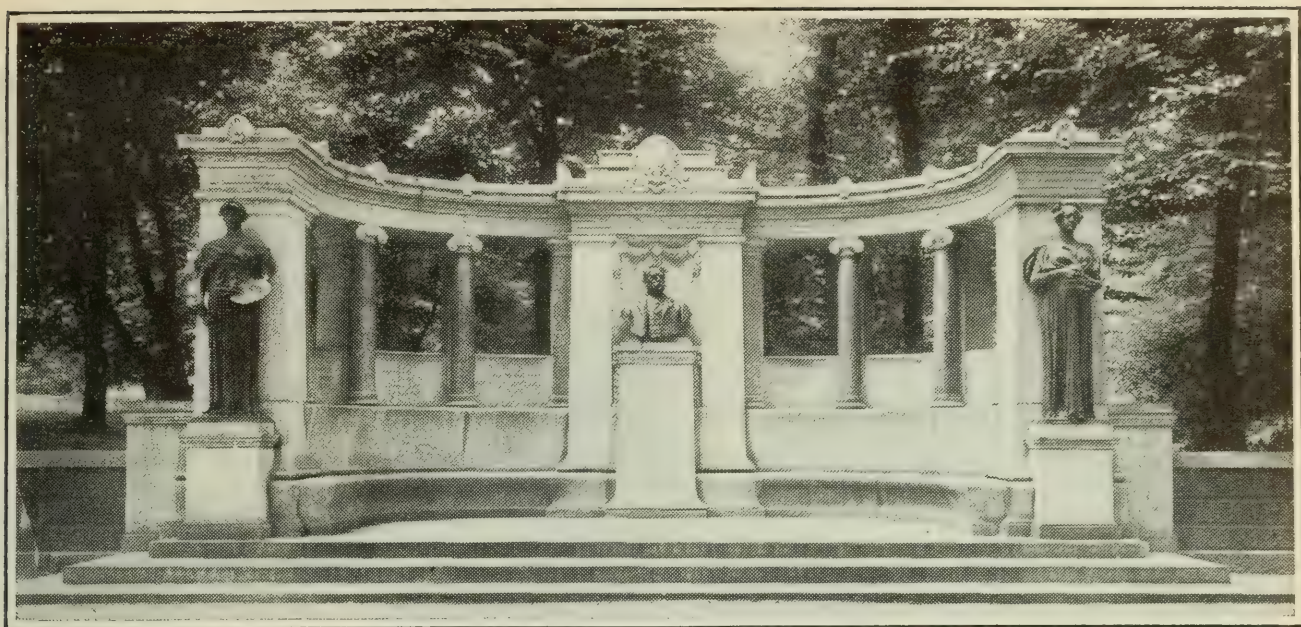
German competition! England, it appeared, felt free to ask this, because she had previously favored France by consenting to the creation, at France's wish, of a customs cordon separating the Rhineland from Germany!

In such a situation—and it is only one of many more or less similar, all over the continent—the United States could properly have insisted on a hearing. It could have said, "My interest is opposed to both these projects; I want to trade with all of you, and you all want to trade with me. Make it as easy as possible, all round, and I will help you all as much as possible. By doing so, I will incidentally be putting you back on your feet and making you better able to pay your debts to me."

All the obstacles which short-sighted rivalries among European states lead them to erect among themselves injure American trade. America has as much right to be heard, to insist on policies that will further its interests, as have others of the allied powers. It ought to be demanding the hearing. If it did—and if, being heard, it wielded its influence persistently in favor of the freest trade, the least restrictions—it would be serving Europe as well as itself. It would be pursuing a policy calculated to produce mutual confidence and concord among European peoples, to strengthen the argument against war, to break down the old animosities, extinguish the flame of old hatreds, and at last to bring Europe into a condition of real, recognized interdependence among its parts.

It seems certain that such American initiative would have powerful British support, because it would be in line with long-established British policy. Coöperation of the two most financially powerful states in the world would certainly be potent. That it would be wise will hardly be questioned by anybody who believes that modern society must prosper as a whole or else suffer as a whole. The continuance of such depressed and difficult conditions as have persisted since the armistice can hardly be esteemed less than a menace to all occidental civilization.

The most effective present use for our huge investment in Europe is, in short, as a lever to lift Europe toward a policy of commercial enlightenment based on the ideal of continental free trade. The surest way to help Europe back to solvency and capacity to pay us, is to induce Europe to adopt this policy. Both would gain, neither would lose.



A WELL-PLACED MONUMENT, THAT CAN BE SEEN ONLY FROM THE FRONT AND THAT HAS A SUITABLE BACKGROUND

(So declared the Art Commission of New York, referring to this memorial to Richard Morris Hunt on the Fifth Avenue side of Central Park in New York City)

ART COMMISSIONS

THE INCREASING USEFULNESS AND VALUE OF CITY ART JURIES
IN MATTERS OF PUBLIC ADORNMENT

BY ANDREW WRIGHT CRAWFORD

(Secretary of the Art Jury of Philadelphia)

THE art commissions of American cities are among the recently created public agencies that have been producing results. Their work has been little heralded. They have preferred to let results speak for themselves. This reserve has been an advantage to the commissions in their own jurisdictions; but their achievements have been so definite that their experience should be made available, so that every city and town may realize what may be gained by creating similar bodies. There are now about thirty municipal art commissions and three State commissions, and, in addition, there is a federal body called the Commission of Fine Arts.

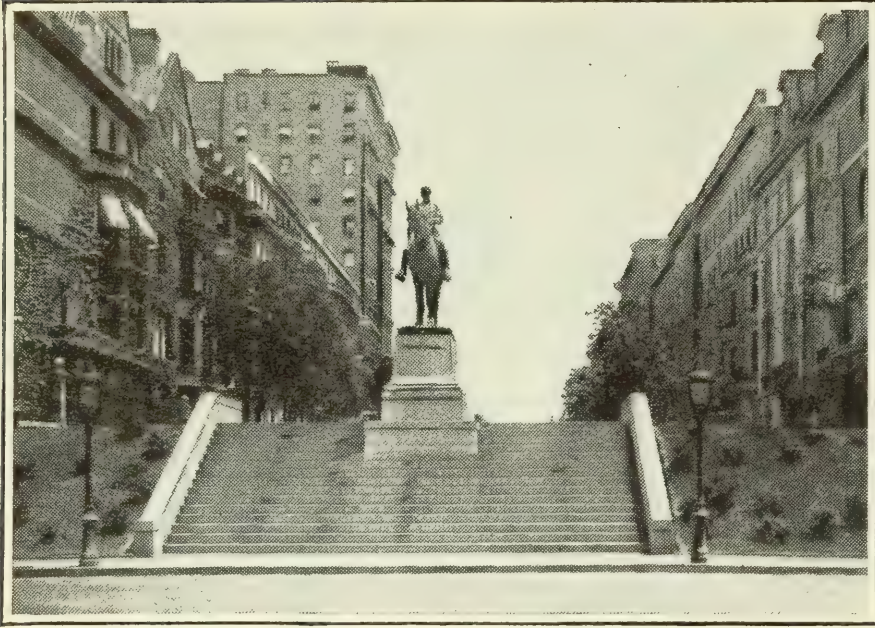
Art commissions have no retroactive power. They cannot order a thing torn down which was erected before their time. The greater part of their work has to do with the environs of cities where new construction is going forward, and the cumulative effect of their accomplishments can only be gained by rather extensive tours on the outskirts of cities. Consequently, knowledge of what they have done is generally confined to the immediate neighborhood of the location of each work.

The name "art commission" suggests that

it has to do with painting and sculpture. In the case of some commissions this is measurably true; but those which have been securing the most notable results have much more to do with public work—bridges, street furnishings such as lamp-posts, public buildings, piers, and similar structures. In Philadelphia the Art Jury—as the commission there is called—has considered in its nine years of existence 1250 submissions, and less than 5 per cent. of that number have had to do with paintings and works in sculpture.

Questions of Ornament and Expense

Art in public work does not mean ornament. One of the most successful bridges recently erected in Philadelphia is entirely devoid of ornament and consists only of concrete arches, in which the concrete parapets are moulded as concrete demands. When the Art Jury considered the design submitted, the only change it made was to strike off some ornaments. The architect promptly said that he had not provided for those ornaments until he had been told that the Art Jury must pass upon it. But art means beauty of line, not ornamentation.



A STATUE WELL PLACED, BECAUSE IT FITS INTO ITS SURROUNDINGS AND FORMS A PART OF THEM

(The Franz Sigel monument, facing Riverside Drive in New York City. Contrast this with the Lincoln statue in the same city, also reproduced herewith)

Many persons think that art in civic improvement involves additional costs. It does not. It requires more care in design and more time. It does not require more, but rather less, money for actual construction. The approval or disapproval of art commissions is not based upon cost. As long ago as 1912 the Art Jury of Philadelphia declared: "It should not be necessary to say that the disapproval of the Art Jury was in no case based upon the cost of the proposed structure. A monument that was to have cost \$50,000 was disapproved, as well as a small fountain that was to have cost \$900, while the design of another fountain to cost \$400 was approved."

The fact that art does not mean expense was brought out rather strikingly in the first report of the Art Jury of Philadelphia. On the first ten submissions to the jury, Charles C. Harrison, former provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and at that time president of the Art Jury, reported that the saving was estimated to be more than \$41,000. In the second report of the jury it was noted that the total cost of forty-five submissions made or considered during the year was \$9,132,819, while the cost of maintaining the Art Jury during the year was only \$3,934. The annual budget of the jury even now is but \$4,700.

The studies of the New York Art Commission—which has a budget slightly in excess of the Philadelphia body, but still very low—frequently covers a total of work that will cost the city forty or fifty million dollars. For

this drop in the ocean of public expenditures, cities that have art commissions secure expert public advice of the greatest authority. The members serve without pay.

Frequently broad consideration of fitness, quite as much as design, have determined the action of the Art Jury of Philadelphia. It was proposed to erect a fire station to be constructed of marble. The Jury disapproved of the use of marble for a fire station, as a matter of principle, quite apart from the design; and the Department of Public Safety adopted the suggestion that brick be used instead. The recommenda-

tions of the Jury caused a saving of \$1,070 in expense. Generally the Jury's action has resulted in decreased cost; but it has not sought either decrease or increase of cost as a main object. That the cost has been reduced in many cases shows good taste and economy to be often synonymous. The Jury has not hesitated, when necessary, to recommend changes which have increased the cost.



A BADLY PLACED MONUMENT

(This is the most important Lincoln memorial in New York City, erected in 1868. It faces Union Square, at the intersection of Broadway and Fourteenth Street, in the midst of congested traffic. Its background, also, lessens the effectiveness of the statue)



THE OLD AND THE NEW TYPE OF RAILROAD BRIDGE

(Philadelphia's principal garden spot, Fairmount Park, extends several miles along both banks of the Schuylkill River. When it became necessary, or desirable, to replace Columbia Bridge with a modern structure, the Art Jury of Philadelphia waged a year's fight to secure the bridge shown in the lower picture)

An Art Commission's Personnel

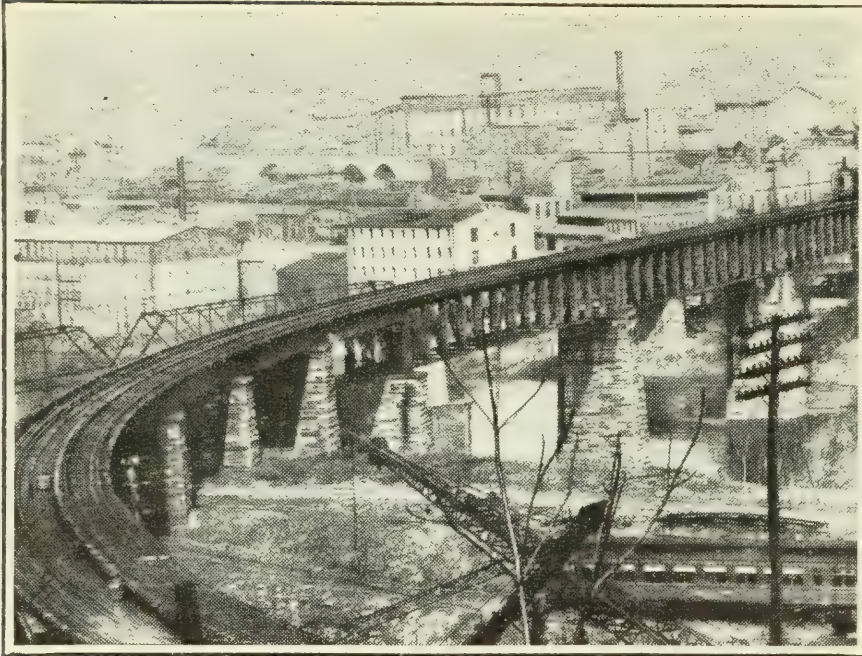
All existing art commissions are similar in composition. They generally contain, according to the laws creating them, one architect, one sculptor, and one painter, and then a body of laymen whose qualifications are assured in one way or another. In New York City the Art Commission is composed of the mayor, the presidents of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Public Library, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; of one painter, one sculptor, and one architect; and three others, none of whom may be a painter, sculptor, or architect. The six last mentioned must be appointed from a list, of not less than three times the number to be named, proposed by the Fine Arts Federation of New York. In Philadelphia the present charter provides that in addition to the professional members, the lay members shall consist of one business man and three individuals, each of whom must be a member of the governing body or teaching force of an institution conducting a school of art or architecture; none of the four last named to be engaged in the practice of painting, sculpture, or architecture.

The Commission of Fine Arts, which is the national body, has jurisdiction over all works of art created by or under the authority of Congress or for which a federal appropriation is made. This is a general statement and is to be regarded only as usually true; because Congress may, if it chooses, negative the necessity for approval by the national Commission of Fine Arts. The work of this body, however, has been very notable. It has become the special protagonist of the plan for

the development of Washington prepared by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel H. Burnham, Charles F. McKim, and Frederick Law Olmsted. The consummate Lincoln Memorial, beautifully placed, is an excellent example of the wisdom of the creation of such a body. That commission, with the help of Senator Root and the Washington Fine Arts Society, had to wage a lengthy battle for its location at the point chosen.

We are sometimes asked how smaller cities or towns can appoint an art commission when perhaps a desirable sculptor or painter is not resident in the town in question. There is no real difficulty, because the professional members need not be citizens of the town concerned. Pittsburgh has had residents of New York City as the painter and sculptor members of its Art Commission. There are plenty of public-spirited men among painters, sculptors, and architects; and there is no fear that their services will not be given gratuitously outside of their own towns if they are wanted. To provide for rural regions—to prevent, for example, iron-truss bridges straddling noble rivers—every State should appoint a State Art Commission, giving it jurisdiction in villages as well as in the open country.

One method of preventing the enormities which now disgrace so many of our public places is to create both city and State art commissions; and it was largely due to this feeling that the Pennsylvania Art Commission was appointed a year or two ago. The other State art commissions are those of Massachusetts and Virginia. There is also, in



THE OLD RAILROAD BRIDGE AT MANAYUNK PA., NOW REPLACED BY THE ONE SHOWN BELOW

are best placed when they can be and are located as *an accent of the town plan*. Herein lies one cause of the ugliness in so many of our American cities; the "grid-iron" plan offers little opportunity for successful location of monuments or memorials. That form of city plan—if it can justly be called a "plan"—has seen its day, but its evil effects will be felt for generations to come.

The introduction of concrete has made the work of art commissions vastly easier than it might otherwise have been. Arch concrete bridges, or bridges encased in concrete, can usually be attractively designed with little

Hartford, Conn., a Commission on Sculpture, which appears to have some State functions.

It is provided in acts creating art commissions that works of art shall not become public property by purchase, gift, or otherwise, unless the work of art, including its location, shall have been approved by the art commission. The stronger commissions are also given authority to pass upon all public buildings to be erected by the city or with the help of city funds, or for which the city is to furnish a site. An important provision is that no private structure shall be erected upon or extended over public streets unless similar approval is secured.

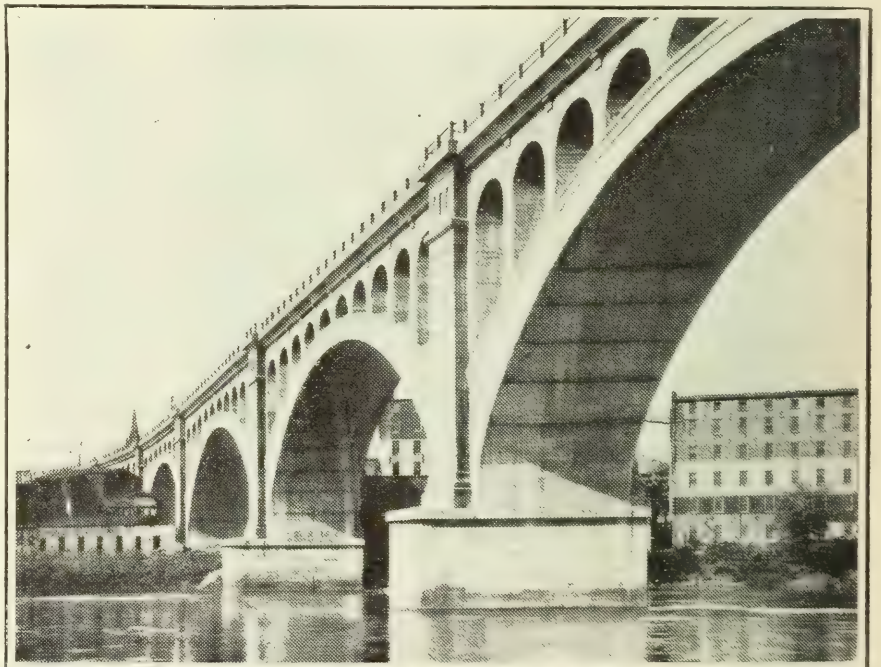
Location and Material

The location of a work in sculpture is responsible in general for 50 per cent. of its effect, perhaps for 75 per cent.; the remainder upon the success of the object considered apart from its location. This is not true of great works in sculpture, which are so superb as to dominate their surroundings even when badly placed. But, in the mass, it may be safely said for all sculpture that its proper placing has more to do with its success than has the chisel of the sculptor.

My own observation is that most works in sculpture

difficultly. Even when not encased in concrete, but built of steel, a surprising amount of attractiveness can be given. Indeed, the Alexander III Bridge of Paris, one of the most famously beautiful bridges of the world, is a steel structure.

The Art Jury has no direct jurisdiction over the material of structures; except that a design may be appropriate for one material but inappropriate for another. Occasionally the Art Jury has taken stronger action. It has condemned corrugated iron for any public structure. Corrugated iron is that wavy type of material which does not retain paint well,



THE NEW MANAYUNK BRIDGE, REPLACING THE STRUCTURE SHOWN ABOVE
(A bridge like this reclaims a neighborhood, instead of being a blight upon it)

which quickly rusts and sags, and gives a generally dilapidated appearance to its neighborhood; and the complete abandonment of the use of corrugated iron on any structure extending over streets, such as an awning, has been recommended.

Relation to City Planning

The work of art commissions and that of city planning commissions dovetail to a considerable extent, but the two should be kept carefully separated. The function of the city planning commission is to look to the future. It has to do with the present only so far as plans to be put into execution immediately will affect the future development of the city.

The city planning commission is the imagination of the community. Its duty is to foresee city growth and to provide adequate plans for that growth. It is essentially constructive.

The work of the art commission, on the other hand, is essentially critical. Its function is to be helpful, by way of criticism of a work to be done immediately. When the city



THE MORE FAMILIAR TYPE OF ELEVATED TRANSIT LINE

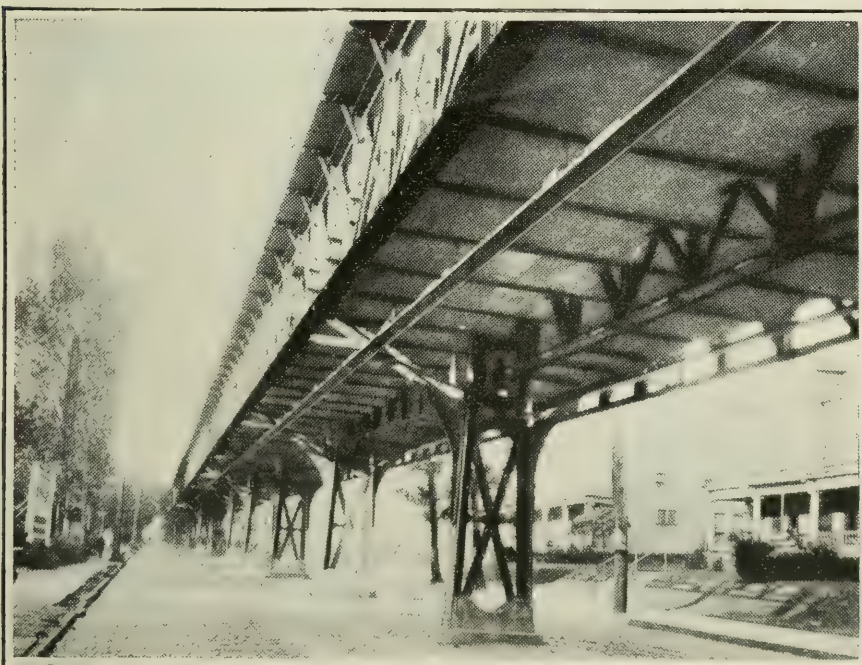
(Supported by columns at the curbs, and thus extending the full width of the street. Darkening of the whole area below is obvious)

planning commission has prepared a plan for city growth, the actual details of construction are not carried out by it, but are left to the department of public works. That department proceeds to have the plans of a particular improvement prepared, and when so prepared the plans are submitted to the art commission for its criticism, so that the work when completed shall have all the attractiveness that good designing can secure for it.

Thus the work of the city planning commission is separated from that of the art commission by the interposition of the department of public works. It is important that the work of the two bodies be differentiated, even though some members of the one may be desirable as members of the other.

One of the powers for which city planning commissions of the United States have been contending is that of excess condemnation, the power to condemn more land than is required for public work (as, for instance, a new thoroughfare) and to sell the excess abutting property at the increased price caused by the improvement.

Powers of excess condemnation have been granted



THE NEW SINGLE-COLUMN ELEVATED TRANSIT LINE IN FRANKFORD, A SUBURB OF PHILADELPHIA

(An achievement of the Art Jury of Philadelphia. Note the contrast between this scene and the one shown above)

by changes in the constitution of several of the States, including New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Where such power has been granted and is exercised, an opportunity is made available for art commissions to be of great service to cities.

More Power in the Future?

Ordinarily, it is not constitutional in these free United States of America to give art commissions any jurisdiction over private buildings to be located entirely upon private property. It has heretofore been regarded as one's inalienable right to ruin the financial investment of his neighbors in beautiful homes by the erection of any value-depressing monstrosity on his own land.

How long it will be before the appearance of cities is recognized as within the police power of the State is a problem. There are strong indications that the time is not as far distant as we used to think it was. Esthetics are now allowed to enter as an accompaniment of an exercise of the police power, provided they come in discreetly by the side door and not obtrusively by the front entrance. I know of no case, however, where the Supreme Court of the United States has said that esthetics alone are not a sufficient ground for the exercise of the police power, though there are decisions of State courts to that effect. The Supreme Court recently held constitutional a Chicago ordinance forbidding billboards within residential sections. Nevertheless, it has not yet been attempted to give art commissions power over private structures on private land.

In some European cities "Bureaus of Building Advice" have been created. They have no real power; but when a building plan is submitted to the agency, whose duty it is to pass upon strength, that inspection board refers the plans to the Bureau of Building Advice. The latter bureau, if it believes the plans are not in good taste, sends for the applicant and makes suggestions to him. If the applicant does not care to adopt these suggestions, I am informed that it is a considerable time before the Bureau of Building Inspection

passes the plans—a delay which is apt to become a sufficiently effective hint.

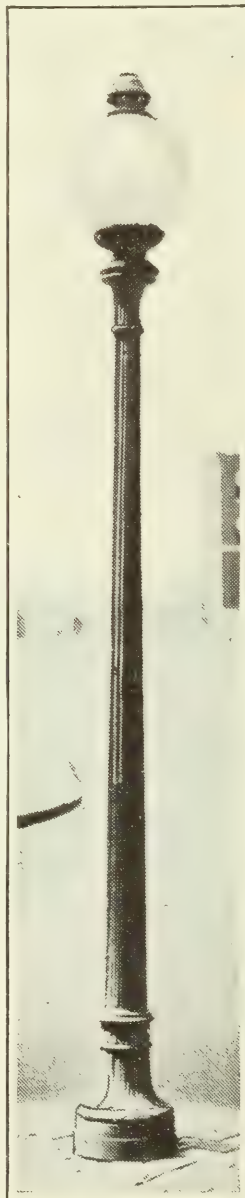
Street Signs and Posts

The jurisdiction of art commissions is being gradually extended. In Philadelphia the Art Jury has control over signs erected upon or projecting over the public highways. This subject has been a difficult one to handle, but the public has finally fallen in behind the Art Jury. The danger of overhanging signs to pedestrians is so obvious, and their ugliness is so apparent, that an association of Chestnut Street merchants has been formed, the purpose of which is to secure the abolition of all overhanging signs. The example of Fifth Avenue, New York, was potential. Through efforts of the Chestnut Street Association,

an ordinance was passed in 1920, which forbids signs projecting more than eighteen inches. In downtown Chicago projecting signs are almost a thing of the past.

Not only street signs, but street structures of all kinds are being submitted to art commissions, and they are steadily securing better results. The lamp standards of Baltimore, the direct work of the Art Commission of that city, are admirable. Nothing abroad compares with them or with the similar standards in Washington.

An amusing experience is the way applicants seek a method of advertising themselves by making private use of the public sidewalk, and actually and honestly delude themselves into the idea that their main purpose is to serve the public. This appears to be an especial failing of those applicants who want to erect clocks on the public highways. Really, few people who want watches are without them. One applicant was especially anxious to put up a clock in Philadelphia "for the benefit of the public"; and he was rather disconcerted when it was pointed out that the clock in the tower of Independence Hall was in full view of the location where he wanted to erect his clock. A significant part of the proposition, of course, was that the applicant wanted to put his name on the face of the clock, though in "quite small letters."



GAS LAMP STANDARD
APPROVED BY THE
ART COMMISSION OF
BALTIMORE

Responsibility of the Engineering Profession

Though a "near engineer," having studied civil engineering as a post-graduate, I am compelled, by nine years' official experience, to the conclusion that the ugliness or plainness of American cities is due in large part to the profession of engineers; but I do not believe it is in its origin their fault. It is the fault of their teaching in the technical institutes of this country. The results seem to show that design in its real sense is not taught. "Construction" is taught, but construction is not design. Merely to connect the bottom of three lead pipes so that water spouts out of the upper ends is not to design a fountain. Merely to learn how to draw the plans of a bridge so that it will stand up is not to learn how to design it. That is construction only; and, while construction is the fundamental foundation of design, it is not design.

The engineering profession is being pushed out of some occupations which should belong to it, because of this lack of appreciation of design. City-planning would appear to be peculiarly an engineering function; yet architects and landscape architects are rapidly preempting the field. This is a reaction entirely to be expected from the ugliness of dreary gridiron plans of streets with which civil engineers have strait-jacketed American cities, failing to show any knowledge of design.

I was much struck by a question put to me at a conference of the American Civic Association held at Amherst in October last. In an address I had shown a number of former bridges, built by engineers in accordance with their knowledge of construction, and, by way of sharp and obviously convincing contrast, I had shown the far more attractive bridges, really designed, which had been erected since the approval of art commissions had been required. A recent graduate of a foremost institute of technology asked me if I thought architects would supersede engineers as builders of bridges. The obvious reply is that

architects will build our bridges as well as lay out our cities, unless engineers are taught, or teach themselves, the principles of design.

Does Civic Beauty Pay?

The work of art commissions has to do not only with the appearance of cities, but, to a certain extent, with their financial status as well. We are only beginning to realize in America that ugly things cost money. We have a slight but growing idea that municipal beauty is a financial asset of some magnitude. Statistics show, for example, that tourist travel was worth \$10,000,000 more to Canada in 1913, the year before the war, than its fisheries were.

But we have not begun to realize the cost of ugliness. If beauty pays, how much does the rank ugliness of so many American cities cost? We are just beginning to accept the obvious principle that values of real estate are depressed when owners of opposite property permit the erection of billboards. Likewise, if ugly bridges are erected in residential or suburban or undeveloped sections, people seeking homes are not going to select places where they will be obliged to see those bridges.

American culture is determined to eradicate the ugly and create the beautiful. The beautiful would be created even if it were more costly; but the work of art commissions is demonstrating that the beautiful is cheaper in original cost than the ugly. Moreover, an ugly thing, especially if its ugliness is necessarily conspicuous, as in the case of most bridges, is apt not to be permitted to last out its expectancy of life.

Lawson Purdy has well defined beauty as "the skilful adaption of appropriate means to useful ends." The power of beauty, as thus defined, is too patent to deny its potency; the sheer cost of ugliness is too great long to be camouflaged. And the public art commissions of the United States are demonstrating these principles.



A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT EXAMPLE OF THE WORK OF ART COMMISSIONS

(This is a railroad steel-girder bridge—made attractive, instead of repulsive, through the use of carefully designed concrete piers. The lines of the piers follow the lines of the girders, and the steel is painted to match the concrete. An unattractive bridge means in almost every case lack of study or lack of skill)

WILL PRICES DROP TO PRE-WAR LEVELS?

BY PROFESSOR IRVING FISHER

(Yale University)

ECONOMIC students have always been wary of making predictions. They feel that their scientific reputations are at stake. But when a business friend, some years ago, taunted me for refusing, at that time, to attempt a forecast, and pointed out that those who made professional studies in these lines were under obligations to put the results, for good or for ill, at the disposal of the public, I recognized the justice of his criticism. Since that time I have been venturesome enough, when asked, to formulate and express my opinion as to the future, especially on occasions like the present when I felt that some of the basic factors were in danger of being overlooked.

A high or low level of prices means, of course, the same thing as a low or a high purchasing power of the dollar. A changing price level is a changing dollar. If the price level doubles, the dollar is halved, and *vice versa*.

Our chief means of guessing at the future behavior of our erratic dollar must be a study of its behavior in the past and of the reasons therefor.

The Civil War caused a price upheaval similar to that of the World War, but with this important difference: that we then lost our gold standard and went onto a paper standard.

Between 1860 and 1865 the price level doubled. Between 1865 and 1879 (when specie payments were resumed) it was cut in two. Prices continued falling up to 1896, when prices reached an unprecedented low level, being less than a third of what they were in 1865.

Between 1896 and 1914, on the other hand, the scale of prices increased almost 50 per cent.

Then came the World War. For a time prices stood fairly still. But beginning with the autumn of 1915, when gold imports began to pour in on us, they rose more rapidly than ever.

When we entered the war, in 1917, prices were halted—in many cases by price control, but soon began again their merry upward whirl.

Then came the armistice, in November, 1918. With the coming of the armistice there was a general expectation that prices were going to drop. One of the New York banks issued a pamphlet, "When Prices Drop," in which the supposedly impending fall was predicted as both swift and great. When this expected fall did not materialize, many, including the statistician of the United States Chamber of Commerce, expressed amazement that prices should stay up "without any reason under the sun."

Business was stalled. The merchant and the consumer were unwilling to buy until prices had fallen. At this time, when the expectation of the fall of prices was practically universal, I ventured to present to the Conference of Governors and Mayors held at the White House in March, 1919, reasons why, in all probability, prices not only would not drop but would actually advance. I added that the price level might temporarily recede in about a year, but that business could not wait a year.

As we all know, these prognostications have, in a general way, been fulfilled. From the time of the armistice, prices increased $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., up to May, 1920. This was fourteen months from the time of the Governors' Conference. They then began to fall.

Purchasing Power of the Dollar

Expressing these same movements from 1860 to the present in terms of the purchasing power of the dollar, since the one is the inverse of the other, we may say (taking the pre-war dollar, *i. e.*, the dollar of 1913, as 100 cents) that the dollar of 1860 was 96 cents, that of 1865, 46 cents, of 1896, 152 cents, 1913, 100 cents, as assumed, 1920, 41 cents and June, 1921, $71\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

For the last two months I have been cal-

culating weekly index numbers of my own, based on two hundred commodities. I find that in the first week of April the dollar was worth $68\frac{1}{2}$ pre-war (or 1913) cents, and in successive weeks 69, 71, 71, 72, 71, 71, 71, 72 and $71\frac{1}{2}$ cents, the last figure being for the week ending June 2nd.

It now remains to be seen whether the present fall in prices (or rise in the purchasing power of the dollar) is temporary.

Effect of Low Interest Rates

I see no reason for changing substantially the opinion which I expressed in 1919. The main changes since the armistice have been, it seems to me, financial rather than industrial. In short we have been witnessing the pendulum swings of the "credit cycle." After it began to be realized that prices were probably not about to drop, a business boom ensued until the inevitable reaction was reached, which we are now witnessing.

These swings have been greatly aggravated by the policy pursued by the Government of continuing, after the armistice, the artificially low rates of interest. These low rates of interest encouraged business men to extend themselves unduly and that extension itself tended to raise prices. The sway of the pendulum, first one way and then the other, was also aggravated by the similar movements in foreign lands in which our business credit was entangled. Our peak and drop of prices followed foreign prototypes. Japan reached her crisis in March, 1920, then followed in succession, within two months, Italy, France, England, Canada, Holland and the United States.

The present depression is really one of the worst this country has ever seen. It is not so recognized because the dramatic feature of a panic, hitherto the usual feature of our great crises, has been absent—thanks to our Federal Reserve system. That system is adapted to prevent panics but not to prevent crises.

Business men are now mainly concerned in efforts to preserve their solvency, as is always the case in the depression phase of the credit cycle. This situation continues the demand for loans, while the supply has been largely cut off through the diminished deposits due to the diminished profits of business.

When liquidation shall have been substantially completed the rate of discount should drop, then prices of stocks should rise and next wholesale prices should rise. The large bank reserves, strengthened by the importa-

tion of gold, have prepared the ground for this return movement in the steel springs of business. Drops in the discount rate at the big banks have begun all over the world. The drops have been in March, 1 per cent. in Calcutta; in April, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Switzerland and London, and 1 per cent. in Boston; in May, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Stockholm, Copenhagen, Brussels, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis and Dallas, and 1 per cent. in Atlanta.

Higher Wholesale Prices in Prospect

Following an easing of the money market, the other two changes mentioned should follow, so that by autumn we should find wholesale prices rising and profits and business improving.

It may well be that retail prices will, for a time, continue to fall while wholesale prices rise; for retail prices, with their usual lag, are still behind wholesale prices in their fall.

In short, it seems to me that the situation now is very similar to that in the first half year after the armistice. Business is halting, expecting a large further drop in prices, and, so far as I can see, expecting it wrongly. The public has gone back to its original fallacy. Although for a time accustomed to the idea that we were "on a new price level" the instant they perceived that prices were really tobogganning down, the old opinion revived, and to-day they seem to expect a return to the "normal pre-war level of 1913" just as in 1913 they talked of cutting down the high cost of living to the "normal" level of the '90's.

They forget that there is no normal, that the price level is purely relative, and that the outlook at any particular time depends on the particular circumstances of that time and not on a "normal" which has existence only in imagination.

In forecasting a rise I do not mean, of course, to convey the impression that prices will continue rising indefinitely. After, say, a couple of years of upward movement it seems not unlikely that there will begin a long, grueling, gradual fall, similar to that which ended in 1896. Yet even this prospective secondary fall of prices will not, I fancy, bring us back to the pre-war level.

Inflation Permanent

The reasons why it seems unlikely that we shall in any foreseeable time reach the pre-war level of prices or even drop lower than we are at present are those set forth in my

article of March, 1919. The chief of these reasons are two, namely, (1) that, as compared with pre-war times, we have a much larger part of the world's gold with no prospect of the loss of any substantial part of it; and (2) that the Federal Reserve system, which was established in 1914, introduced a credit expansion of its own.

In short, of the causes of the recent price upheaval, two, namely, some of our *gold inflation* and some of our *credit inflation* have come to stay.

This prefiguring of future price movements may, of course, prove far from the facts, as the scroll of time unrolls. The situation is fraught with uncertainties.

Much will depend on the policies of contraction or non-contraction adopted in the next few years by the governments of Europe. I have assumed, in the above attempt to look into the future, that any European contractions will not come very early or be very rapid.

Much will also depend on the action of the Federal Reserve system as to whether it will yield to the pressure of a number of banks and their customers for easier accommodations or whether it will consciously try to prevent a rise in the price level, by refusing to extend credit further than is absolutely necessary, by husbanding its increased gold reserve, and by reducing both the reserve and the Federal Reserve notes outstanding by redeeming the latter in gold certificates. In the foregoing forecast I have guessed that the latter policy would either not be pursued at all or, if pursued, will not be pursued very drastically.

It will be observed from what has been said that the basis of my judgment, so far as I have any, is the outlook as to money and credit. These have almost always been the master keys to the price level in the past, although many other factors, usually of less importance, enter in.

To those who have not studied the subject of price levels it may seem presumptuous that anyone should even try to frame an opinion. At first sight it would seem necessary, in order to judge of the general price level, to form an opinion as to the course of every one of several hundred or thousand individual prices. But, as a matter of fact, it is a great deal easier to use a telescope than a microscope, to predict the *general* price level than to predict any particular price, in the same way as it is a great deal easier to predict the behavior of the ocean-

level than to predict the behavior of individual waves. In order to forecast what future tides will be we do not need to have minute knowledge of every particle of water in the ocean. As the mathematical physicist, J. Willard Gibbs, was fond of saying, "the whole is simpler than its parts." Usually if we can frame an opinion in regard to money and credit we can frame an opinion in regard to the price level because the other influences are less variable; just as, in much the same way, the tide can be predicted from the positions of the moon and sun, the other influences being of minor importance.

The Unstabilized Dollar

The time will come, I believe, when we shall not need to be writing our views and guesses as to which way the price level will move. It ought not to move at all and it need not, if we will take the trouble to stabilize it.

The instability of the dollar plays exactly the same havoc in business as would variable yardsticks, bushel baskets and pound weights. But the dollar alone remains unstabilized, because the public has not yet come to understand the distinction between the general level of prices and individual prices.

In my book, "Stabilizing the Dollar," I have pointed out one way of securing a stable price level. A few weeks ago a Stable Money League was formed of bankers, business men and economists with the purpose of devising and advocating the best attainable plan for this end. It is selecting a Research Council which will consider many plans besides my own.

The formation of this league, starting with over a thousand charter members, marks a new step toward making securer the foundations of business. Among those who organized it were Frank O. Lowden, Alton B. Parker, Thomas Marshall, Leo S. Rowe, Samuel Gompers, Samuel McCune Lindsay, John R. Commons, Roger Babson, George Foster Peabody, A. B. Farquhar, Gifford Pinchot, Henry A. Wallace, son of the Secretary of Agriculture, ten ex-presidents of the American Economic Association of whom one, Jeremiah W. Jenks, was made president of the league; about an equal number of bank presidents, two of whom were made vice-presidents of the league, John B. Larnier, president of the Washington Loan and Trust Company, and Robert D. Kent, president of the Merchants National Bank of Passaic.

INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS

Its Relation to National Defense, as Shown by Recent Experience

BY GROSVENOR B. CLARKSON

(Former Director, United States Council of National Defense; former Chairman, Interdepartmental Defense Board)

It is reasonably safe to assert that there is no man in the United States who possesses more information about the stupendous task of organizing American industry to meet the demands of the recent war than Mr. Clarkson, who writes the present article as a reminder and a warning to the country. As a New York business man, who was also a trained journalist, Mr. Clarkson was associated at the outset with that highly intelligent movement of the American engineering societies which undertook to standardize preparedness on the industrial side. He became secretary and then director of the Council of National Defense, and served that body continuously for thirty-seven months. We are all for disarmament and permanent peace. But forgetting how to arm in case of need is to invite weakness; and weakness on the part of Uncle Sam is more likely to encourage war than to establish peace.—THE EDITOR.

Modern war makes terrible demands upon those who fight. To an infinitely greater degree than ever before the outcome depends upon long preparation in advance, and upon the skillful and unified use of the nation's entire social and industrial no less than military power.

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

AS the miasma of partisan criticism of the conduct of the war grows less toxic, as the drama itself recedes into the great back-drop of history, there arises a consciousness in the public's mind that perhaps some of the things in the American effort were not so bad as they have been painted, that possibly the country was a bit to blame for some of the matters that went wrong. This is not, however, a post-mortem; it is a brief attempt to illumine and safeguard the future by seizing upon some of the lessons of the world war which already our amazing democracy has forgotten.

In taking advantage of the apparent current approach to that true perspective which views historical events in the aggregate, I will deal somewhat plainly with the future in respect of the national defense. I will discuss that aspect of it which I know best: industrial preparedness, the practical application of industrial, economic, and scientific forces to the demands of modern war. This is the starting point of national defense; and it is completely lost sight of in preparedness plans now being matured by Congress.

Without it, armies that have to be expanded overnight from, say, 175,000 to 2,000,000 men are simply and unequivocally

inefficient armies in the modern sense; and, what is more, they are very possibly armies marked for slaughter.

Nitrates, tungsten, jute, tin, steel; shells, guns, shoes, blankets, motor transport; factory capacity, distribution facilities, plant conversion, labor dilution—these are but a few of the basic elements of war to-day, but a few of the thousands of threads making up the fabric of industrial preparedness.

A Peace-Time Program

This article is of course based on the possibility of another war. The world has grown little wiser, and apparently no less belligerent. For the rest, it is in a welter of commercial dislocation, with material interest nearly everywhere uppermost. That fact alone should make imperative a balanced and scientific peace-time program of preparedness on the part of the United States.

Only a handful of people in this country have anything like a commanding grasp on the theory and practice of utilizing industrial and economic forces in war, and, above all, of drawing upon them coolly before the event without waiting until the hour strikes. Among the military Pershing knows, and Leonard Wood knows. A group of men in business life intelligently and fully know, as do another group who served in the Federal executive departments in the war. A few, just a few, men in Congress know, but they do not know so intimately, nor do they feel so warmly, that their knowledge is a sentient, fortified thing, as it should be.

The majority of persons still think of war only in terms of troops and waving flags. They still think that appropriating for an army and navy ends the duty of Congress. It is not true. Modern war means the linking of industry and science to the military needs, and, lest there be almost criminal waste of money and loss of life, the linking must be arranged for before and not after the actual need. In armed conflict to-day there can be no preparation when the fight is on, for preparedness now is a scientific thing, and scientific application precludes haste.

Where the War Department Failed

I will be specific. The well-nigh inexcusable lack throughout the war—and one for which every citizen in effect was responsible—was the lack of knowledge on the part of the War Department of its requirements in supplies. Aside from the training and handling of troops, one can almost roughly put into two grand divisions the things necessary for successful prosecution of war to-day: First, a clean-cut, concrete, continuing ability on the part of the military to state its requirements; second, an equally clean-cut, concrete, and continuing ability on the part of those handling industrial and economic resources to fill the military needs. The two functions should not be joined for one instant, for the military mind does not understand the language and methods of business; and the business mind does not understand the science of warfare. Thoroughgoing liaison between the two elements of course there must be.

While Chairman of the Interdepartmental Defense Board, organized after the armistice for the express purpose of meeting some of the foregoing problems, the first thing I did, at the initial meeting of the Board, was to ask a question to which I had anticipated the answer; indeed, my certainty that I knew the answer was why I had pressed the board's creation. It was this: "Can the War Department give this Board its requirements for the up-keep of a million men in the field for six months so that the Board, working down through the departments and business units representing the necessary sources of supply, can ascertain in peacetime how, when, where, and in what quantities those supplies may be found?" The reply was, "No."

Now that was an almost unbelievable thing to be true after we had just come out

of the biggest war in our history. But it is a perfectly natural result of lack of scientific study of these things before we went in. Being wholly unprepared in the modern sense, the War Department was forced to spend billions of dollars to offset the fruits of the valor of ignorance. It was impaled on the merciless day-to-day exigency of the war itself. The task of the doer is always trebled when the thinker has not been permitted to precede him.

Leather Needs, As an Instance

I repeat, there can be no scientific preparation when the fight is on. By the same token, when war, based on eleventh-hour preparation, is being waged, there is little or no time in which, day by day, to conserve the knowledge being won in the arena. Doubtless with a one-hundred per cent. perfect organization, and a one hundred per cent. qualified personnel, these things could be overcome. But there is no perfect military organization, no perfectly qualified military personnel, in the quantitative sense, when a democracy goes to war.

On finding the condition described above, the War Department was called upon to furnish the Interdepartmental Defense Board its requirements in one typical wartime commodity alone, leather. After six weeks these requirements were received; and when I left office in March, 1920, the Board had begun to trace this commodity back to the raw material, studying substitutes for leather as it went along; and, for the first time in peace under this Government, an attempt was being made to standardize the procurement of one vital element of supply in time of war. The idea was to proceed to other supplies one by one. That is the only way in which the job can be done scientifically, economically, and properly. Very little has been accomplished since the period with which I deal, for reasons that need not be gone into here.

In anticipating and providing for the military and naval needs before the outbreak of war, requirements must be traced from the finished product all the way back to the raw material. Such a study must necessarily include actual, normal production of the goods needed; equipment always in readiness to produce, together with the rate at which such equipment could be produced; and conversion possibilities of equipment, including the items of time and expense, with careful attention as to whether conversion of equip-

ment might withdraw production of other parts essential to defense.

The studies should go particularly to analysis of the production of such items as are very limited in this country. For example, it would include careful study of quantity steel production in the United States, to find out if we were producing or could produce enough steel of specific qualities needed in time of war. It would go into shortage of war materials, the lack of some of which was extremely embarrassing, to say the least, in the recent war. It would include also the study of substitutes such as those for linen in aircraft.

A Dangerous Lack of Nitrates

The subject of nitrates alone italicizes the need for industrial preparedness. I will illustrate: The other day I discussed with one of the world's greatest experts on explosives the question of nitrogen fixation for war purposes. A civilian, a dollar-a-year man in the world war, he probably contributed more of value to the American explosives program than did any other one man. His standing and judgment are accepted by everybody familiar with the economic and technical side of modern war. After this authority had detailed to me, in a most moving way, the fundamental importance of the continuance by the United States Government of its development of nitrogen fixation so that it may be independent of an external supply of nitrate, I asked him:

"If we went to war to-day, where would we be with regard to this matter?"

He replied: "If our ports were blocked, or if the element of submarine attack were developed to such a point that our merchant ships could not load nitrate, the war would be of short duration and we would be at the mercy of the enemy."

"How long would it be before we could bring our domestic source of supply up to an available point?"

"Two years, at least."

Industrial mastery of the chemistry of high explosives, identical with successful commercial manufacture of coal-tar dyes, perfumes, and medicines, is the work of years, involving the creation and reconstruction of whole industries.

There is a field distinctly advantageous to the national defense interests of the nation in the peace-time consumption by the public of goods prepared according to army standards. There is no reason, for instance, why

the public should not use buckets built on army specifications, just as well as buckets slightly different, so that there might be on hand a full supply in the market at the coming of war. This practice could be carried out with benefit to government, business, and the public alike as to very many of the articles used by the War and Navy Departments in wartime. Even the standardization of automobile chassis in terms of military requirements should be included, so that army service bodies might be fitted immediately to civilian-owned automobiles for swift troop movements at the outbreak of war.

Since all production for war purposes or otherwise depends on the availability of electric, gas, and water service, special study should be given to public-utility development. Unless I am mistaken there is no place in the government where such development can be studied and information as to resources and cost of service obtained.

A Card-Index System for Army Supplies

Whatever is done, it is elementary that current index lists should be kept of all concerns experienced in making the different types of army supplies. These lists should be double-indexed; that is to say, there should be a subject-matter index series referring to manufacturers, and a manufacturers' card series referring to subject matter. The individual cards (for business houses) should carry a very brief summary of the products made, rate of output, and other simple data with such comments respecting kinds of service and the like as might be needed. Here would be an organization in compact form for instant use. It would include houses, products, machinery, and materials which the actual army contractors use. It would be easy to supplement it as occasion arose.

Public requirements in wartime should be studied. One of the things that we should know about in advance is the wartime need of this country for sugar, coffee, or any other essential which might be cut off by interruption of any part of our commerce. If defense be interpreted in terms of internal problems, and it must be, similar studies should be made of shortages which might result from sectional disturbance of transportation.

Somewhere under the government—if we are to have any kind of preparedness worthy the name—peace-time studies must be made of the problems of production, distribution, consumption, prices, employment, and labor

conditions in connection with commodities. It is essential that the Government be kept currently informed concerning the industries of the United States, and especially concerning those of national defense importance. This knowledge now, either as to peace-time production or as to war-time potentialities, is of the most helter-skelter sort. It is collected by about twenty different bureaus of the Government, in about twenty different kinds of ways, and it is correlated nowhere in any comprehensive way. Such information is useless if not kept up to date. Not to keep it up to date merely means extravagance, running around in a circle, and general inefficiency when a crisis arrives.

Transportation Data

What are our domestic transportation resources in connection with the national defense? I will illumine what we need to know there by saying that before leaving office I set under way an examination as to the availability and resources of all railroad lines west of Salt Lake to transport troops as quickly as possible to points of defense on the Pacific slope in event of need. The study was to contain detailed information as to all bridge heads, termini, freight tonnages, etc., with detailed maps. The point is that no such complete information was then (February, 1920) available.

I have only scratched the surface of what industrial preparedness means. I have not even gone into the major question of where priorities in one industry should be granted at the cost of some other industry, and where labor required for emergency purposes can be obtained and spared with the least disturbance to the country. Priorities in transportation alone is a singularly involved subject. I will leave the question now simply by saying that war-time priorities can only be worked out in a normal and equitable way when the major facts in all of the important industries have for a long time been maintained in a standardized and comparative manner. In any particular emergency, such as the rapid transportation of raw materials, the final value of such data consists largely in the degree in which they are up to date. Dead information equals zero minus when war begins. It merely clogs the wheels.

Intensity of Modern War

Modern war—and every American should get this well into his head—means, in its practical working, the utilization of all of

the industries in one form or another, to say nothing of the lay citizenship of a country. Among the lay population alone, the Council of National Defense had on Armistice Day 184,000 organized units in the United States, which it guided through the State and local councils of defense. The world probably never saw another organization like it; it was the non-partisan, ever-ramifying machinery that welded together American citizenship for the confusion of the Central Empires. These units represented millions of active men and women, carrying to the people, through the Council, the measures and needs of all departments and war agencies of the Government and sending back to Washington the mood of the people. America itself has little conception of the field system only of the Council of National Defense, or of what it was called upon to do.

War to-day means the whole force of a nation in action. It has become a profession to which the military alone has long ceased to be called. The resources of the nation itself must furnish the organized, continuing, tireless force behind the cutting edge of the army and navy in time of war. As Howard Coffin, that automobile engineer out of the West who was the pioneer protagonist in this country of industrial preparedness, has said:

Twentieth-century warfare demands that the blood of the soldier must be mingled with from three to five parts of the sweat of the man in the factories, mills, mines, and fields of the nation in arms.

Whatever is done under the Government in the contemplation of industrial preparedness, the last place where that contemplation should be lodged is with the military, except in so far as a general study of the subject as related to military needs is concerned. It surely should have become elementary that the specific task must be handled by civilians, and civilians solely.

The Industrial Story of a Gun and a Shell

Finally—to draw together into one picture some of the things I have outlined above—consider the explosion of a shell from the mouth of a modern gun and all of the elements that go into that explosion. I cannot visualize the subject better than by direct quotation from the remarkably impressive final report of the War Industries Board just issued by its former chairman, Bernard M. Baruch, who, in the marshalling and synchronizing of industrial forces, accomplished

in the American war machine what nobody else had been able to accomplish, and what a great many pessimists of the static school were sure he could not bring about:

A shell is made principally of steel, brass, and copper. It is filled with an explosive and is fired by either a fixed or separate charge of propellant powder. The production of such a shell involves first the preparation of a plant or plants to forge, machine, and measure it, equip it with a firing mechanism and with a band to take the rifling of the gun. It requires another plant for loading, packing, and shipping.

Each of these processes involves, directly or indirectly, a vast group of industries turned to a new field. But the steel and copper used in the shell involve another set of forces as they are developed from the ore through the processes of extraction and refinement to the forges. The blast furnaces have to be supplied with coke, with lime, and manganese. They have to be lined with refractory brick. Coke involves mining bituminous coal and passing it through coke ovens. They all involve a large amount of railroad transportation, for the most favored spot on earth does not contain all the elements for a piece of steel.

Turning to the explosive and propellant for loading and firing the shell, the nitric acid is made from nitrate of soda, which has to be mined and refined in a desert part of Chile, carried to the coast on railroads whose rails, rolling stock, ties, and fuel have to be taken there from distant parts, and then it is carried 5000 miles in vessels to our shores; the sulphuric acid required in great quantities is made from pyrites ore coming from Spain or brimstone from Texas, platinum from Russia being needed for the equipment of the acid-producing plants.

From some cotton field of the South has to be collected a little of the fine lint sticking to the seed as it comes from the gin to form the basis of the propellant powder. And after all this preparation a shell on the front is fired in a few moments. One day its use is necessary, another day it is not, but its preparation has to go on and on until the conflict is over.

A Plan for Industrial Preparedness

For those who wish to study these matters at more length, I refer to the detailed written proposals that I gave Congress, while director of the Council of National Defense, in December, 1919. They called for an entirely workable plan with the expenditure of only \$300,000 a year. Think of it—those of you who are hypnotized by the billions for military and naval preparedness set forth in the newspaper headlines—only \$300,000 a year! It is about a third less than the peace-time pay-roll of a regiment of cavalry, and the regiment must be subsisted and its equipment maintained besides. It is about one hundredth of our bill for one day's participation in the World War. If such a

plan could shorten a future war by only one day it could, as war is waged under modern conditions, save for one hundred years the operating expense of such a working body as I proposed. The proposals were heartily approved by the Secretary of War, by all of the other five cabinet officers forming the Council, by such men as Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and former chairman of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense; Frank A. Vanderlip, Otto Kahn, ex-Secretary of War Garrison, Homer Ferguson, then president of the United States Chamber of Commerce; by the executive secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers; by a large number of great newspapers and magazines, and by practically the entire business press of the country. Congress appropriated just about enough to mark time on, and marking time has been the situation ever since, though far more could have been done in the past year than has been done.

Yet here exists a great national insurance policy for an almost grotesquely low premium. Sometimes I think that I made a psychological blunder in asking Congress for so little. Lord Bacon, in commenting upon the power of figures, it will be recalled, pointed out that even the most intelligent men will stop to look at a procession of ten wheelbarrows. However, I was trying to submit honest bedrock estimates at a time when retrenchment was beginning to be imperative.

The present need for economy in government is too obvious to dwell upon. But it must be scientific economy, not the mere slicing of appropriations by men whose economic knowledge scratches only the surface of our national needs. You cannot undermine basic things that involve the interest of a people without giving birth to extravagance and tragedy in the end. You cannot dodge grappling with fundamental matters by recourse to false and superficial economy. It means only increased economies when the inevitable circle has been described.

The other day the newspapers stated that the Council of National Defense, created by Congress as a permanent body ten months before we went to war, and the only body at present on the statute books charged with attending to these matters, was denied by Congress an appropriation for its operation after June 30, 1921. It seemed to be a startling evidence of the lethargy of the times as to our national destinies, of the fact

that reactions from the war have made the pendulum swing too far back.

Utilizing Existing Channels and Records

It is not essential that this work be done in the Council of National Defense, although it can probably be done there, all things being equal, better and more cheaply than in any other place under the Government. Failing a dominant personal equation that may be relied upon to put over a given job, it is always best to utilize existing channels in government where one cannot get the perfect set-up, which in the present temper of the country it would be wasting time to discuss here. The main thing is that we are in danger of not having any set-up at all.

But mark this: Precisely these things will happen if some central body is not permitted to make their happening impossible:

(1) There will be no adequate centralization and study of the priceless industrial economic records of the world war in which, for the first time, we struck a national balance of our economic and industrial resources. They will simply become a tragic waste so far as there is concerned drawing from them lessons for the future. They will probably be broken up and sent into the turgid streams of the old executive departments, where they will never be heard of again. This is particularly the danger in the case of the files of the War Industries Board, which after much effort, and thanks to Mr. Baker, I had lodged with the Council of National Defense after the armistice, where they have been analyzed and classified and made available as a whole to the economic and national defense purposes of the government. They should never be scattered. The only reservation that I make to this is that if Mr. Hoover gets hold of the files for the purposes of the Department of Commerce, some good will probably come of it.

(2) There will be initiated in peace-time no efficient and scientific, and therefore no economical, study or plan for the application of our industrial, economic and scientific forces to war; that is, a study or plan in which the lay and military minds shall be balanced for a proper preparedness. The balance cannot be had otherwise.

(3) There will be no continuing correlation and interpretation of the figures of our industrial production. To-day nothing is more important, either for government or business, for national defense purposes or for peace-time economic considerations. The public and the Federal problems of the future in this country are economic problems. They cannot be solved without the required facts, added to that clarifying interpretation of the facts which makes them dynamic and of practical use.

Commercial Advantages

To the business world I offer this thought in connection with utilizing our industrial and economic national defense records:

It is, in my judgment, essential for the common advantage of government and business that a great deal of this material, which under the old economy was often considered confidential trade information, should be released. More and more does modern business mean trade coöperation. Men must know more about one another's business. There is no reason why direct economic national defense research measures, which need cost but very little, should not be tied into the legitimate needs of business. Industrial production figures for the benefit of business, and the same figures for national defense research, are inseparable. A small coördinating and correlating staff could supply a fund of information which ordinarily could be had only by the expenditure of millions of dollars. Thus two highly valuable ends would be served, and a great deal of money saved both in the peace-time world of business and if war should come.

It is folly, it is silly, it gets one nowhere, to attack this official or that political party for lack of preparedness. To do so merely exhibits a mind, whether its possessor be a congressman, an editorial writer, a party hack, or a layman, that is either hopelessly partisan or hopelessly shallow. The whole thing goes back to the inertness of the people themselves and in great measure, of course, to the bitter lack of scientific thinking on the part of Congress—by whatever party controlled.

It is true, as General Dawes says (and I, too, speak as a life-long Republican), that we did a superb job when we got in. It is true that we made our culminating and decisive industrial mobilization, thanks to Mr. Baruch and his associates, with incredible speed, consummate skill, and great daring. It is true that the raising, training, transport, and conduct in the field of the national armies make a noble and stirring epic that the unilateral minds of prejudiced men cannot affect. But it all, on the military side, cost billions that it need not have cost. And that, in an enlightened age, in an economic age, is a moral crime.

To govern is to foresee. Apparently in the present instance we are not even looking backward.

Military preparedness for modern war, without industrial preparedness as its foundation, is simply beating at the air.

To say more would be bathos; to say less would be to fuse oneself with those who drift and dream.

THE PACIFIC HIGHWAY AND ITS "PEACE PORTAL"

BY R. C. JOHNSON

THE practical completion of the Pacific Highway will be celebrated September 6 near Blaine, Washington, on the line which separates the United States and the Dominion of Canada, under the auspices of the Pacific Highway Association. At the same time there will be a formal dedication of a gateway, or peace portal, of cement and steel to commemorate one hundred years of peace that have followed the signing of the Treaty of Ghent which had a bearing on the settlement of the northwest boundary between Great Britain and America.

In a broader sense the Peace Portal is symbolical of a world peace based upon faithful observance of the sacredness of a "scrap of paper." Further significance is given the event by placing in the peace portal a piece of timber from the *Mayflower* which bore the Puritans from Plymouth to the Massachusetts shore. This timber, lately secured in England, will be placed on the American side of the portal. On the Canadian side will be incorporated a piece of wood taken from the *Beaver*, which was the first boat propelled by steam in the waters of the north Pacific and which was operated by the Hudson's Bay Company in the early fur trade.

At present the Pacific Highway has its beginning at Vancouver, B. C., and its termination at Tia Juana on the northern boundary of Mexico, with a spur running into Yuma, Ariz. Its length approximates 2000 miles, and it traverses the States of Washington, Oregon, and California.

The highway has not been constructed as an independent undertaking, but has been created by the linking together of the different State systems of highways. It is confidently expected that by 1923 the several links of the highway will be paved. In many sections now there is only a gravel surface. Its completion is farther advanced in Oregon than in any other State.

The doors of the Peace Portal are recessed in the walls. Across one door is written, "Open for 100 Years," referring

to the Treaty of Ghent. Across the other is the legend, "May These Doors Never Be Closed." Across the plinth in front is inscribed, "Children of a Common Mother" and on the reverse side are the words, "Brethren Dwelling Together in Unity."

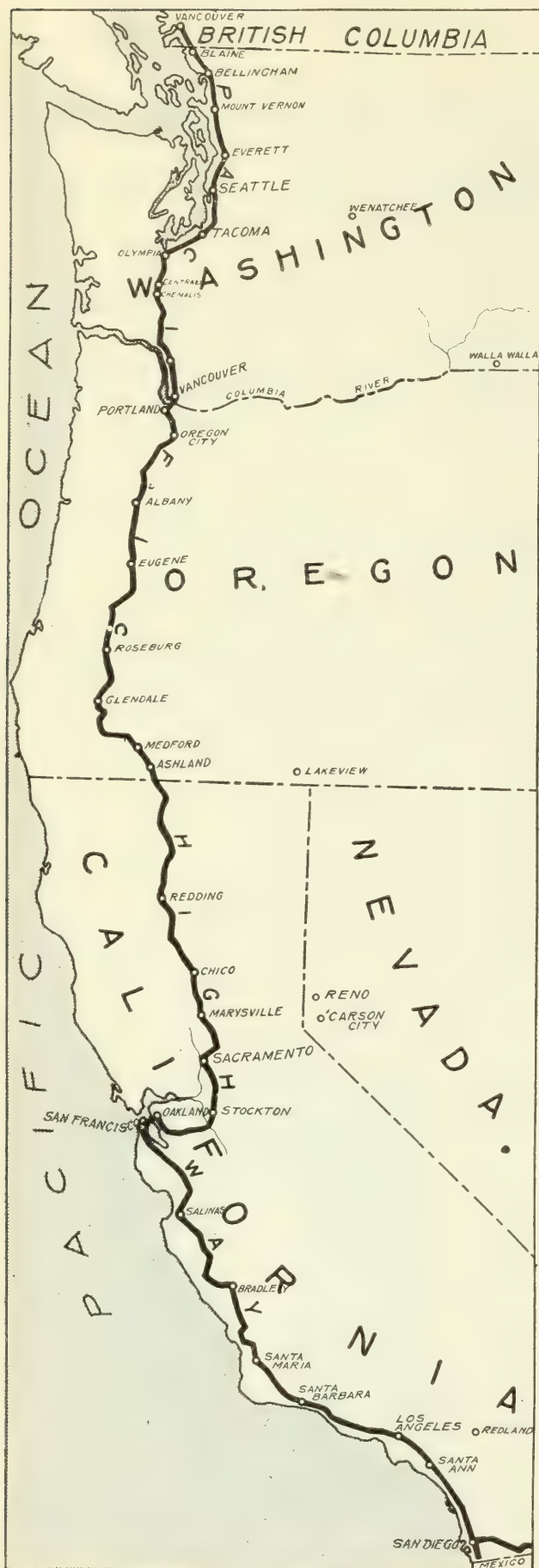
The idea of a great arterial highway from the province of British Columbia along the Pacific coast through the States of Washington, Oregon and California originated in the mind of A. E. Todd, of Victoria, twelve years ago. It grew out of a vision of a coming tourist traffic, and he foresaw its adaptation as the principal market road of every district through which it passed.

It was at a time when the highway development of the Pacific Coast States was beginning, and the agitation started by Mr. Todd soon bore fruit. In the fall of 1910, H. L. Bowlby, highway commissioner of Washington, expended \$40,000 in a road survey across his State. Oregon and California took up the work at the instigation of



THE PEACE PORTAL—FROM A MODEL

(Where the new Pacific Highway crosses the Canadian border at Blaine, Wash., this gateway is being erected to commemorate one hundred years without fortifications or armies along 3000 miles of international boundary. Over the doorways are the legends, "Open for 100 Years" and "May These Doors Never Be Closed." At the sides are inscribed "Children of a Common Mother" and "Brethren Dwelling Together in Unity")



THE PACIFIC HIGHWAY

(From Vancouver in Canada to the Mexican border, approximately 2000 miles. The highway links together several existing systems of roads, and an organized movement is well under way to improve the poorly paved sections. Situated between two ranges of mountains, the highway affords unending variety of picturesque scenery. It is part of the park-to-park highway system described in the May issue of this periodical.)

the Pacific Highway Association, which had been formed by active good roads advocates. One of the first sections to be paved was between Seattle and Orillia. In 1914 the first section in Oregon was paved, in the southern part of the State between Central Point and Ashland.

In 1915 the first inspection trip over the full length of the proposed highway was made by Samuel Hill, president of the association, and H. L. Bowlby, its executive officer. On July 4, 1915, the association held a meeting at Blaine, on the boundary line between Washington and British Columbia, at which an American flag was raised by three citizens of Canada and the Union Jack by three Americans who were born subject to its sovereignty. It was on this occasion that a resolution was adopted requesting that the governments of Canada and the United States erect at this place a suitable arch commemorative of the celebration of one hundred years of peace.

In a general way the highway runs at an average distance of 100 miles from the ocean between two ranges of mountains, the Cascades and Sierras on the east and the Coast range on the west. This great mountain wall, running practically from Alaska to Mexico, is broken only in three places—the Fraser River divides British Columbia from Washington, the Columbia separates Washington and Oregon, and the Klamath is in part the boundary of California and Oregon.

Through these ocean gaps come the moist air from the Kirshwa or Black Japan current, which crosses the Pacific Ocean and beats against the western slope of America. The result is that through British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon the wonderful green forests occur, and the soft, moist air gives the country the appearance of eternal spring with an eastern horizon of snow-capped mountains. So fertile is the soil that if one should stick a pin in the map at Portland and describe a circle with a radius of 200 miles it would be found that here is a country which in variety of production and climate is unsurpassed and capable of some day supporting the most dense white population on the globe. Proceeding south into California, the Pacific Highway ends in the almost tropical climate in and around San Diego and at Yuma, where tropical fruits abound.

The Peace Portal stands where the highway passes from British Columbia into



THE PACIFIC HIGHWAY AS IT CROSSES THE CALIFORNIA-OREGON LINE IN THE SISKIYOU MOUNTAINS, WHICH ARE IMPASSABLE DURING WINTER MONTHS

Washington, and at that point ocean, railway, and highway meet, with an extensive view of the islands of Puget Sound. To the south and left looms up Mt. Baker, which is the first of the single-cone, snow-clad mountains that is seen. Later on are added Rainier, St. Helens, Adams, Hood, Jefferson, Three Sisters, Shasta, Lassen, Whitney and Wilson.

The great variety of scenery along the highway, including as it does ocean, forest, tilled fields, mountains, lakes, valleys and rivers, cascades and waterfalls, wooded hills and plains, orchards of apples and prunes, fig trees and orange groves, makes an impression on the mind of the traveler never to fade. From the different cities radiate various attractions for the tourist.

It is the intention of the Pacific Highway Association to establish local organizations at distances of ten miles or more apart along the road, whose duty it shall be to enlist the coöperation of the people adjacent to the section, looking toward the improvement and beautifying of the highway and grounds alongside, the planting of trees and shrubs and other adornment, and to have the several sections compete for the honor of being the prize section each year.

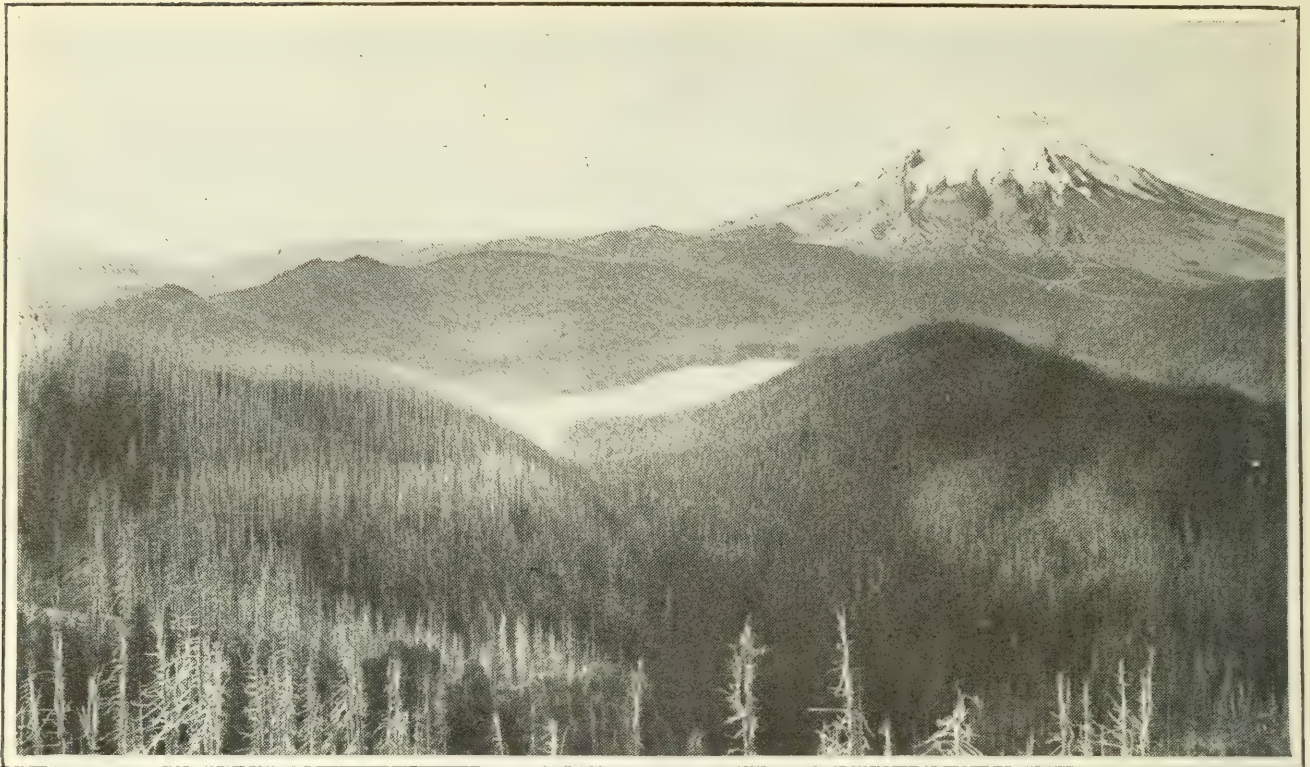
At Portland, Ore., the Pacific Highway intersects the Columbia River Highway, acknowledging no rival either in America or Europe. In time it is hoped to have two

other highways paralleling the Pacific Highway. One is to run along the ocean, and the other 100 miles in the interior east of the Cascade and Sierra ranges. The coast highway is to be a part of the national defense, and the interior road is to pass through the great wheat and livestock areas.

In passing out of Oregon, the Pacific Highway crosses the Siskiyou Mountains, which form a bridge from the Cascade to the Coast Mountains. The Siskiyou Mountains are impassable during the winter months. This, however, does not block all the year travel. Winter travel will leave the Pacific Highway at Portland, follow up the Columbia River Highway, and east of the Cascade take a route running north and south through Oregon across the so-called "high desert" to Lakeview, and thence down the Pitt River valley into the valley of the Sacramento and regaining the Pacific Highway.

To secure a firm foundation for the Peace Portal the ground occupied was driven full of immense piles, 25 feet long and 3 feet in diameter. On top of these piles was placed an enormous concrete slab on which the portal is superimposed. If an earthquake should come the portal would vibrate and not crack.

A special significance attaches to the date set for the dedication ceremonies, September 6. Marshal Joffre fought the battle of the Marne September 6, and that date was also



THE ICE-AND SNOW-CAPPED PEAK OF MOUNT ST. HELENS—AN ELEVATION OF NEARLY 10,000 FEET, AS SEEN FROM THE PACIFIC HIGHWAY

the birthday of Lafayette. Marshal Joffre has promised Samuel Hill, president of the association and father of the Peace Portal idea, to be present at the dedication and make an address. He is expected to be accompanied by Marquis de Chambrun, grandson of Lafayette.

Speaking of the Peace Portal, Mr. Hill has said:

It is the first arch to be erected in the world to celebrate peace. Paris has its Arc de Triomphe, Berlin has its Brandenburg Thor; but in no place is there a memorial to peace.

On the voyage of the *Mayflower* the compact was signed which is perhaps the basis of the present form of our government. Later on William Penn signed a paper and made a treaty with the red men, and thereby secured what is now the State of Pennsylvania. The Treaty of Ghent was signed in Belgium, whereby along an unfortified boundary for 3000 miles the United States and Canada have lived in peace and harmony for over one hundred years. As possibly one-third of the people of Canada are French, France joins with the United States and Great Britain in celebration.

Based on the foregoing treaties, Mr. Hill has had prepared a film under the title,

"The Sacred Faith of a Scrap of Paper," which contains scenes from the barn in which the timber of the *Mayflower* was found, supplemented by scenes from the house where the Treaty of Ghent was signed. To these have been added scenes taken in Brussels in which appear Burgomaster Adolphe Max and wife and Prime Minister Henri Carton de Wiart and his wife. Another scene represents Cardinal Mercier at Malines taking the piece of *Mayflower* wood in his hands and blessing it and wishing it Godspeed on its mission of peace. In Paris were taken photographs of Jules Siegfried, president of the Chamber of Deputies, Marquis de Chambrun, Marshal Joffre, and many other notables.

To the film are to be added the ceremonies of the dedication and reproductions of American history, omitting incidents pertaining to the Civil War.

All will be grouped around the central theme of the importance of faith between nations, the importance of international obligations shown by the union of the flags of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and America.



"CALLED TO THE COLORS" IN BULGARIA—NOT TO FIGHT, BUT TO CONSTRUCT FOR THE NATION A HIGHWAY, RAILWAY, OR CANAL, OR PERHAPS TO DRAIN A SWAMP OR BRING WATER TO AN ARID REGION

THE BULGARIAN "NATIONAL SERVICE" LAW

BY SIMEON M. FEINBERG, C.E., AND GUEORGE S. GUEORGHIEFF

ALL the participants in the late war are confronted with serious problems of reconstruction. One of the most interesting solutions proposed for some of these difficult problems is that just put into practical operation in Bulgaria. Forced to sign a peace treaty, some of whose provisions are very difficult to fulfill, the Bulgarian people in order to enable themselves properly to adhere to the treaty stipulations, have inaugurated several schemes, the most noteworthy of which is the National Compulsory Service Law. In this connection it is interesting to note that a new word, namely, "Troudoviki," has been coined to denote those who are drafted for this new, obligatory, social duty, who, although serving without pay, nevertheless are expected to work hard, as distinguished from the ordinary worker who labors for wages.

The purpose of the law is twofold. It is both economical and educational. It is hoped thereby not only to strengthen and possibly insure the moral and social development of the nation, but also to instruct the rising generations of young folk, boys and girls, when twenty and sixteen years of age, respectively, to learn the most modern methods of labor application for their personal and their country's well-being and increased pros-

perity. Thus, in the very beginning, the aims of the new law are described as follows:

(a) To organize and utilize socially the labor forces of the country in order to augment its output and well-being;

(b) To imbue in the minds of the citizens love for social work and respect toward physical labor, irrespective of social standing or financial position;

(c) To heighten the moral and economic position of the nation by cultivating in the citizen the understanding of his duty to himself and to society at large, by teaching him rational methods of labor in all branches of the national economy.

Thus, the army barracks of former days are being turned into preparatory trade schools and many a sword is to be beaten into a plowshare. It is intended to train each draft from two to three months, and after adequate preparation in the work that lies before them, each draft is to be employed according to prearranged schedule for the rest of the time, which is six and twelve months for girls and boys, respectively.

The scope of the work is a rather ambitious one. We read that the toilers are to be employed in the construction of highways, railways, canals, water-supply projects, dams, and buildings; in the planning of vil-



UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN BULGARIA DIGGING TO UNCOVER RUINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

lages and cities, the regulation of rivers, drying up of swampy lands, building of telegraph and telephone lines, the preparation of various building materials, afforestation, clearing up and exploitation of timber lands, the working of state, county, city and other municipal properties, truck-gardening, horticulture, bee-culture, fishing, work in the mines and factories, the canning of food products, the manufacture of cloth for hospital use, and so forth.

The service is personal. No substitutes are allowed. No exemptions are permitted, except for those who are physically disabled, and in such cases they are to pay a tax in proportion to their income. Married women and men serving in the army are exempt unconditionally. For Mohammedan girls the service is optional. Those who are the sole support of the family may serve only half of the prescribed time, provided they are poor—being without any property or with income less than 1500 levs per annum, nominally \$300. Temporary exemption is granted to sick persons, students and certain classes of persons under prison sentence. No Bulgarian subject may change his citizenship or emigrate prior to performing this service.

In addition to this general toil service, all male citizens from twenty to fifty years of age are subject to an "extraordinary" temporary toil service, not in excess of four weeks per annum.

From the standpoint of organization, the service is under the auspices and responsibility of a special bureau, connected with the

Ministry for Public Works, Roads and Welfare. The Bureau is subdivided into three branches, namely, administrative, technical and general departments. Those subject to the service will be divided into various categories, such as agricultural, technical, trade, etc., depending on the education, training and experience of each individual.

In order to prepare all those who will be subject to the service, the Bureau is to open and conduct all the necessary technical schools, educational courses, workshops and model exhibits.

Comprehensive punitive

measures are provided for all those who try to escape through fraud from performing their duty. Former army officers will direct the work, except the technical problems, which will be taken care of by properly qualified professional engineers and technicians. Premier Stamboliysky, one of the chief advocates of the proposed law, is very sanguine about it and hopes to accomplish through it the schedule of reconstruction that has been mapped out by his cabinet. In this connection, it is well to note that on account of the facts that 90 per cent. of the population are land-holding farmers and that there is a great difficulty in obtaining hired labor at any price for large undertakings, such as the construction of railways, canals, etc., the law is deemed imperative by its sponsors if the country is to be pulled out of debt and placed on a level comparable to its former prosperity. It may be pointed out that on account of the fact that the Bulgarian peasants are used to self-discipline, and inasmuch as the law is sponsored by the Agrarian party itself, representing the rural population, and inasmuch as it is considered that the educational value of the experiment is of no small caliber, the scheme, as proposed, has no serious obstacles before it.

The law has been in effect since June 14, 1920, and shortly after that date more than 2000 of the 2387 communities, or more than 85 per cent., had complied with the orders from headquarters and had sent in statements of work suggested to be done in their respective communities. It has been demonstrated that the population is eager to serve

and perform the allotted tasks with earnestness and speed. Moreover, in a great many instances, the villages have dispatched to the field more toilers than were required and in some cases the men themselves had volunteered to increase the number of days of toil, especially when the work at hand was of easily recognized benefit to their respective communities. Generally speaking, more success has been obtained in the rural districts than in the cities.

The only serious difficulty encountered thus far is the lack of an adequate number of qualified engineers and technicians.

It is estimated that the number of toilers will approach 800,000. Thus far, the records show that more than 80 per cent. of the men subject to call have complied with the requirements of the new law. Less than 20 per cent. comprise those who are exempt on account of physical disabilities and other serious causes. Thus 600,000 toilers during twenty days, at 50 levs per diem, will produce 600,000,000 levs, or nominally \$120,000,000 worth of work, to the credit of the so-called "temporary" or "extraordinary" endeavor only. This imposing figure will multiply manifold when the ordinary or nine-month period is taken into consideration.

The biggest single piece of work to be undertaken this season will be at the capital city of Sofia, where 27,000 toilers, divided into three groups of 9000 each, will be assigned to road-building and sanitary work in the city proper and its immediate vicinity.

Students of the various schools all over the country, boys and girls alike, not excepting those studying fine arts and music, are scheduled for work, principally in the municipal parks, under the guidance of their teachers.

At the beginning of this spring, more than 30,000 enthusiastic collegians, belonging to the various schools at the capital city of Sofia, polished up all school furniture and laboratory appliances. All school rooms were cleaned thoroughly, washed, and painted anew. The large school yards, unkempt during more than six years of warfare, were cleaned up and then were turned into truck gardens, the produce of which will be used in the dining rooms for poor scholars. The pupils of the fine art schools make various beautiful objects for a lottery, the proceeds of which will be used for the benefit of needy students. More than 250 young women students of Sofia University, although exempt from service at that time, voluntarily, brush, broom and mop in hand, cleaned up the University lecture rooms, halls, libraries and scientific laboratories, leaving even the smallest object in a spick-and-span condition.

At the head of the Bureau is one of the best executives Bulgaria has produced, namely, General Ivan A. Rousseff, who has the reputation of a first-class organizer and who, although a soldier by profession, is in full sympathy with the anti-militaristic but constructive program of the present Bulgarian Government.



YOUNG WOMEN STUDENTS AT SOFIA UNIVERSITY ENROLLED FOR PUBLIC WORK UNDER THE NEW LAW

THE SULTAN SPEAKS

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

HIS Majesty, the Sultan of Turkey, the "Shadow of God on Earth," "Commander of the Faithful," is commonly regarded as inaccessible. Usually foreigners count themselves privileged even to look upon his face, as he makes his pious Friday pilgrimage to the mosque for public prayers. But an American newspaper man has easy entry to the highest *sanctum sanctorum* of the Old World, in these post-war days; for it is better understood abroad than at home how ultimately determinative in the whole plastic earth's affairs is American public opinion. Twice within a few months I was received by the Sultan, our conversations consuming altogether two hours and a half, the Greek landing at Smyrna, with the attendant atrocities which inflamed Turkey and called into being the Nationalist army, having intervened between the two interviews. On one occasion a cabinet minister interpreted for me; on another, the Sultan's naval aide.

Concerning the circumstance of the visits to Yildiz Palace (His Majesty had moved thither after a Greek warship had anchored directly in front of his larger palace on the Bosphorus, which naturally affronted his pride), and the pomp and circumstances that go with an imperial audience, including refreshments, and coffee sipped from cups of gold, studded with diamonds and sapphires, I do not here write, since my purpose is only to convey the sentiments expressed by the unhappy old man whom a strange fate has placed on the bridge

of an unseaworthy ship in a heavy storm. Mehmed Vahdeddin, or Mohammed the Sixth, as his title runs, is a brother of Abdul Hamid, and a son of Abdul Aziz. He succeeded another brother, the war sultan, just prior to the armistice. His life has been spent in the seclusion of virtual imprisonment; he himself likened it to existence in a monastery.

And, indeed, his character is rather that of a religious recluse than of an imperial sovereign. A rather morbid strain ran through his talk: he calls himself an unhappy man, perplexed about the ways of God — though the Moslems of the world, all of whom are supposed to include his name in their Friday prayers in the mosques, regard him as the vicegerent of heaven on earth.

"We await the help of God, and of your exalted President," was one of His Majesty's sentences. "By tyranny (alluding to the Young Turk régime) we have been brought to our present plight; we may be saved only by justice.

It is justice, full, impartial justice, that we ask for our suffering people.

"I declare to you, as a father whose heart is broken, that I have lost four million of my subjects, by war and by atrocities. Now we want only peace and an opportunity to heal the open wounds and to restore our broken homes, and to cultivate good-will among all our population. We never wished for this war; we were thrust into it. I am able to say conscientiously that the great body of my people, like myself, have been



MOHAMMED THE SIXTH, SULTAN OF TURKEY
(From a photograph presented to the author)

opposed to the tyranny of the Young Turks."

His Majesty not only said that the Union and Progress leaders had tried to prevent his own accession to the throne; but he also intimated that they had attempted to poison him.

Frankly declaring that the Armenian atrocities had been the "greatest crime of the centuries," the Sultan urged an impartial international commission to investigate them.

"The whole question has become as kinked as the wool on a negro's head. These crimes were not religious, but political, abetted by those personally profiting. For thirteen hundred years Christians and Moslems have lived together happily here. Search our history, and you will find no precedent for these Armenian crimes. These were political in their origin, and not religious at all. Really, Russia, with its designs upon Turkey and its incitement to our Christian population, is chiefly to blame for most of our woes. All Ottoman subjects are my children, in the sight of God. As Caliph, I am spiritual father of Christian and Moslem alike."

These were incidental remarks. The refrain of the interview was the same as the major plea of the Crown Prince, whom I had earlier seen; of various cabinet ministers and other Turkish publicists, and of the famous woman political leader and author, Halideh Hanum; namely, that the hour had come for disinterested justice; and that only America is sufficiently disinterested to display justice. "Punish the guilty," cried the Sultan; "but save us, oh, save us, from the intrigues of Europe! This is a time to heal wounds, not to make them; to root out bitterness and not to create it anew. We ask the world to remember the millions of Turkish men and women and little children, who sit in want and woe, the heritage of war. They are weary of strife. They want peace; and they want to be let alone to live and to work and to enjoy their families and to worship God, all in freedom from molestation. I ask that whatever may be decided upon as Turkey's fate, these people, who surely have the basic human rights, shall be given consideration, and an opportunity for safety, progress and self-determination."

Certainly the world has changed when the Sultan of Turkey, the Padishah who is above all commoners, an absolute monarch, is heard pleading like a William Jennings Bryan for the rights of the common people.

In the second interview—after the Smyrna tragedy—there was less of solicitude than of indignation in the Sultan's speech. He recited the misdeeds of the powers, who were

pursuing their own selfish policies, regardless of all considerations. Evidently the most inflamed reports of Greek excesses had come to him. He declared that he could not sleep of nights because of the sufferings of the massacred and deported Moslems, victims of Christian reprisals. There was defiance of Europe in his utterance: "The desperate should not be driven too far. It is better not to leave any earth than to leave fire smoldering in it. That Turkey is a predominantly Moslem country is a factor not to be overlooked; for we all wish to avoid arousing religious antagonisms."

Boiled down into a few paragraphs, all this means that the resumption of the old fashions and ambitions of European secret diplomacy and intrigue in Turkey has spelled only disaster for everybody concerned; and it has at the same time dissipated all immediate prospects of a reign of order and peace in the Near East.

After the war, Turkey was crushed. She had collapsed from the weight of her own iniquities, as well as from outside military pressure. The empire was prostrate, and submissive. Whatever punishment the powers might care to inflict would be passively received, as being inescapable, if not well deserved. There was no other defeated nation so penitent as Turkey. Every one of her statesmen with whom I talked regarded Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and eastern Armenia as lost. Concerning Constantinople and the adjacent little strip of European territory, they still cherished faint hopes. But their real expectation and desire was for a reconstructed Turkey, centering in the old Asia Minor home of the Turks. Their talk was all of the Wilson "Fourteen Points." On the basis of these, they saw opportunity for a new homogeneous Turkey to arise, within the domain remaining to them. Concerning the vast losses of Ottoman territory they were inclined to be philosophical, like Æsop's fox in the matter of the grapes: these outlying regions had always been more trouble than they were worth. Unencumbered by them, the Turks would henceforth show the world what a great people they really are. All they asked was a fair and speedy decision by the peace conference, and liberty to work out their own salvation.

Despite the brazen self-exculpation of some sophisticated Turks, the nation stood ready for whatever sentence should be meted out to it, that a fresh start might be made as quickly as possible. All the people, high

and low, desperately wanted quiet and order and a chance for recuperation.

Therefore the cry for an American mandate. Turkey, and her component little peoples, had lived long in close contact with European statecraft, and they were consequently suspicious of it. America they had come to understand by way of American educational institutions and American missionaries, and through their own emigrants to America; as well as by the clear record of history. All unknown to the people of the United States, there had grown up in the Near East a veritable American cult. The American war aims had caused this previous attitude of confidence and good-will to develop into something like a passion for this country. All the virtues and none of the faults of other nations, plus noble qualities peculiar to us, were attributed to the United States. America, in the eyes of the Levant, is the embodiment of good-will and brotherliness and justice and disinterested altruism.

When the American Commission on mandates went to Turkey it was greeted everywhere with ovations of an extraordinary kind. Every national group in the Near East which considered itself subject to mandate asked that America should be made mandatory over it. A visitor from the homeland fairly had to rub his eyes to make sure that he saw aright this amazing devotion to America. By the path of unselfish service, this country has come to preëminence in the oldest part of the old world; having thrust upon it a prestige and a privilege for which European powers have vainly expended both money and skill. Amid all the recent little wars in the Near East, the Americans have been safe everywhere: even in the midst of Mustapha Kemal Pasha's armies, who were fighting the allies, the American missionaries and relief agents have been permitted to pursue their work unmolested.

Recognizing this attitude, the Near East perceives clearly that which America refuses to see at all; namely, that there is no prospect of a final settlement of the turbulent and perilous conditions about the Mediterranean until America consents to take the situation in hand. That would have been more easily done two years ago than to-day; but at that time the Allies were confident of their ability to secure their own ends by their own means, in various parts of the old Ottoman Empire, and so were unwilling to relinquish their coveted prizes. Since then

they have all and severally had "no end of a lesson," and doubtless now would be glad to get out as best they may, taking their wounds home to be nursed.

The British, French and Italian publics are heartily sick of this post-war adventure in imperialism on the part of their governments; and they see no future advantages commensurate with the expenditure already made. So we may expect to hear, instead of the former disingenuous pleas that America should become mandatory over some such sterile and thorny Near Eastern fastness as Armenia, an honest request for the United States to take in hand all the factors to the whole troubled region, bringing stability and self-government to pass for all the peoples concerned. This is the one clearly-indicated way out of the present condition of chaos; but it is not likely to be taken, because America is more wary of foreign entanglements to-day than she was two years ago, and is less trustful of the proposals of her recent allies.

One day in Haifa I met an educated, English-speaking Syrian gentleman who was the most disconsolate figure I had encountered for a long time. He was a man in the abyss of despair. Both his attitude and his words were the ultimate of hopelessness. For he had learned that day that America would not take a mandate over his beloved Syria, or over any other part of the Near East. "Our dream is dashed. Now there is nothing left but a French mandate, against which our people will fight; so that we shall have only war and turbulence and distress for years to come. All our dependence for a new start, and for a free, happy life, was placed upon America: and she has failed us. How could you fire our nation with so great an expectation of independence, and then refuse to help us to realize it?"

That is the sort of plaint that most Americans in the Near East have had to listen to ever since it became known that this country would accept no mandates. And the listening is not easy, when the American's own judgment tells him that to finish the world-work which was begun when our war banners, emblazoned with lofty purposes, were flung to the breezes of all the earth, requires America to become the guardian and teacher and protector of the feeble folk of the Near East who, having glimpsed new life and liberty, will never again be content with the old forms of exploitation and subjection.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

REVISION OF THE TURKISH TREATY: LORD BRYCE INDICTS THE ALLIES

IT is a merciless indictment of the Entente Powers for their errors of omission and commission in dealing with the Turks since the armistice of October, 1918, that Lord Bryce presents in the *Contemporary Review* (London). In order to show what these dealings have been, Lord Bryce gives a brief record of the chief events in their order from the outbreak of war in 1914 to the present year. It is well to recall these events:

(1) The Turkish Government, which had no concern with the issues raised between Germany and Austria on the one hand, and the Entente Powers on the other, wantonly declared war against Britain and France in November, 1914.

(2) After the failure of the British attack on the Dardanelles early in 1915, the Turkish Government ordered, and carried out with unflinching ruthlessness, massacres on an immense scale over Anatolia, Armenia, and Northern Syria, all the men who could be found being slaughtered, often with hideous cruelty, while the older women and the children were driven from their homes under conditions which involved the deaths of the great majority, and the younger women were seized and carried off into Turkish harems or sold in open market. Not less than a million perished.

(3) These atrocious crimes were entirely unprovoked. The Eastern Christians had remained quiet, and the excuse made by the Turks that the Armenians were preparing to revolt was a falsehood. Moreover, the massacres fell with equal savagery upon the Nestorian and Assyrian Christians, whom not even the Turks had then or have ever since accused of disaffection. The purpose was, a purpose virtually avowed by Enver and Talaat, to get rid of the Christian population altogether.

(4) When the British force beleaguered at Kut had been forced to surrender, the prisoners were treated with such cruelty and neglect that most of the private soldiers died of disease or starvation, and many of the officers also would have perished had not German officers intervened on their behalf.

(5) After the massacres, the French Government appealed to the Armenians to join their troops in the war. A very large number did so, and fought valiantly. Similarly, many Armenians joined the British army in Palestine, and served

with credit under General Allenby. Both Britain and France promised that these services should be remembered, and gave assurances that an Armenian state, liberated from Turkish rule, should be established. Like hopes were held out by President Wilson, though, of course, he was not in a position to make promises.

(6) In the armistice with the Turks, signed in October, 1918, when they had been completely defeated and lay at the mercy of the Allies, they undertook to disarm their troops, but no time was fixed. The provisions of the armistice, made with little consideration and no foresight, were absurdly weak, as was pointed out at the time, and it does not seem to be known who was chiefly responsible for this blunder. Weak as these provisions were, hardly anything was done to enforce them. The Turkish forces were not disarmed. Only a few points in Armenia were occupied by British forces, and these were soon withdrawn. The refugees who had fled from the massacres into Russian territory or into Syria were not restored to their homes, which remained in the hands of the Turks. The unhappy girls who were carried off, the children who were torn from their mothers to be forced to become Moslems, were left in the hands of their captors, and are there still.

(7) The Covenant of the League of Nations contained in the Treaty of Versailles (June, 1919) contemplated the deliverance of Armenia from Turkish rule, for it declared that "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire" (meaning thereby, *inter alia*, Armenia) should be temporarily placed under a mandate, but unfortunately no provision was made either for driving out the Turks from the territories inhabited by the Armenians, Nestorians, and other Christians of N. E. Turkey, or for finding funds which would enable some civilized power to establish such an administration as is required until, after a few years, the country can begin to pay its way. No power has yet been found to accept the mandate, and nothing has been done to organize and protect the Armenian state contemplated.

(8) Emboldened by the inaction of the powers, forgetting that they had been defeated, recovering through this impunity their old insolence, and with it the belief that they could disregard the armistice and resume their campaign of massacre, the more violent element among the Turks, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, Governor of Erzerum, gathered the remains of the Turkish armies together and launched attacks upon the

Armenians in Cilicia and Syria and upon the French troops, to whom the British Government had entrusted the charge of those countries. Fresh slaughter began, thousands of Christians were murdered or driven into flight and the French army retired from many of the posts it was expected to protect.

(9) Meantime the Armenian inhabitants of what had been Russian Armenia had set up an independent republic at Erivan, and another republic had been established in Georgia. Though the former of these was recognized, at first *de facto*, and then *de jure* by being made a party to the Treaty of Sèvres, the Bolsheviks attacked and overpowered it, setting up a Soviet government at Erivan, while the Kemalist Turks attacked the little republic from the west, and conquered the western part of it. It is stated that by an agreement between the Turks and Bolsheviks, signed at Moscow on the same day as the making of the trade agreement with Britain, the latter guaranteed to the Turks transport facilities through Batum. These two enemies of Britain are evidently working together. Georgia, though recognized *de jure* by the Allies at the Paris Conference of 1921, was left unprotected. Despite all the warnings given of what would happen, the British Government withdrew first its small land force and ultimately its naval force also, from Batum, its presence at which port had given some encouragement and promise of help to the two republics. The Bolsheviks have now overrun and "Sovietized" Georgia. According to recent accounts, the Armenians drove the Bolsheviks out of Erivan, but were unable to continue to hold it, threatened as they are on both sides by the combination of their two foes, Turks and Bolsheviks, and now cut off from the sea by the capture of Batum.

(10) While the last-mentioned events were happening, the Treaty of Sèvres was being negotiated with the Turkish Government at Constantinople. By it there was to be an Armenian state consisting of the Erivan Republic, and such territories in what had been four Turkish vilayets (being those in which the largest part of the Armenian population had dwelt) as President Wilson might allot to the Armenians. He has made his allotment, but no steps have been taken to give effect to it, for all these territories have been left, ever since the armistice of 1918, in the hands of the Turks.

(11) The Conference of the Allied Powers lately held at London has proposed to restore to the Turks part of the territories allotted to Armenia by President Wilson's award, the boundaries to be fixed by a fresh commission, and has offered concessions to the Turks if they will evacuate the region to be assigned to Armenia, but the Turks have given no indication that they will accept the findings of a commission or evacuate the territories forming that region. Thus matters practically stand now where they stood before the armistice was signed two and a half years ago. The promises made to the Christian populations have not been fulfilled. The refugees, that remnant of them (Nestorian, Assyrian, Armenian) who have survived massacre and hunger and disease, remain in their misery. So do the Christian women and children enslaved six years ago during the massacres. Nothing has been done for the Christian population of Eastern Cilicia,

some of whom had been encouraged to return and who are now abandoned to the tender mercies of the Turks. The Turks have learned once more that they may massacre a million Christians with impunity, in pursuance of their plan of first exterminating all the non-Moslems they can find, and then alleging that there is no reason for liberating a land already swept bare.

Lord Bryce makes no attempt to apportion the blame among those responsible for this Near Eastern policy. He refuses to accept the excuse usually made that the European Powers were waiting for the United States to take action. He fails to see that this excuse, even if accepted, justifies either the initial blunder of a weak and improvident armistice or the want of foresight and of energy in neglecting to see it enforced. As to the eagerness of certain powers to show favor to the Turks, Lord Bryce asks, "Why this tenderness for a government which massacred a million of its innocent subjects six years ago, a government which, whatever form it may take, has shown itself always irreclaimably corrupt, savage and stupid?"

With a view to "saving something out of the wreck," as he expresses it, Lord Bryce states the following as objects now to be sought:

Secure, if possible, the retirement of Turkish and Bolshevik troops from the Armenian and Georgian Republics, by making this a condition of any agreement between Britain and France on the one hand and either of those invading powers on the other.

Compel the Turks to evacuate any territory heretofore Turkish that may be assigned to Armenia. This will keep some sort of an Armenian state in existence even if the Erivan Republic be for the time overrun.

Make the concession of some local autonomous institutions sufficient to protect the Christian population of Eastern Cilicia a condition of any treaty to be concluded with Turkey.

Carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles by providing funds which will enable some one of the minor powers within the League of Nations to accept a mandate for Armenia, since it is known that none of the great powers will do so, and it is believed that one of the minor powers will.

To accomplish these things, especially the last, will cost more money than it would have done to prevent the Turks from disregarding the armistice and resuming their massacres of the Christians. But it will prove in the long run far more costly to allow our dangerous foes the Turks and Bolsheviks to threaten Afghanistan and India by dominating the regions that were to have been liberated, and some such action offers the only means of escaping the dishonor which will rest upon us if we abandon innocent peoples who suffered only because they were Christians, and to whom we promised liberty and protection.

IS ECONOMIC INTERVENTION NEEDED IN MEXICO?

IN closing a rapid review of Mexican history from the days of Spanish rule to the election of Obregon, Dr. Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, argues in the *Political Science Quarterly* (New York) against military intervention in Mexico, and in favor of loans by our Government to stimulate both the public service and private industry in that unfortunate country. The present administration of Mexico, Dr. Cox says, is unlike the Carranza Government in that it shows a willingness to approach the United States in a conciliatory manner. Whatever may be said of the methods employed by President Obregon and his friends to put themselves in office, they are the men who are now responsible for the government of the country, and it is only through them that peace and prosperity may be established on an enduring basis.

It is Dr. Cox's opinion after careful investigation that the resources of Mexico, if properly administered, would warrant very large advances of capital. But the Mexican Government has a record of repudiation, reckless expenditure, forced loans, unlawful confiscations and bank deposit seizures. While the present administration cannot fairly be held responsible for all the misdeeds of its predecessors, it must nevertheless in some way restore confidence in its own trustworthiness.

Perhaps the most practicable method of effecting this purpose would be the acceptance by the Mexican Government of some system of inspection or supervision which would give publicity to their accounts and assure their creditors that the funds were being put to proper use. Such publicity could be secured without undue damage to national interests and without injury to national honor, provided that a fair amount of frankness and tact were exercised by both parties to the transaction. Because the Mexicans are a sensitive people, it would be the course of wisdom to require the fewest possible signs of foreign control and to refrain from exacting special territorial or economic concessions or specific constitutional changes. A loan granted to Mexico on reasonable but generous terms would be profitable merely as an investment, but it would be worth infinitely more as an earnest of more harmonious future relations between the United States and its hitherto distressed and distrustful southern neighbor. On the other hand, by accepting such a temporary loan, those who direct the policy of Mexico would place their Government on a firm basis, establish tranquillity at home and confidence abroad, and—what is perhaps more to the point—remove pretexts for military intervention.

Even if Congress should refuse to grant a direct loan to the Mexican Government, it seems to Dr. Cox that prompt recognition of the Obregon Administration by our Government would do much to assist Mexico. Non-recognition by the United States would carry weight, and might conceivably lead to Obregon's overthrow. Dr. Cox is unable to see that anything could be gained by encouraging another violent overturn in Mexico. In any event, non-recognition would obstruct any efforts that Obregon might be making toward restoring political and economic stability. As to the much-discussed Article XXVII of the Mexican Constitution, affecting American interests in Mexican oil deposits, so long as the provisions of that article are not to be construed as retroactive, there seems to be no serious reason for protest on the part of the United States.

It is admitted that recognition, followed by an immediate loan, would still fail to meet the more fundamental problems of Mexican finance. Mexico's previous debt, which with its accrued interest is measured by the hundreds of millions, would still remain, and to this must be added the enormous claims growing out of ten years of revolution and anarchy. The United States has a vital interest in this liquidation, and it is suggested by the writer that in case the ordinary diplomatic agencies fail to effect a settlement, we submit our claims to an impartial world tribunal. It is recalled that about twenty years ago Mexico and the United States had recourse to the arbitration of The Hague Tribunal in the "Pious Fund" case.

It is suggested by Dr. Cox that the adoption of such a policy by the United States toward its southern neighbor would not be an act of unalloyed altruism. Not only is a peaceful land a better customer than a country in turmoil, but American commerce with Mexico and the prosperity of American investments there will vary with Mexico's confidence in American integrity and unselfishness.

As to the present situation in Mexico, Dr. Cox says:

During the few months of General Obregon's administration he has given the people of Mex-

ico and their well-wishers a larger measure of confidence than any other leader of the past decade. He has maintained reasonable security throughout the country, and at the same time has materially reduced the army without turning the soldiers adrift. He has initiated a program of social legislation that provides for further distribution of land, for a new and better system of public instruction, and for necessary labor legislation, but without unduly truckling to the classes affected. He has promised to restore the bank reserves and deposits confiscated by Carranza, and to establish the fiscal system of the nation on a firm and honest basis. For the first time in ten years the budget shows a balance, a situation that may not wholly please his enemies, but which gives point to his expectation of beginning to pay interest on the public debt. He promises to treat justly all who have legitimate concessions and investments in the country and freely invites foreign capital to cooperate in Mexico's regeneration. Better than all else, his administration stands ready to discuss the trouble-

some petroleum problem on the basis of mutual rights and privileges. His program is as yet necessarily one of promises, but the initial steps give a reasonable measure of hope to all who wish him success.

We might lend further aid to Mexico by assisting her to meet her educational problems, and intervention in that form would entail no risk of arousing distrust.

American capitalists who in better times drew an income from Mexican investments are under a certain obligation to promote the enlightenment of the peon, for they have become, in a sense, responsible for his welfare, inasmuch as they are, to a considerable extent, his employers. It is gratifying to note the fact that American capitalists in the past have not been entirely insensible to this responsibility, and that American missionaries have cooperated with Mexican educators in the common task of social betterment.

AUSTRALIA'S CAPITAL SCANDAL

AUSTRALIA'S troubles over the creation of an artificial federal capital seem to be endless. In *Stead's Review* (Melbourne) there is an illuminating history of these troubles. The building of the capital, the article points out, was decided upon in order to get New South Wales to agree to federation. Having adopted the scheme the federal government set out to get the best plans. They had

. . . a great opportunity of getting a splendidly planned city, which should embody all that was best in other cities, should not grow haphazard, but, designed as a whole, should be the best laid out and most finely conceived capital in the world.

With this laudable object in view, the Government, after considerable delay, and much prodding by the representatives of New South Wales, decided to call for designs for the erection of the city on the remote spot it had finally compromised upon, a spot as near the Victorian border, and as far from Sydney, as it could manage to find.

It invited the architects and town planners of the world to compete, and offered a prize of £1,750 to encourage them to undertake the arduous task of sketching the lay-out of the capital city of the Commonwealth. This was in April, 1911.

It will be recalled that Mr. W. Burley Griffin, of Chicago, was successful in this competition, but the Government appointed a departmental board to investigate and report as to the suitability of the design. From that time on the offices of the Department of Home Affairs took the whole work in charge.

The departmental officials expected to have the job to do. Is it remarkable then that they have all along opposed any plan but their own, have consistently endeavored to thwart and hamper the unfortunate expert whose design was preferred to theirs?

What mattered it that this expert had the experience they lacked; what cared they if, in thwarting him, they delayed the building of the capital. What after all was the building of a beautiful city compared to their *amour propre*?

It is important to grasp that from the very beginning the permanent officials in the Department were resolved to wreck Mr. Griffin's plan. There is no secret at all about it. The Royal Commissioner, who inquired into the Federal Capital Administration in 1917, found "that there was in the Department a combination, including the Minister and certain officers, hostile to Mr. Griffin, and to his design for the capital city."

This hostility would have been shown apparently to any other designer whose plan had been adopted. They were determined to build that city according to their own notions, and in their opinion it was apparently far better to have a badly planned, unbeautiful city designed and built by the Department than it was to have a graciously conceived and properly proportioned capital designed by some outsider.

This hostility of the Department officials to the expert from overseas has been eagerly fanned by those who were determined by every means in their power to prevent the building of the capital, to keep, that is to say, the seat of government in Melbourne. These people, Victorians for the most part, have joyously played the Department against Mr. Griffin, and Mr. Griffin against the Department. They schemed for a deadlock, and a deadlock they got.

Under the circumstances, all that was left for the architect to do was to withdraw from the work.

ADMIRAL FISKE ON THE DEFENSE OF THE PHILIPPINES

IN a brief article which he contributes to the *North American Review*, Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N. (Retired), comments on the feasibility of defending the Philippines from foreign attack and also states some of the reasons why such defense should be undertaken by the United States.

For the defense of the Islands the Admiral would call into use all the customary weapons, including submarines, but he points out the special attributes of airplanes as preventers of actual invasion. These attributes, in his opinion, are:

1. Great speed, and consequent ability to concentrate in large numbers against parts of more slowly-moving bodies, such as ships, boats, and troops.

2. Ability to rise high and discern objects at great distances.

3. Ability to carry high explosives in convenient forms that have merely to be dropped.

By reason of these three attributes, a force of say one hundred first-class airplanes, properly equipped and manned, if distributed at different points in Luzon (the northernmost island), would be able to concentrate at any threatened point on the coast before the invading troops could start from the transports to the shore.

To succeed in attack against our airplanes an enemy would have to possess a greater air force than ours. But the Admiral believes it certain that no country in the world could compete with us in building airplanes, and he estimates that the cost to us of a force of airplanes able to protect the Islands would be less than one per cent. of the cost of any attempt to recapture them.

The last Congress refused to give the navy the very moderate amount it asked for, in order to take advantage of the possibilities of aeronautics. If Congress persists, we may find ourselves with a navy that is very expensive, but so old-fashioned as to be ineffective. Some people think that the more ineffective a navy is, the less danger there is of war. Their attention

is respectfully invited to the historical fact that aggression has usually, if not always, been caused by the temptation presented by a valuable property left unprotected from attack.

Of the several courses of action now open to us in the Philippines, the Admiral maintains that we should defend them by the use of airplanes, submarines, etc. Should we leave them defenseless, we may be virtually certain that they will be taken by an enemy, some day, and we would then be forced to send an expensive expedition to retake them.

If we should give them outright to the Filipinos with no guarantee of protection some country would surely take them before long.

We might give them to the Filipinos with the guarantee of our protection, and in that case the difficulties and cost of the expedition to retake them after capture would still be present, but the Islands instead of belonging to us, should such an expedition succeed, would belong to the Filipinos.

The Admiral concludes that there is a powerful reason for defending the Islands, apart from any question of having to retake them, in that with the Philippines properly defended, we shall be as strong in the west Pacific as any other nation.

We shall be just as able to protect our merchants and our shipping, and just as well placed for trading direct with China. We shall be even better placed in some ways: for while the

Philippines have as good harbors as Japan, they are nearer to the ports of Europe by way of the Mediterranean. In fact, they are directly between the Mediterranean and Japan.

It is unnecessary to consider the suggestion, sometimes made, that to attempt to defend our coast and our overseas possessions adequately would constitute a threat to other nations; because its foolishness is proved by the facts of history and the principles of International Law.

At present, it is admitted, the Philippines could be taken by anyone.



ADMIRAL FISKE

THE WORLD MIGRATION OF STUDENTS

IT is probably true that at the present time greater numbers of students are moving from one country to another over the earth's surface than ever before in historic times. A Japanese scholar, Dr. S. Motoda, contributes to a recent number of the *Japan Magazine* (Tokio) an interesting survey of this continuous student migration. He has discerned three great streams of movement: (1) Oriental students going to Japan, America, England and France; (2) Slavic students migrating from Russia and Poland to Germany, Switzerland, Austria, France and Belgium; (3) the movement from Latin America to North America and to some European countries.

Of the Oriental students it is estimated that nearly 9000 Chinese are now abroad, of whom 4000 are in Japan, 2000 in France, 1400 in the United States, 400 in England, and the others distributed throughout Europe. Of the 2500 Japanese students now abroad, only a few are in England and other European countries, but the number is beginning to increase. In Switzerland there are about fifty and in England about 300. The Filipino students go partly to the United States and partly to Japan. There are about 300 in the United States and possibly 30 in Japan. Some of the Indian students are in Japan, and 1000 are in England.

It is estimated that there are in the univer-

sities and colleges of the United States about 8000 foreign students, representing over 100 nationalities and races. In England's ten universities there are 3000 foreign students; besides Orientals, there are Egyptians, West Indians, Africans, Serbians, Americans and Continental students flocking to Oxford and Cambridge. In the sixteen universities of France, where the number of students has decreased since the war to 10,000, more than half are foreign students. From 2000 to 3000 foreign students still attend the German universities. Little Switzerland has seven universities, with 7000 students, of whom 3000 are foreigners.

Vienna University is attended by about 2000 Czechoslovaks, Serbians, Italians, Rumanians, and representatives of other countries, besides its 8000 German-speaking students. Of the 10,000 in Budapest, thirty-five per cent. are said to be refugees from the universities of Pozsony and Kolozsvár, now in Czech and Rumanian territory, respectively. The Czechoslovakian University at Prague is really in two parts, one being Czech and the other German, and each part has from seven to eight thousand students. Russia has ten universities. During the war a university for women was created in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks have established universities at Volonesh and Yalta. Reports as to their foreign students are lacking.

COLOR THE HANDMAID OF MUSIC

IN the June number of *Arts and Decoration* (New York), Mrs. Mary Hallock-Greenewalt, who has spent fifteen years in the study of light and color harmony in relation to music and its enhancement of the emotional reactions produced through the ear alone, tells her own story of the struggle to perfect her new light player table, through which the color filters are controlled by means of a rheostat, and she gives at the same time some of the principles upon which the new science is based. The art of harmonizing color and light with music has been called by its inventor, because of certain Oriental relationships, "Nourathar," an Arabic word meaning Impress of Light.

Mrs. Greenewalt claims this new color-harmony scheme as the sixth of the fine arts, all of which are based on "things reminiscent

to the creature of his very being," as she says.

The linking of color to the musical phrase is made logically through such categories as quality, quantity or extension, which link all things together, no matter how dissimilar, and without which, indeed, the mind does not think. "A heavy disposition is like lead." If a phrase of music seems tender in quality, and blue seems to you of a gentler value than another color, why then tenderness can link these two also.

It was with these ideas that I began my experiments in 1906. To me then it seemed that the shifting values, qualities, intensities of some of the musical interpretations that were occupying me might well be enhanced simultaneously by the movable qualities, values, and intensities of light. And light, naturally, includes the color rays of which it is composed. That I was correct in this idea is shown by the fact that every moving picture house of any size in the country is seeking to act upon it.

To invest light with emotional and abstract

expression in time-succession is the novelty. If a rising inflection of the voice will ask a question, irrespective of the word it accompanies, an increase or raising of the light, the moment being properly staged, will do the same. Let this little sample stand for the world of expressions possible to this as an art. What will it mean to the concert goer of the future? Once he is used to it, he will not do without it.

The instrument through which light and color are changed to conform to the changing phrases of the music itself is designed beautifully to harmonize with the lines of the symmetrical violin and 'cello. The operator sits at the light player table and controls the rheostat by means of a pedal control, following a light score composed with marks specially devised to be played with the musical score. In this connection, Mrs. Greenewalt says:

These light compositions can be made an accompaniment to any of the arts of succes-

sion, be it a dramatic poem, dance set, or phonograph record. The selective color buttons and switching is an all-important part of the slate table top.

Through the instrument there are naturally available as many shades of dark and bright color rays as the rheostat has orderly gradations, both for the seven prismatic colors used separately or mixed. These give the limit of what the eye can take in, and the eye has also its own psychology which the progressions must consider. These can be used under whatever form of effects the time and emotion may require.

Mrs. Greenewalt names as some of the many branches of human knowledge she has found it necessary to draw upon in realizing so complex an art, a mixture of esthetics and philosophy, electrical engineering, physics (of light), mechanics, dye knowledge and mathematics. And she triumphantly proclaims for this new art the heightening of musical emotion and the emancipation of the musical spirit on the wings of the color ray.

DOES ENGLAND WANT A BIGGER NAVY?

THE British naval authority, Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, discusses in the *Edinburgh Review* the general problems presented by possible world rivalry and the question of maintaining British "primacy," which, at the end of the war, was still retained on the seas. He says:

The United States have now a shipbuilding program which, if carried out, would put the British Empire in the second position as a naval power—unless we too engage in a program equally comprehensive. If we are to do so we shall be compelled to incur pecuniary expenditure that can only be characterized as gigantic; and this too at a time when our ability to meet it is more than doubtful. Reduction of expenditure, not increase of it, is the pressing need of the hour. The costly "building ship" competition with Germany in the eight or ten years before the war produced "capital ships" with which everyone is now disappointed. Is there another competition of the same kind in front of us?

Turning to the second part of his subject—the direction, in the immediate future, of the British shipbuilding policy—Sir Cyprian Bridge reviews the cost of England's building ship contest with Germany and points out that one of its effects is a progressive increase in the size and cost of capital ships. The latest British capital ship displaces 41,000 tons. The most recent American designs are for vessels of 43,000 tons each.

Strategy—in accordance with a favorite recipe

of the material school—is put on the scrap heap. This could be demonstrated at length. Here it will be sufficient to mention one or two of the morbid effects of ignoring strategy. For the modern man-of-war, docking—even when serious repairs are not necessary, as would often be the case after a battle—and docking at relatively short intervals is indispensable, if efficiency is to be maintained. Every large increase in displacement renders docks—sometimes many of them—practically useless as far as the more important classes of ships are concerned. As it will always be an object not to operate in war too far away from places where suitable docking accommodation would be available, it is plain that restriction of the accommodation will react unfavorably on the mobility of fleets. It may also be said that great size of individual ships will render certain channels or canals impassable. Will displacements exceeding 43,000 tons allow of passage through, say, the Suez Canal? Will they allow of passage through the Panama Canal? To enlarge the canals or make new ones will cost money. Will it be better to spend that money in adding to the number of ships?

Sir Cyprian suggests that it is a question whether we have not reached "the limit of megalomania and might not expect reductions of dimensions without loss of efficiency."

The ratepayers and taxpayers would probably like to be relieved of the burden of paying millions in order that certain classes of ships may carry about the world thousands of tons of armor which by no possibility can do any harm to an enemy. To anyone who may say, why was not this pointed out before? the answer is, it was pointed out long ago and often; but the warning fell on deaf ears.



THE EAST WING OF THE "AZTEC RUIN," NEW MEXICO, AFTER COMPLETE EXCAVATION

EXCAVATIONS IN NEW MEXICO

IN the northwest corner of New Mexico, not far from the Colorado line, there is a group of impressive ruins, the largest and best preserved of which has long been known as the Aztec Ruin, because of its proximity to the town of Aztec. There is no real reason, however, for associating this ruin with the people who lived in and around the City of Mexico when Cortez arrived there. When the name Aztec was given to the New Mexican town it was a term generally applied to the prehistoric population of that entire region.

Systematic excavation of the ruin was begun about five years ago by an expedition under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History, the expense of the undertaking being borne by one of the trustees of that institution, Mr. Arthur M. Huntington, who has since purchased the site, and will donate it to the United States Government in order that it may be made a national monument.

In *Harper's* for June Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology of the American Museum, tells what has been unearthed by the exploring party. Travelers in that part of the country may now see the entire structure laid bare and pass through its doorways into chambers long since deserted by their human occupants. From its observation of the ruin the Museum party has come to the conclusion that the edifice was abandoned long before the Spanish explorers arrived from Mexico. Adopting the relative chro-

nology deduced from a close study of pottery fragments, the explorers assign the ruin to a period antedating the coming of the Spaniards by at least one thousand years, the probabilities favoring a much longer interval. The outside dimensions of the building are about 280 by 360 feet. The highest sections of the walls now standing indicate that parts of the building were originally three stories high. It is cut up into small rectangular rooms, and was, in fact, a great apartment house with an enclosed court.

Twenty-four rooms in the first story were found to be in perfect condition, with the ceilings still standing; the others are more or less tumbled in. In many cases the walls are standing to the second story, but filled within by stones from the walls above and sand blown in the winds of centuries. Often, when this débris is dug away, the explorer finds upon the floor of the lower room utensils and other objects standing about, as left by the last occupants. It is these that tell the story of the builders.

For example, in one room a workman had been making *metates*, or the stone troughlike slabs upon which cornmeal was ground. In the center of the floor was a partially finished *metate*, hewn from a large, hard, river boulder. In a corner were two untouched boulders awaiting their turn. Nearby were the stonecutter's tools. These were halves of hard, smooth pebbles, broken through the middle, so as to present sharp edges. Holding the smooth part in the hand, it is obvious that the workman struck glancing blows on the surface to be worked down. In one corner was a heap of unbroken pebbles; in another, broken pebbles with the edges worn completely away. So this was the shop of a patient stoneworker, who walked out of his door one day, no

one knows where, leaving behind these fragments to tell the story of his toil.

Sandstone, with the outer surface nicely dressed, was the material of the walls. The doorways, says Dr. Wissler, are laid up with perfectly squared blocks so true to the vertical that a plumb line must have been used. In fact, on the floor of one of the rooms there were found two long cords with weights attached about the size of the plumets used by modern masons. There were skilled carpenters as well as stone-masons among

the builders. Although the only axes they had were of stone, the ruin contains enough heavy beams to have required the cutting of more than 250 spruce and pine trees, approximating twelve inches in diameter. More than sixty ceiling beams, made from these logs, can still be seen in perfect condition. The inhabitants also left behind them some excellent specimens of pottery.

It is clear that the builders were of the same race and stock as the extinct cliff dwellers and the Pueblo Indians still living in parts of Arizona and New Mexico.

THE COMMUNISM OF THE ANCIENT PERUVIANS

IN the *Pan-American Magazine* (New York) for May, Dr. César A. Ugarte, a young Peruvian scholar, reviews the traditional conception of the communism attributed to the Incas in the light of recent archæological discoveries. He finds that the main features of the agrarian communism in most of the populations that formed the Incas' empire were as follows:

(1) The "ayllu," that is, a group of kindred families, had the collective property of arable land;

(2) The "marca," that is, a federation of "ayllus" established in the same village, town or city, had the collective property of water, pasture fields, and forests;

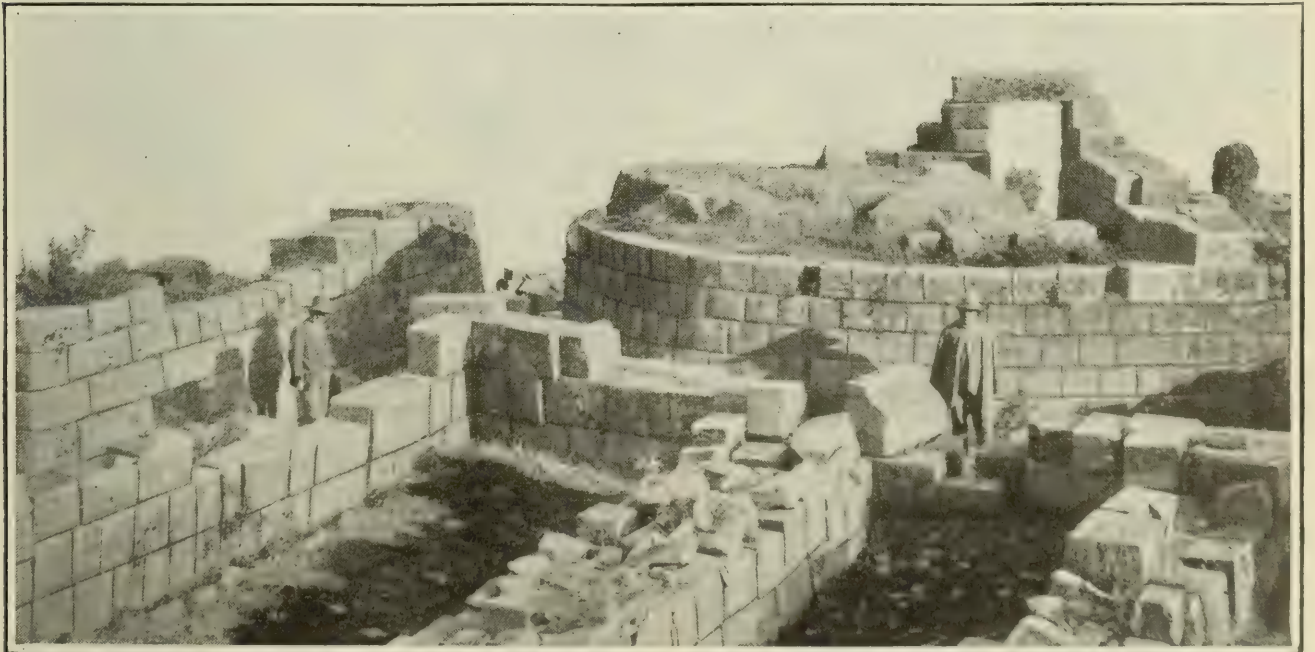
(3) Arable land was distributed among the "purics," or family chiefs, who had the right of individual possession, but not the right of transferring their allotments;

(4) Pasture fields and irrigation waters were collectively possessed by the "marca," or, perhaps, distributed among the "ayllus" for a temporary possession;

(5) Cultivation of every land was made by the entire "ayllu," while all other works, agricultural or otherwise, whose utility was for more than one "ayllu" were made by the coöperation of neighboring "ayllus" or "marcas";

(6) Crops were individually appropriated.

The only alteration that the Incas introduced on the agrarian régime of the conquered or allied tribes was that of constituting in every village, town or city, a public property that is, a portion of land given to the conquerors as a tribute of subjection, and whose crops were destined to the maintenance of the ruling caste, and of the Sun's priests, and to the general needs of the Empire. This policy was adopted by the Incas since their first conquests. They used to take a larger or smaller part of the land, according to their actual needs, and to the political or military circumstances.



RUINS OF THE INCA PERIOD IN PERU

THE AIRPLANE AND "WIRELESS" IN THE NEXT WAR

IN Europe, and especially in France, military and naval experts are taking it for granted that there will be a "next war." According to Denis Gwynn, writing in the *Review of Reviews* (London), these experts are concentrating their attention upon the future developments of warfare in the air. Marshal Foch himself recently declared that "war in the future will be waged under the water and in the air, for both on land and on the sea it is impossible to escape destruction."

Expert opinion is gradually but surely awakening to the fact that the decision as to whether another Great War is to take place is being worked out silently and unobtrusively day after day, in the aeronautical schools of the Great Powers, and most especially in their wireless laboratories. For the future conquest of the air is going to depend less on the mechanical improvement of the airplanes and airships with which we are familiar than upon the application to aeronautics of the amazing wireless experiments which have been occupying the attention of electrical engineers during the past three years, and in which the French have had the earliest and most conspicuous success.

The French electrical engineers have already demonstrated that the strategy of all countries will, within a few years, have to reckon with the existence of airplanes capable of flying under the direction of wireless control exercised at great distances from the scene of their operation. Submarines and torpedoes will be navigated and manipulated in the same way. They will be made to change their course at will in pursuit of the ships they are sent out to destroy.

After a long series of experiments in 1918 the French Air Service succeeded in getting an airplane equipped with a wireless apparatus to rise in the teeth of the wind and maneuver successfully in the air for fifty-one minutes until it had completed the circuit of a hundred kilometers which it was intended to cover. Although this airplane flew without any pilot on board, its course was completed without a single error.

The technical details of the invention may be left to scientific men. It is sufficient to say that for the success of this amazing experiment two essential conditions had to be fulfilled. First, it was necessary to devise means which would secure automatic stability for the aeroplane, no matter what position it might assume; and sec-

ondly, to apply to aeroplanes the mechanism by which it had been found possible even before the war to move heavy objects by wireless electrical power. But if these technical matters are complicated and abstruse, the results of aviation by wireless are quite obvious and concern everyone. That the conquest of the air will continue so long as science lasts cannot be doubted, and its results may bring incalculable blessings to mankind. But so long as the possibility of war continues to menace over the civilized world, the consequences of wireless aviation are appalling to contemplate. It cannot fail to revolutionize the functions of the Air Service as they have hitherto been understood.

This means, of course, that if airplanes unmanned by any crew can be sent out and controlled from long distances, aviation, merely as a means of observing the enemy's movements and preventing his observation, will become relatively unimportant. It means that the air service will no longer be auxiliary to the army and navy but must itself become in time the most important arm, whether for attack or for defense.

In the application of wireless control to torpedoes an American inventor, Mr. John Hays Hammond, Jr., has been notably successful. One of his inventions was an aerial torpedo to be fired at targets on the ground from a distance of twenty-five miles, but the most sensational of his discoveries concerns the direction and control of boats by wireless at long distances.

In one of his official demonstrations he showed that a hydroplane flying at about 9000 feet and at a distance of six or seven miles was able to maneuver a ship traveling at top speed, in and out among other boats in a large port; it successfully avoided a number of mudbanks and nine times out of ten succeeded in reaching its goal. In another demonstration a motorboat traveling at twenty-three miles an hour was steered through a crowd of merchant ships at Fort Monroe under the control of an airplane flying at 5000 feet and from two to five miles away, while the pilot of the airplane had no more difficulty in managing the ship than would a good pilot on board her. By using one hand to guide his machine and the other to manage the apparatus controlling the boat, he was able to direct both with ease. A fleet of such boats controlled at long distances from the air would revolutionize the practice of naval war, and all the more if the strategists on either side should decide to sacrifice their ships—which require no crews—in the attempt to reach their goal.

The introduction of torpedoes controlled by wireless is the worst nightmare of all, and its feasibility has long been proved.

A BRITISH EDITOR'S GOLDEN JUBILEE

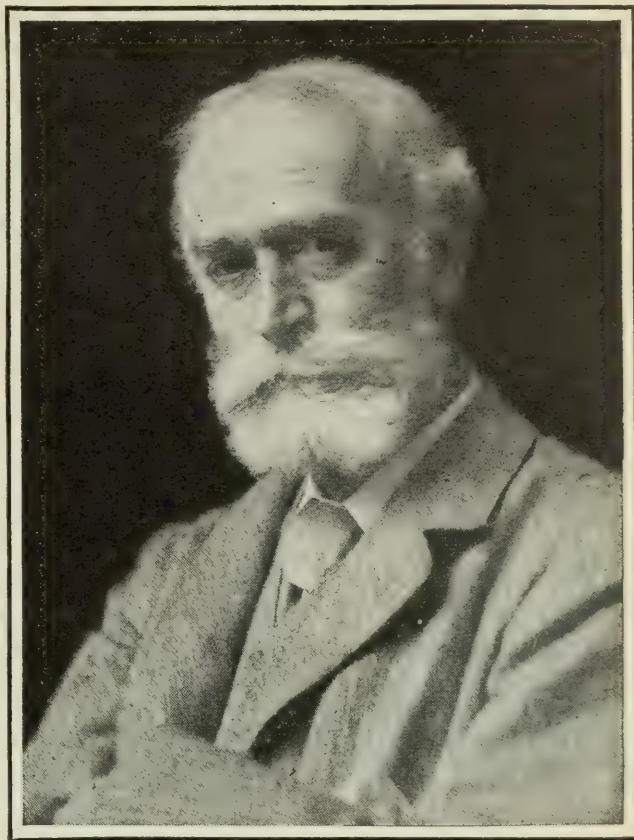
DURING the present year that great organ of British Liberal opinion, the *Manchester Guardian*, is celebrating its first centenary. At the same time its editor, Mr. C. P. Scott, is completing fifty years of continuous service.

Writing under his own signature for the anniversary number of his newspaper, Mr. Scott finely expresses the ideals that should govern every conscientious editor:

In all living things there must be a certain unity, a principle of vitality and growth. It is so with a newspaper, and the more complete and clear this unity the more vigorous and fruitful the growth. I ask myself what the paper stood for when first I knew it, what it has stood for since and stands for now. A newspaper has two sides to it. It is a business, like any other, and has to pay in the material sense in order to live. But it is much more than a business; it is an institution; it reflects and it influences the life of a whole community; it may affect even wider destinies. It is, in its way, an instrument of government. It plays on the minds and consciences of men. It may educate, stimulate, assist, or it may do the opposite. It has, therefore, a moral as well as a material existence, and its character and influence are in the main determined by the balance of these two forces. It may make profit or power its first object, or it may conceive itself as fulfilling a higher and more exacting function.

I think I may honestly say that, from the day of its foundation, there has not been much doubt as to which way the balance tipped so far as regards the conduct of the paper whose fine tradition I inherited, and which I have had the honor to serve through all my working life. Had it not been so, personally I could not have served it. Character is a subtle affair, and has many shades and sides to it. It is not a thing to be much talked about, but rather to be felt. It is the slow deposit of past actions and ideals. It is for each man his most precious possession, and so it is for that latest growth of time the newspaper. Fundamentally it implies honesty, cleanness, courage, fairness, a sense of duty to the reader and the community. A newspaper is of necessity something of a monopoly, and its first duty is to shun the temptations of monopoly. Its primary office is the gathering of news. At the peril of its soul it must see that the supply is not tainted. Neither in what it gives, nor in what it does not give, nor in the mode of presentation must the unclouded face of truth suffer wrong. Comment is free, but facts are sacred. "Propaganda," so called, by this means is hateful. The voice of opponents no less than that of friends has a right to be heard. Comment also is justly subject to a self-imposed restraint. It is well to be frank; it is even better to be fair. This is an ideal. Achievement in such matters is hardly given to man. Perhaps none of us can attain to it in the desirable measure. We can but try, ask pardon for shortcomings, and there leave the matter.

July--7



MR. C. P. SCOTT, FOR FIFTY YEARS EDITOR OF THE MANCHESTER "GUARDIAN," WHICH WAS BORN ON THE DAY NAPOLEON DIED

How the quality of Mr. Scott's editorship has impressed his generation in England, and especially his brother journalists, is clearly set forth in the *Review of Reviews* (London). Referring to Delane's noteworthy career as editor of the *Times*, the *Review* reminds us that in the thirty-six years during which the *Times* was under Delane's control the stamp of his mind was never so deeply impressed upon the paper as that of Mr. Scott has for half a century been set upon the *Guardian*.

He has given it a personality which distinguishes it from all other papers, and a character which even those furthest removed from its general point of view respect. The *Guardian* is not merely a British, it is an European institution. Some people regard it as the home of lost causes; others, with better justification on the facts, as the pioneer for those whose future victory is assured. But whether they like the causes or not they admire the consistency, ability and above all the honesty with which it is written and conducted. And they know that in these things it is expressing the mind and character of its editor. Mr. Scott has given his whole life to the *Guardian*. Not because it is a means to power, still less to fortune, but as the expression of a profound idealism. In his hands it is a great educational institution: a standing witness to the

fact that the press may be a power for good as well as for evil.

It is an educational institution not only for those who read, but for those who write on it. It has trained writers as well as readers. Some

of the most brilliant writers of our time have owed their first chance to the *Guardian*; one thinks of Mr. Hobhouse, J. A. Hobson, H. N. Brailsford, H. W. Nevins, C. E. Montague, A. N. Monkhouse, and a dozen others.

HUGO STINNES IN HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA



HUGO STINNES, INDUSTRIAL MAGNATE OF CENTRAL EUROPE

ACCORDING to the Budapest correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, Hugo Stinnes, who has been for some time the dominating figure in German economic life, has suddenly emerged in Central Europe. His purchase of a controlling interest in iron works in Styria has given impetus to the rumor that Stinnes is attempting to

corner the iron industry in Middle Europe. Furthermore, the fact that he is seeking to acquire an interest in influential Austrian newspapers is taken as an indication that his ambitions are not limited to iron.

Hugo Stinnes realizes two things—first, that the French occupation of the Ruhr district is not beyond the bounds of possibility, and that it seriously threatens his coal mines and his iron works; second, that Germany, losing all of its iron mines through the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, must look for new resources. With an eye to the first possibility, Stinnes is slowly withdrawing some of the money invested in the Ruhr district and is trying to invest it in other parts of the world. But the second calamity, the loss of the raw material, is far the more serious one. Germany's pig-iron output before the war amounted to almost 19,000,000 tons. To obtain this production she needed almost 50,000,000 tons of iron ore, and her own fields yielded only 49 per cent. of this amount. The rest had to be imported from Sweden, Spain, France, Algiers, and Morocco.

Now, with the loss of Lorraine, 80 per cent. of Germany's home production is gone. The stocks of German Lorraine were estimated to be somewhere near one milliard tons, whereas the French mines of Briery, Longwy, and Nancy amounted to over three milliard tons. All these fields have passed into French hands. The Germans in 1913 produced in the Lorraine mines 22,000,000 tons of Minette ore. The French produced slightly over 16,000,000. But the French

production was growing far more rapidly than the German. The German production since the early nineties only doubled itself, while the French grew from 1,000,000 tons per year in the nineties to almost 17,000,000 tons in 1913. So that the Germans, when the war broke out, were actually importing large quantities of ore from French Lorraine.

As the owner of the largest iron works in Germany, Stinnes fully realized the dependence of Germany upon France, and his first policy was to seek coöperation. That policy having failed, he is looking for resources elsewhere. Because of the reduced mercantile marine, the importation of Spanish and Swedish ore became very difficult, and Continental resources seemed to be the only hope. Recently, along with the Styrian iron works, he obtained an important control over the ore fields in that region which yield a very pure ore, containing almost 40 per cent. of iron (the best ore from Lorraine averages around 32 and 33 per cent.). Stinnes is now seeking an interest in the fields of Slovakia and Hungary.

With his emergence into the field of reconstruction Herr Stinnes becomes at once the good and the evil genius of the Central European situation. As a politician he is the darkest reactionary. But as a reconstructor of Central Europe—as a realist and practical economist—Herr Stinnes may prove to be the looked-for saviour. What relief organizations, reparations, and repartition commissions, English and American business missions, Rome and Porto Roso conferences, Bruck conferences, Central European political emissaries, etc., have failed over a period of three years to do, this man has done in a few weeks. For the last eighteen months the Austrian blast furnaces have been standing idle for want of coke. Stinnes appears on the scene, coke arrives immediately, and one blast furnace after another begins to blow. Simultaneously, all Austrian industry takes a new lease of life. The agricultural machinery works, which were badly wanting supplies of iron and steel, are about to restart, and the sorely suffering districts of Serbia, Hungary, Rumania, and Upper Austria may again obtain machinery. The same holds true of the engineering works all through these countries. As soon as he completes his negotiations in Hungary the same revival may be expected in the Hungarian industries.

THE CHILD IN SOVIET RUSSIA

THE May number of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* brings the third and final section of the report by a Swiss teacher, Hector Nicole, on his personal and professional experiences in Russia down to August, 1920. It describes the results of a national attempt, much as in the France of the Revolution, to break completely with the religious, political and social conditions of the old régime (the writer notes that compulsory universal education in France dated precisely from 1793).

But in Russia the government has undertaken to dictate every relation and detail of the individual life, as well as to break violently with all the experience and traditions of the past. There is no freedom of the press nor of personal utterance. Communism is complete. Compulsory labor is universal and a modicum of food is assigned to each man or woman.

To make these conditions permanent, the next generation must be kept fully in hand. So marriage is belittled. The home is sacrificed. Children are taken charge of by the state and trained to honor it above all natural ties. But at present the birth rate is cut as low as possible, for fear of general starvation. At birth the child is practically purchased from the mother (for 5000 rubles, in Petrograd) and she signs a pledge to deliver him to the state authorities on his fourth birthday. Those who refuse fare eventually much the same, or worse. Even the public nursery may decline to give up the babe to his working mother at nightfall.

At Moscow every child from five to fourteen has his daily dinner ticket from the public school, to eat at a government restaurant. Only lack of means delays the general introduction of these conditions elsewhere. Even in the chief cities the food is monotonous, unsuitable, and of a poor quality. Butter, milk, white bread, cocoa, etc., are wholly absent.

The whole curriculum—Kindergarten four to eight years, primary eight to thirteen, secondary thirteen to seventeen—is regarded as one "Soviet Labor School"; but it seems to be generally agreed that the graduates are thoroughly unfitted for any physical or mental tasks. Attendance is not enforced; there are no marks, no examinations. Pupils are promoted regularly according to age. There is no decent provision for higher or special training. No religious

teaching is permitted, no separation of the sexes at any stage. Smoking of cigarettes is always permissible. Many a schoolboy is carrying on a speculative traffic between Moscow and Petrograd! As to teachers, a university graduate and the raw illiterate are paid alike, but much less than a bare subsistence, for the paper money will buy almost nothing. Colt's flesh is a luxury for their table, potatoes and sauerkraut the staples.

The officials, and the small minority of organized Socialists, receive, almost or quite gratis, from the government shops plenty of flour, butter, meat, fish, cloth, shoes, etc., at need. In fact, the writer constantly refers to the greed and heartlessness of the Soviet officials. Even the school janitors reserve for themselves the lion's share of the rye bread intended for the lines of ravenous boys and no less hungry masters!

It is prophesied that in twenty years everyone in Russia will know how to read and write, but practically none will know anything else. The pupils have barely notebooks and pencils: no text-books, no maps, no apparatus. Pianos are plentiful in the schools, as in all official quarters, being confiscated from homes of the noblesse or the bourgeoisie. Anyone plays them who will.

Anecdotes throw a clear light on the general demoralization. A colleague returning from hospital reports:

It was pretty bad, but better than at home: there was more to eat. In my convalescence, walking the corridors, I noticed a large closet labeled "Library." I opened it. Not a book to be seen. "All smoked long ago," I was told. The patients called for the books not to read them, but to tear out the leaves and roll them into cigarettes. The whole library was gone.

The same fate has befallen the pillaged private libraries. Similarly, in an upper school, the pupils stole, drank, and replaced with water all the alcohol in which the natural history specimens were preserved.

I saw the other day two little boys of eleven or twelve, sitting on the edge of the sidewalk, calmly smoking. A lady, passing, cast an angry look at one of them, and murmured between her teeth: "Vagabond!" The boy didn't flinch. After she had gone on he turned to his comrade:

"That's my mother."

"Why didn't she say anything when she saw you smoking?"

"She didn't dare. I gambled yesterday and won a hundred thousand rubles."

The writer's story is told in diary form, and its effectiveness is chiefly in details which

cannot be summarized. The final decision of the family to escape on the last special train for Switzerland, the sufferings on the journey, and during the delay of many weeks in Moscow, are illuminating. Without sufficient food, light or fuel, with three ailing children, the father and mother were giving sixty-five lessons in the school, weekly, for a combined wage which exactly paid for three pints of milk daily, in case any could be obtained at all by scouring the whole countryside.

The general picture is of an enormous

mass of humanity wholly uprooted from economic, social and even family ties. Every lad is convinced that speculation, gambling, or impudent theft is safer and more profitable than thrift, that education means starvation. But of drunkenness, sexual demoralization, or crimes of violence, we hear hardly anything. It seems to be a people that can still be saved from the madness and diabolical wickedness of their rulers, and from their own stupor and folly. With reasonable justice assured, industry and thrift could easily be relearned.

THE RUSSIAN CHILDREN WHO CIRCLED THE GLOBE

ONE of the strangest episodes in the recent history of the Russian people is, surely, what Dr. Herbert McKay Coulter describes as "the Odyssey of 1000 children," in an article under this heading published in *American Medicine* (Burlington, Vt.). The children in question were confided to the care of the American Red Cross in 1918 by the local government of the Province of Minsk. They had been sent out of Petrograd because they were sickly and undernourished, and political conditions at the time prevented their return. They remained in the custody of the Red Cross for two years, intermittently moving eastward under stress of circumstances, until they had eventually made the circuit of the globe and were restored to their homes in Russia.

Dr. Coulter, who was the attendant physician of the party throughout their wanderings, should be proud of the fact that there were only five deaths among them during the whole of the trip, and that, whereas practically every child was subnormal at the start, the average health of the group was far above normal when they passed out of his care.

When the youngsters, after their long trip across Siberia, arrived on Russian Island, near Vladivostok, they were housed in five large barracks built for the soldiers of the Russo-Japanese War. At first, says the writer,

it was impossible to establish any discipline. They were like wild Indians and it was very difficult to organize them. With the help of Scout masters, boys and girls were both organized into Scout bands and by this means were taught what all Scouts are taught—loyalty to their country and

flag, honor, a clean body and a clean mind, obedience, self-reliance; and they were inspired with these principles in such a way that they hardly realized that they were being disciplined. I mention this because the Russians, having broken away from the Czar and the military régime he represented, were opposed to any military form and would not have their children taught anything in any way related to it. It was therefore impracticable to have soldiers guard and train them, but through the Scout movement we were able to accomplish the desired result without incurring any objections. This Scout movement was one of the most helpful means toward welding the children into a well-organized colony.

During the long stay on Russian Island the Red Cross, in coöperation with the school authorities of Vladivostok, established excellent schools for the children. Artistic talent opportunely discovered among the Austrian and Hungarian prisoners supplied the deficiencies of school equipment in the matter of maps and charts for teaching a variety of subjects.

Fifteen of the girls, who had passed their eighteenth year while with us, were entered at one of the American Red Cross hospitals for a four-months' training course, at the end of which they were qualified as nurses' aids. Ten other girls were given a course at a teachers' institute and became teachers. About an equal number of boys graduated from gymnasium and commercial schools.

Everything was done in the way of organizing healthful exercise and entertainment to make the children happy in the colony. They had a band, an orchestra and weekly dances.

Fully 95 per cent. of the colony were Orthodox Greek Catholics, and the Archbishop of the diocese of Vladivostok was asked to encourage them as far as possible in the observance of the doctrines of their own religion. The dilapidated chapel on Russian Island was restored and a resident priest was assigned to conduct services



GROUP OF RUSSIAN CHILDREN ON THEIR TWO-YEARS' JOURNEY UNDER RED CROSS CARE

and supervise the usual religious instruction in the school. A music teacher organized the orchestra of twenty pieces and a choir of forty voices, which on several occasions was invited to supplement the choir at the Cathedral in Vladivostok on church holidays.

The repatriation of the children entailed the long journey across the Pacific, then *via* the Panama Canal to New York, and finally, after a brief stop at Brest, to the Baltic shores. There were 777 children in the colony which left Russian Island. In New York occurred the one untoward episode of the whole expedition:

Owing to the immigration laws the Red Cross was obliged, in order to get landing permission, to put the children under military guard at Camp Wadsworth, on Staten Island. This military guard was, no doubt, the cause of the outbreak of discontent which occurred later. The Red Cross Society generously invited all Russians in New York to visit the children, with the hope of bringing a touch of home to them, but this brought a host of propagandists who tried to instil unrest and dissatisfaction among the group by telling the children that the Red Cross was taking them on a trip around the world to advertise itself, that the teachers were being badly treated, that everybody in the party was under military guard and practically prisoners and slaves, and that they were being taken to France for the

winter and not to Petrograd. These unfortunate insinuations were assisted by the fact that wherever the children went they were under military escort, for the reasons explained—reasons which the children naturally were incapable of understanding.

It was at this stage that a curious resolution was drawn up at a meeting of the children and teachers, asking for an explanation as to why they had been brought from the Ural Mountains "without authority" and why they were being held under military guard.

Happily this trouble soon blew over, and contentment reigned in the party within a few days after New York had been left behind. A landing in Finland was effected after considerable discussion with the Finnish Government. On shore the party was quartered in the Halila Sanatorium.

Once established at the Halila Sanatorium, the Red Cross authorities renewed their efforts to reach the parents of the children. Thousands of circulars, giving all the known information about the members of the colony, were printed and widely circulated throughout Russia. The upshot of this wide publicity was a flood of letters from parents and a final decision on the part of the Soviet authorities to claim the children, with the promise to care for them. As a consequence, most of the children have by now been repatriated and restored to their families.

WILL THE DYE INDUSTRY SURVIVE IN AMERICA?

MANY prophets have arisen of late to point out that the future welfare of our country is intimately bound up with that of an industry—or rather a group of industries—of very recent creation among us. The chemical dyestuff industry, together with various industries that ramify from it, is now on its feet in America. Will it continue to flourish?

An authoritative and particularly lucid account of the dye situation is given by Mr. H. Gardner McKerrow in the *Scientific American*. The writer first presents a retrospect of events since 1914, when there were only five firms engaged in the manufacture of coal-tar dyes in the United States, and these depended, for the most part, upon intermediate products obtained from Germany. He says:

The business here was not a profitable one, and with the single exception of aniline oil, no coal-tar product made in this country could be considered as having created a place for itself on a competitive basis. The German dyestuff houses established their own depots of distribution and their own laboratories in this country, and the technical service which they rendered to the dye consuming trades reached such a state of organization that our color users were riveted almost inseparably to the German manufacturers.

When war was declared in 1914 this supply on which more than \$5,000,000,000 worth of our industries depended was instantly cut off, and no dyestuffs were available other than what remained in the hands of the German agents or in the warehouses of the mills themselves. Immediately a condition bordering upon panic developed and prophecies were freely made that we should be reduced to the condition of a white world with color entirely eliminated from our everyday life. The very floors of the warehouses were scraped for color, all kinds of blends and mixtures were made to get desired shades, and dyestuffs utterly unsuited for the required purpose were used. Dyestuffs intended for dyeing cotton were used for dyeing wool or silk, and blends and mixtures were made that would not resist even the action of cold water.

Our mills were forced back into the use of the natural dye woods which our forefathers used, and which, on the advent of the coal-tar dyes, had passed almost completely out of employment. Such dyeing materials as log-wood, quercitron, fustic, hyperic and natural indigo were called for and methods of dyeing rejuvenated, which had been forgotten for years. The machinery for using this class of dyes had largely been done away with in the mills, and this also had to be replenished at a time when the mechanical industries of the country were being called upon to the limit of their resources for war

purposes. The forests of Mexico and Hayti were ransacked for anything which would yield color and every conceivable vegetable growth having any natural coloring value at all was experimented with for the purpose of obtaining the tints called for by our mills. Prices soared to unheard of limits, and dyes which before the war were sold at 20 cents and 25 cents a pound very quickly rose to \$2, \$5 and \$10 a pound.

Meanwhile establishments for manufacturing coal-tar dyes sprang up on all sides, notwithstanding the fact that a large part of the chemical talent of the country was absorbed in the business of making war materials. Within eighteen months there were 127 American firms engaged in the business of making dyestuffs and 218 in that of making coal-tar intermediates. Mr. McKerrow tells us that many of these concerns were in no way qualified for turning out satisfactory products; but he goes on to defend American-made dyes from the aspersions that have been cast upon them. On the latter subject he says:

Many of our retail stores have put notices on their goods such as "these goods cannot be guaranteed because they are dyed with American dyes." American dyes have been made to carry the burden of all kinds of faults; faults of improperly mixed stock, faults of spinning, faults of weaving, faults of finishing; all have been passed down the line and have been loaded eventually on the long-suffering American dyes. This is a condition which has only to be called to the attention of a patriotic American merchant, and in most cases he very readily and gladly removes these misleading notices.

As the new dye industry becomes more standardized and is able to give sufficient time to the working out of the intricate problems involved, the education of the American dyer will proceed apace and these difficulties will be eliminated one by one. We are justified in saying, however, that the three hundred individual dyes now made by the American dye manufacturers are, class for class and type for type, just as brilliant, just as fast, and just as reliable as the corresponding types of German dyes.

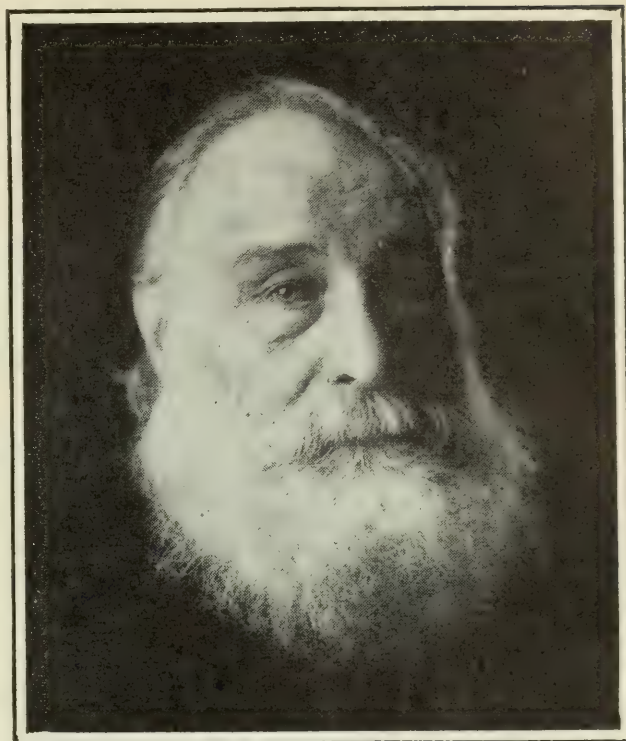
This does not mean that in the brief space of five years we have been able to make all the dyes which were formerly made in, and imported from, Germany, but we can have a feeling of justifiable pride, as patriotic Americans, in the fact that in one-tenth of the time that was taken by the German manufacturers to build up their coal-tar industry we have reached a point where we are supplying practically all the colors commonly required for use in the daily life of the nation, and that there is but a short way to go to make our line as complete and fully developed as the German line ever was.

If the industry is permitted to live, and is not placed in a position where it can be wiped out by ruthless foreign competition, we are justified in believing that in a very few years from now the coal-tar chemical industry of America will be doing everything industrially which was ever effected by German interests.

The perpetuation of our new dye industry means a great deal more than insuring the country an adequate supply of coloring materials. Coal-tar drugs are really by-products of the manufacture of coal-tar dyes. In this field, again, the Germans have been supreme, and Americans are not yet in a position to challenge their supremacy. Medicine is becoming more and more dependent upon such synthetic remedies as salvarsan, aspirin, phenacetin, etc. Again, the production of chemical fertilizers is very closely allied with the production of dyes. Finally—as has so often been reiterated—

The preservation of the coal-tar chemical industry is indissolubly associated with the national welfare, in that it is from this industry that the high explosives and poison gases are obtained which have made modern warfare what we realized it to be in 1917-1918. The country which has a well-established coal-tar chemical industry is the country which is ready to meet an aggressive attack almost at a moment's notice. The same plants which produce coal-tar colors can be changed and diverted into the manufacture of poison gases and high explosives with the least possible margin of delay—to use a slight literary exaggeration, almost overnight.

Chemistry is entering into practically every branch of industrial manufacture. It will be called upon more and more for analysis of manufacturing conditions, and for synthesis in putting together the ingredients for achieving new purposes. In order that this may be done intelligently, it is necessary to build up a thoroughly



SIR WILLIAM H. PERKIN, THE ENGLISH CHEMIST WHO DISCOVERED COAL-TAR COLORS IN 1856

trained class of research chemists. Now, where are those chemists to come from? Certainly our colleges, even our technical schools, cannot be depended upon to produce them. No matter how well equipped or well organized these educational institutions may be, they can never do more than give young men the initial training in theoretical work. The practical application of this theoretical training must be done in some industry the requirements of which are such that this work can be utilized in a commercial way.

There is no such industry, except the coal-tar chemical industry, and the collateral chemical manufactures that go with it. No other industry could afford to spend the necessary time and money on experimentation and the working out of complicated chemical processes.

PETROLEUM INVESTIGATIONS IN CUBA

THE Cuban petroleum and asphalt fields lie from Havana east, west and south in the provinces of Santa Clara, Matanzas, Havana and Pino del Rio: a strip 500 kilometers long by 30 wide. Sebastian Ocampo (1508) and Oviedo (1535) first discovered and used the asphalt deposits near Havana Bay, says Señor José Isaac Corral, a noted Cuban engineer (Chief of the section of Mountains and Mines, Cuban Department of Agriculture), in a recent issue of *Cuba Contemporánea* (Havana).

Other important discoveries are in Guanabacoa (1884), Guanajay (1869), Mariel (1880), Banes (ancient workings), Bejucal (1873), Camajuani, Ranchuelo, Sagua la

Grande and Sancti Spiritus. In the neighborhood of Cardenas, Guamutas and in various spots in Santa Clara, oil, petroleum and illuminating gas have been found. Motembo (Santa Clara—1880) is noted for its production of almost pure naphtha. A personal investigation has led Señor Corral to believe that the Marta region also has good prospects.

All Cuban wells are not producing oil in commercial quantities. This can be remedied in some cases by better methods of production. Wells seriously injured during the war with Spain have recently (1916) been repaired and operated.

The topography of the Motembo region is in slight relief, since it abounds in plains and eleva-

tions of small height. The spots where gas is found and naptha appears correspond to the presence of the so-called serpentine formation. . . . All the wells are situated in igneous earth, after having passed first through a diorite of fine grain and then a diorite poor in hornblend, until a typical serpentine rock is reached, with all the accidents of color and decomposition natural to its formation: feldspar is met at times, at other times pockets or veins of magnesium-bearing clay are encountered. In general the wells have not been driven beyond this rock, the serpentine of a clear green color still persisting at the depth reached. From this rock the naptha gushes.

To attain successful production the Cuban oil field must be carefully studied, with especial reference to the true genesis of petroleum. Failure to find oil at expected depths has led to inability to finance some projects adequately, with a consequent abandonment of the wells. It can be positively stated that in two places, at least, petroleum rises to the surface—while in another important quantities of naptha are obtained.

The Santiago Mine has nineteen wells in Bacuranao (Guanabacoa), which produce 9000 barrels annually. This quantity is decreasing, however. The output at the George mine was 3000 barrels monthly at first—but has diminished lately. The oil in this field is found at a depth of 600 to 1000 feet, on reaching serpentine formation. Analysis shows that this petroleum has a parafine base and will produce illuminating oils, and light as well as rich lubricating oils. In the same locality are many other wells, to date unproductive. A close study of local conditions will lead to the opening of many important wells in this section, for every region possesses its own peculiar natural laws, says Señor Corral.

Motembo (Santa Clara) produces naptha belonging to the group generally known as white petroleum. The petroleum found here has a graduation of 65 to 75 degrees Baumé, and is of amber color or colorless. It is superior to the Baku product. As its density is 0.7179 to 0.6829 and it comes from the well free of matter in suspension it can be used—without further treatment—in internal combustion engines of automobiles, airplanes, etc. The wells are from 1100 to 1500 feet deep. It should be possible to utilize the natural gas of this region, either in its original form or for the purpose of extracting the gasolene which exists in the proportion of about three-quarters of a gallon to each 1000 cubic feet of gas.

Señor Corral takes issue with the American theory that petroleum and the coal tars

come directly from "the decomposition or fermentation of organic matter—vegetable or animal." He denies that coal is formed by the natural carbonization of great vegetable masses, under special conditions of temperature and pressure. He believes this organic hypothesis explains many failures to find oil in Cuba.

Señor Corral explains the European theory of *inorganic origin*, in part, as follows:

Petroleum, naptha, asphalt and, moreover, mineral oils . . . are of inorganic origin and have been formed naturally by chemical reactions occurring between the metallic carbides of the igneous rocks with the currents of water existing in the ground traversed by the crystalline intrusion. . . . This mineral theory meets many examples in different deposits of asphalt, petroleum and naptha in Cuba, all of which are found in the serpentine or in the unions of this metamorphic rock, with strata cut or broken by an eruption of the igneous mass.

The collection of oil in large natural reservoirs is somewhat similar to the processes governing subterranean bodies of water.

Acting in his official capacity Señor Corral has closely examined the geologic formation of Cuba and he is thoroughly convinced of the truth of this theory of chemical synthesis, which is held by such eminent scientists as Berthelot, Daubrée, Mendeleeff, Fuchs and De Launay.

The oil industry in Cuba suffers from two causes: improper engineering methods and faulty financing. A closer study of natural conditions, based on the inorganic theory, will do much to overcome the first; elimination of empiricism now taking the place—in many cases—of true scientific engineering is another necessity. Bad financial methods have led the oil industry into disrepute. Thus capital for legitimate promotion is hard to raise. Aside from purely dishonest stock, there are too many projects that have been heavily overcapitalized, so that the wells can never give sufficient returns to pay back the capital invested. Such conditions must and will be overcome.

Indubitably many wells have been abandoned too soon, for one reason or another. It is also true that the country contains large deposits that have not yet been exploited. Wildcat companies have injured public confidence. With companies based on sound finance, whose engineers thoroughly study the field, Cuba can and will produce oil in commercial quantities, though it may never compete seriously with the famous wells of the United States and Mexico.

ROGER BACON'S CIPHER MANUSCRIPT

THE American Philosophical Society, at a meeting held late in April at Philadelphia, was regaled with a lecture on Friar Bacon's cipher manuscript, with screen projections of some of the cryptic drawings. The lecture was delivered by Dr. William Romaine Newbold, who has for several years past been laboring with this most complicated cipher, which promises revelations rich in scientific and historic value. The manuscript was found by Wilfred M. Voynitch, in Italy, in 1912, and he added to Dr. Newbold's lecture some remarks tracing partially the history of the manuscript. The comment provoked by newspaper accounts of the meeting prompted *America* (New York) to publish an article by John C. Reville, S. J., who brings out some details of Friar Bacon's life and work from the Catholic standpoint.

Ordinary code and cipher experts stand bewildered by the mysteries of this manuscript, which requires familiarity with medieval Latin, cabalism, alchemy, astrology and other sciences, besides expert knowledge of cipher decoding of the most intricate and baffling sort in a shorthand borrowed partly from the Greek system and apparently evolved to some extent by Bacon himself. It must be remembered also that this Franciscan friar, as Father Reville says, was a master of Latin, which

he wrote with an ease, naturalness and elegance, not surpassed until the days of the Renaissance. He read Aristotle in the original Greek, unlike many of his contemporaries who had to rely on Latin translations, some of which had come from the original through Arabic versions. Like St. Jerome, he had studied Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldean. To these he added Arabic.

The fact that Roger Bacon wrote so much, that he delved into almost every science, astronomy, chemistry, physics, language, and mathematics, that he caught the first dim vision of the great modern triumphs of the flying machine, the diving-bell, the steam engine, suspension bridges and high explosives, goes far to show that he was not so hampered in his investigation as inaccurate and often biased historians claim. If misinformed contemporaries and over-anxious and suspicious superiors ill-judged and ill-treated the great Franciscan friar, it must be remembered that a Pope, Clement IV, was his friend and protector, and that the Catholic Church proudly considers him as one of her glories.

We have it on the authority of the *Times* (New York) that Dr. Voynitch consulted Dr. Newbold after three cipher experts had completely failed him. The interesting report in this newspaper gives an excellent idea



FRIAR ROGER BACON

(Portrait engraved by Richard Godfrey in 1786 from the original painting in the collection at Knole)

of the difficulties with which Dr. Newbold was confronted:

Starting with the idea that Bacon had written his secrets in cipher for fear that his life imprisonment for heresy and necromancy would be turned into capital punishment, Dr. Newbold began to study the manuscript in February, 1919. . .

Dr. Newbold last night traced the six steps backward for a *Times* reporter. He took what appeared to be a word of seven letters in Russian or some unfamiliar foreign language. The word was written in the middle of an elaborate drawing, which is believed to be that of a cell, as seen by Bacon under a microscope or powerful lens. The first shorthand letter is an "O" with twelve sections. The other letters do not approximate English letters.

The six processes of translation and their final product are as follows:

1. Reading the shorthand back into Roman letters, the seven seeming letters in shorthand yielded a total of 172 letters in Roman. The shorthand "O" spawned this family of Roman letters: A, U, H, T, I, E, P, T, U, U, Q, U, E.

2. The second process is that of annexing one letter to that which precedes and to that which follows. Thus, "AUH" becomes "AU-UH" and "HTI" becomes "HT-TI."

3. This is a process called "commutation," under which the syllables of process "2" are transformed as follows: "au" equals "ir"; "ah" equals "ri"; "ht" equals "is."

4. The fourth process is another arbitrary series of transpositions. By this time the original shorthand "o" has become "ambibbcclin."

5. The next process is that of transposition again under an arbitrary system under which the "o" becomes "niaiiccsau."

6. The sixth process is that of working Latin words out of the scrambled letters above, after the fashion of anagrams and Sam Lloyd puzzles. Here comes in the temptation to make ingenious conjectures and all kinds of errors. Dr. Newbold does not consider the last process accomplished unless he had fitted each letter into a word that makes sense. . . .

From the original shorthand figure Dr. Newbold translated as follows:

"Here the souls are growing and extending themselves. You see the essential aggregations of the sacks (cells) are being severed into bonds between the kernel and the fragile membrane of the egg, but there are arising points between the external masses of cells at that point."

But a small part has been translated, mostly at the end of the manuscript and in the captions under the diagrams. Bacon says, in decoding hints at the end of his document, that he is "flying with the wings of Julius Caesar," who was probably the first to write in a cipher in which one letter meant another,—one of the things not known by Dr. Newbold before he read it in the Bacon manuscript. Immediately afterward he confirmed it. The *Times* reprints the following paragraphs of the lecture:

The manuscript falls into four divisions, dealing, respectively, with plants, the heavenly bodies, the generation of animal life and the preparation of drugs. The common link connecting all four is probably Bacon's interest in the prolongation of human life. Plants are discussed because of their medicinal properties; the stars because they determine a man's character at his birth and influence him throughout life; embryology because of the bearing upon later life of all factors influencing conception, and pharmacology because drugs are essential to the cure of disease.

This is the first record of the use of the telescope. The embryological section contains thirty-one drawings. As a rule, they are symbolic, for Bacon was unwilling to draw objects recognizable by the casual observer.

But there are drawings which so accurately portray the actual appearance of certain objects that it is difficult to resist the inference that Bacon had seen them with the microscope. It is possible that the decipherment of the text may reveal unsuspected meanings in the pictures, but at present the interpretation I have put upon them seems obvious. Thus are spermatozoa, the body cells and the semeniferous tubes, the ova, with their nuclei distinctly indicated.

There are nine large drawings, of which one

at least bears considerable resemblance to a certain stage of development of a fertilized cell. The other eight may have similar significance, but they cannot at present be interpreted.

The spermatazoa were not again seen after Bacon until they were rediscovered by Hamm and Leeuwenhoek. It seems impossible to doubt that Bacon was the first to discover these important structures.

The symbolic significance of the drawing is as yet but imperfectly understood. It relates in large part to Bacon's belief that the soul lived in the stars before birth and returned to the stars after death.

"One of the conquered sentences of the manuscript," says the *Times*, "is the statement by Bacon that the vital principle is capable of multiplying matter indefinitely."

The figure of woman is constantly drawn throughout the manuscript, frequently joined to the drawing supposed to represent cells and apparently elaborately working out Bacon's theory of the life-giving principles.

Much of what is apparently scientific observation and reasoning far ahead of his age is linked with theological and astrological symbols. The symbolic soul is seen in Heaven entering a kind of chute, descending and being endowed by correct biological processes with human form. The soul is usually portrayed as in tears and deep distress in discovering itself imprisoned in the flesh and blood of fallen man.

Father Reville, in *America*, states that Bacon's scientific discoveries and his relentless logic "never interfered with his loyal acceptance of the dogmas of his Faith, of which, in spite of conflict with superiors and disagreements with some of the great teachers of his times, he remained a loyal adherent." He deprecates the statement that Friar Bacon was persecuted by his order as lacking authoritative contemporary record still extant, and says:

That he was put under some restraint by his superiors is not unlikely. They knew of his bitter controversial tone and his occasional doctrinal errors, errors, which, if unchecked, would have exposed, not only Roger Bacon, but the whole Franciscan Order to severe criticism. In 1260 a general prohibition was passed by the Franciscans against the publication of books by members of their Order, unless these books were revised and censored by the proper authorities of that body. . . . The works of the English friar came under the general law. The censure was not primarily aimed at him.

At any rate, the Bacon light shines brighter than ever, and the Church now has no hesitation, apparently, in claiming as a valued heritage his startling accomplishments under its influence in the Middle Ages.

PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN ITALY

THE necessity for encouraging private initiative in industry and the evils that can result from a prejudice against those who choose to put their capital, small or large, into industrial enterprises, is the subject of an article by O. M. Corbino in *La Riforma Sociale* (Turin and Milan).

As to the vexed questions touching municipal or state ownership of public utilities, it is stated as a notable circumstance that whenever there are in the same place both a private electric company and a public one, the people enjoy the best conditions, as well in the matter of charges as in the accuracy and regularity of the service. The writer of the article, who has been for ten years one of the managers of the municipal company in Rome, has seen how greatly the ambition to equal, if not to surpass, the rival private company has tended to render the service more and more satisfactory. Nevertheless, he considers those communities to be unfortunate in which there is only a public company, for a monopoly in the hands of the state, and more especially one in the hands of a municipality, may easily become a great source of trouble for the citizens.

None of the great Italian industries is to-day able to assure, on the average, higher return to its shareholders than the 6 or 7 per cent. easily obtainable in government securities. And yet, while the owner of a government bond, who in January and July performs the hard labor of cutting off and cashing his coupons, is looked upon as a most excellent and reputable citizen, and was praised to the skies at the time of the subscription to the national loan, the holder of industrial shares, who sees his securities decline in value, and who is only too often spared the fatigue of going to collect dividends, is called a greedy speculator, and not infrequently an unworthy profiteer. And this charge is made not merely by the proletarian who has his own peculiar ideas regarding property, but also by a great many citizens who profess the highest respect for property rights.

There exists, indeed, a strange diversity in the judgments passed by the various elements of the well-to-do classes. The landlords, who are accused of unbridled rapacity, despite the restrictive laws, protest against the excessive profits made by the owners of farm land, and by the producers of the necessities of life,

and also against the middlemen and the dealers, while each of these latter classes returns the reproach. All, however, with one voice, proclaim that the chief profiteer is, let us say, some electric company, which nevertheless has declared but small dividends on its shares during the past few years, and which this year may declare none at all.

This peculiar mental attitude of the upper classes is due to the fact that while they recognize the citizen's right to demand interest for money loaned to the state, or invested in houses and land, notwithstanding the absence of risk in the former case so long as the government is maintained, they are unable to recognize the same rights for capital invested in industrial enterprises, although these are so often at the mercy of unforeseen dangers. If, in spite of this, industrial shares are freely bought, the reason is that although in some industries the returns are inferior to those from government bonds, in other cases they are superior to the average, and everyone hopes that the enterprise he has selected will be one of those especially fortunate.

The writer holds that if we admit the principle of private property, we cannot renounce the defense of industrialism with its characteristic organization, as it is still maintained in nations further advanced in progress than is Italy. Already many signs indicate a disposition on the part of the ruling classes to abandon the defense of industrial enterprises of the shareholding type, in order to save from shipwreck the entire industrial fabric. Clear proofs of this appear in the attitude of certain parties which cannot be termed subversive, but which are foolishly eager to have Italy hold a place in the vanguard of the nations having a highly developed socialistic legislation, even if it be one of the most dangerous kind.

There exists, as a sequence of the war, a political program which threatens to dry up the sources of production, which has frightened off Italian capital, and to a still greater degree foreign capital, from participating in the growth of Italian industries. It would not be just to attribute this to the faults of one or another of Italy's administrations, for the dominant opinion in the Italian ruling class takes this direction. Perhaps industrialism is blamed for having created those formidable concentrations of workmen in the

great workshops, which have become hotbeds of proletarian agitation and class hatred. But the economic structure of the modern world makes it impossible for any country

to exist without a high development of its industries, and this is especially the case with Italy, where the population is so dense and the national resources so limited.

WORLD DEFORESTATION AND FLOODS

A RECENT issue of the *Revue Mon-diale* (Paris) contains an article by M. Lucien Girot-Genet, formerly head of the French Mission to the Colonies, on the subject of world deforestation in its relation to the great floods that have recently taken place in Europe. The writer has for many years been a keen observer of forestry conditions, especially in the French colonial possessions. His reasoning and deductions are based upon careful investigation, and are of special interest at this time.

As to the distribution of forests on the earth's surface, M. Girot-Genet has tabulated statistics from each of the five continents as follows:

THE DISTRIBUTION OF FORESTS ON THE EARTH'S SURFACE
AREA (in hectares)

	Total of each continent	Of forests	Percentage of wooded area
Europe	996,800,000	314,468,500	30.2
America	4,700,000,000	646,752,200	14.0
Asia	4,500,000,000	386,003,100	8.5
Australia	1,063,100,000	94,430,000	8.5
Africa	2,900,000,000	229,314,200	7.9
Totals	14,159,900,000	1,670,968,000	12.0

One outstanding fact shown by this table, which will doubtless surprise most readers who have not given particular attention to the subject, is the relatively high percentage of wooded area on the Continent of Europe. Students of forestry have agreed that the normal proportion of soil devoted to forests in each country should be about one-third of the total. This table shows that, with the exception of Europe, all the continents fall very far short of having a normal percentage. Europe has 30.2 per cent. of her soil in forests, America 14 per cent., Asia and Australia 8.5 per cent. each, and Africa only 7.9. America's small percentage is due in no small degree to the devastating fires that have swept over millions of acres of forest land during the past century. The planet as a whole has only 12 per cent. of its total area in forests, instead of the $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. which would represent a normal condition. Taking these facts into consideration,

M. Girot-Genet thinks it not surprising that the world is undergoing serious atmospheric disturbances and, notably, an alarming irregularity of rainfall.

At the outset of his discussion this writer reminds us that the forest regions of the earth exercise a definite influence on the clouds, attracting them and precipitating their condensation and thus bringing on in the forest itself, or in its vicinity, rainfalls which are perceptibly larger than the quantities of moisture which fall outside of the forests. Assuming these conditions, it seems plain that Europe, which is well forested, would naturally receive more rain on the whole than America or either of the other

continents whose percentage of wooded area has become much lower than hers.

M. Girot-Genet is forced by his studies to the conclusion that further deforestation of the world's surface will tend to produce still greater inequalities in the distribution of

rainfall, and that Europe, the continent having the highest percentage of wooded areas, will be still more seriously affected by floods. He proposes, therefore, that not only deforestation should be checked throughout the world, but that simultaneously on all continents the forests shall be brought back on immense areas, from whence the want of foresight or the greed of man has banished them. His program is set forth in the following paragraphs:

It clearly appears that in order to undertake the realization of the work, all the nations ought to be united in order to bring forward the work of forest restoration, because isolated work can only produce results which would hardly be perceptible.

The first steps to take on this beneficial path, at the end of which security is found for most of the countries, from the economic point of view, will consist in a closer supervision of the existing forest areas, such as a rigorous suppression of the abuses for which no name is too bad which

manifest themselves in the exploitations practiced in the intertropical zone.

To maintain the wooded state wherever it still exists is the essential thing, toward which all efforts ought to be bent.

The decrease or the disappearance of important forest areas in the intertropical zone can only contribute toward making the atmospheric reactions of these regions more violent—reactions certainly having their echo in Europe.

France, more than any other nation, is interested in maintaining forest areas in her African colonies in particular.

But, following the scarcity of wood, which manifests itself in so acute a manner, especially since the war; in the face of the losses in our devastated regions; in the face of the paper crisis, all eyes are turned to-day toward our colonial possessions.

In short, the situation now confronting the French colonies is not unlike that with which our own country is unhappily familiar:

Powerful companies, already organized or about to be organized, are preparing to use the axe vigorously on the forests across the sea, and that with only the care to convert into money as rapidly as possible all the wood products capable of creating a trade.

The lessons of the past prove that after the passing of these intensive exploitations, there will be, if any remains, only worthless wood on the cut area.

The future will be clearly imperiled and the native habits aiding the axe in its abuses, fire will follow. That will be ruin.

The companies, in fact, have no interest in safeguarding the future. They generally go to the colonies only for a limited time—just long enough to rapidly gain great profit. The rest matters little to them.

Doubtless conditions will be imposed on paper which will all be a matter of form, because no competent authority will be there to enforce them.

It is well to mention here in fact that up to now the local governments have organized nothing serious or practical for safeguarding the forest domain of the colonies entrusted to them. All the regulations made in this matter are dead letters, or applied by officials overburdened with work and notoriously incompetent to intervene in the application of the most elementary laws of silviculture.

The forest specialists have carefully been removed from our colonies. There is a most serious danger, because local exploitations are made here and there by chance; they are not directed nor controlled to advantage.

We can now predict, without fear of being contradicted, that in the very near future, a quarter of a century at the most, the French colonial forests will be nearly ruined. The percentage of wooded area of Africa, already so low, will be lowered still more, and however little the practices which we denounce are realized in other regions, by other nations, we can expect new and cruel frauds in Europe.

The writer suggests a new task which might profitably be undertaken by the League of Nations:

From this sober statement it follows, it seems, that the reforestation of certain countries of the world is urgently demanded, because we indeed find ourselves in the presence of a world peril.

All the nations have a tangible, immediate interest in that Nature no longer be disturbed. Weary of submitting to assaults, reviving, she revolts and punishes short-sighted humanity with irreparable disasters.

Continuous droughts in certain regions, droughts due to deforestation; follow continuous rains. But prolonged droughts and floods are sisters. They have the same reason, the same cause. The disasters which they engender cumulate. Humanity suffers thereby.

These facts impress us. The devastations submitted to in Spain, France, Italy, Greece, America, to mention only the regions which suffer most seriously, amount to hundreds of millions each year.

It now clearly appears that urgent measures should be taken to check world deforestation, the cause of the greatest troubles from which we have to suffer, because in life everything is related and connected.

In this particular point France, still rich in colonial forests in the intertropical zone, owes it to herself to there organize a scientific, methodical administration by sending forthwith into every colony a phalanx of energetic foresters, duly prepared for such a life as they will have to lead, and having for its primary mission the search for the formula under which the interests of the present and those of the future will be able to take refuge.

The European nations which possess colonial empires should be invited to take the same action.

If, on the other hand, all the interested governments agree to establish a permanent, international organism, having in view the restoration of denuded, sterile areas which, deprived of vegetation, produce atmospheric disorders from whose consequences Europe suffers, the world will indeed quickly assume another aspect and our children, before a century, will find themselves sheltered from floods which to-day put our persons and our property in peril.



THE NEW BOOKS

WORLD POLITICS

The Salvaging of Civilization. By H. G. Wells. Macmillan. 199 pp.

Even before the war the explorations made by Mr. H. G. Wells in the international field had become widely known.

His writings during the past six or seven years have been more generally circulated, perhaps, than those of any other Englishman. The present volume sums up this author's speculations as to the future of mankind. In general, Mr. Wells looks forward to a consolidated world-state, and in his view the task of bringing about such a state is not primarily one for "the diplomatists and lawyers and politicians." The reconstruction that Mr. Wells has in mind is an educational and moral reconstruction.

Collective, world-wide action seems impossible at the present time, because of the "contentious loyalties and hostilities of the past." Only as mankind finds release from these fetters can a true world control be organized and maintained. When education is everywhere ruled by this idea of a world commonwealth the world-state will be achieved. Without such an outcome Mr. Wells can see no hope for the future of the world.

Problems of a New World. By J. A. Hobson. Macmillan. 277 pp.

Mr. Hobson is an English economist who sees in the events of 1914-18 something much bigger and more complex than the armed conflict itself. The break-up of the political system of Europe involved an industrial revolution, and it is to the economic problems and especially "the challenge to property" and "the liberation of labor" that Mr. Hobson addresses himself in this volume.

"The Next War." By Will Irwin. E. P. Dutton & Co. 161 pp. Ill.

This is an able and pointed argument for reduction of armaments. The author spent much time in Europe during the Great War, and had full opportunity to study the methods of warfare employed by the combatants and to deduce from first-hand observation the consequences to the race of another conflict of like magnitude. He dis-

cusses "Tactics of the Next War," "Economics and the Next War," "The Cost in Money," and the practical proposals made for averting war.

Through War to Peace. By Albert G. Keller. Macmillan. 196 pp.

A new edition of an essay written and published during the war. Professor Keller treats the war itself as an incident in the evolution of society.

World Peace. By Fred H. Aldrich. Detroit: Fred S. Drake. 218 pp.

An exposition of the principles of international law in their application to efforts for the preservation of the peace of the world. The volume is made up of lectures delivered before the Detroit College of Law by a prominent member of the Detroit Bar.

The Case of Korea. By Henry Chung. Fleming H. Revell Company. 367 pp. Ill.

A statement of the Korean side of the controversy regarding Japanese rule in that country, together with an account of the development of the Korean independence movement, by a member of the Korean Commission to America and Europe. In a foreword Senator Spencer, of Missouri, commends the book as a record of events which "places upon Japan the burden of explanation—a burden which no government ought either to hesitate or refuse to instantly assume before the judgment bar of the world."

The United States and Canada. By George M. Wrong. The Abingdon Press. 191 pp.

In this little book one of the most eminent of living Canadian historians sets forth some of the likenesses as well as differences between Canada and the United States, with a view to bringing about a better understanding of the relations of the two peoples, which have many common interests.

Principles of Freedom. By Terence MacSwiney. E. P. Dutton & Co. 244 pp.

This book contains the political confession of faith of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, who, in the opinion of thousands of his countrymen, met a martyr's fate because of his views.

Serbia and Europe: 1914-1920. Edited with a Preface by Dr. L. Marcovitch. Macmillan. 355 pp.

This book is an attempt to exhibit the whole policy of Serbia during the war. It consists of articles written by twenty-nine of the most notable Serbian politicians and publicists, and may be accepted as an authentic exposition of Serbia's course in the struggle.



MR. H. G. WELLS

A Defense of Liberty. By the Hon. Oliver Brett. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 225 pp.

A discussion chiefly notable as an attempt to align Socialism on the conservative rather than the progressive side of politics. Dealing with the origins and tendencies of modern politics, the author boldly challenges Socialism as "reaction."

The New World. By Frank Comerford. D. Appleton & Company. 364 pp.

This book is chiefly a discussion of Bolshevism in Europe and America. The author, after a study of the prevailing unrest in Europe, was special prosecutor for the State of Illinois in the celebrated Red cases.

SOCIOLOGY: ECONOMICS

The Party of the Third Part. By Henry J. Allen. Harper & Brothers. 283 pp.

Debate Between Samuel Gompers and Henry J. Allen at Carnegie Hall, New York, May 28, 1920. E. P. Dutton & Co. 105 pp.

The story of a year's test of the famous Kansas Industrial Relations Court, as told by Governor Allen. The Governor is convinced that this court has already earned its right to be regarded as a permanent institution, and that it has more than justified the claims which its founders made for it. It has not only proved its great value in settling labor disputes in Kansas, but is now ready to submit the result of its work to other States, several of which are seriously considering the example that Kansas has set in this matter. "The Party of the Third Part" is the public, whose interests in labor disputes are carefully looked after by this new court. The record of the Allen-Gompers debate at Carnegie Hall, New York City, in 1920, has also been preserved.

Denmark: A Coöperative Commonwealth. By Frederic C. Howe. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 203 pp.

This study of one of the smaller countries of Europe shows some of the possibilities of economic as well as political democracy. Denmark is everywhere known as a brilliant example of coöperation. Every second family in Denmark is connected with one or more of the coöperative societies, while the average farmer is a member of from three to ten such organizations. Dr.

Howe points out that coöperation is "of the very texture of the every-day life of Denmark." The men who have been trained in the coöperative movement are the men who have risen to political power. The economic and political states are merged. Dr. Howe believes that Denmark should be visited by commissions from our own Western agricultural States. In his opinion Denmark is one of the few countries in the world that is using its political agencies in an intelligent, conscious way for the promotion of the economic well-being, the comfort and the cultural life of the people.

The Direction of Human Evolution. By Edwin Grant Conklin. Charles Scribner's Sons. 247 pp. Ill.

A biologist's conclusions regarding the future of the human race, as deduced from a scientific conception of human evolution. Accepting the principles recognized by science as having guided the evolution of man thus far, Professor Conklin proceeds to apply those principles to the future evolution of the race. He considers the bearings of evolution upon government and religion, in so far as this is possible. The author takes issue with Chesterton in his assertion that the World War put a stop to all our talk about human evolution.

Social Evolution. By Benjamin Kidd. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 404 pp.

A new edition of a work that was widely read in this country and in England a quarter of a century ago.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Across Mongolian Plains. By Roy Chapman Andrews. D. Appleton & Company. 276 pp. Ill.

China's "Great Northwest" is described in this volume by the American naturalist and explorer who has just started on another expedition to that part of the world, under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History. In the present volume it is the work of the second Asiatic expedition of 1918 that is described by Mr. Andrews. The volume was written wholly from the sportsman's standpoint and avoids such scientific details as might not prove interesting to the general public. Readers who desire more exact information about the Mongolian fauna can obtain it from the Museum's publications.

Mystic Isles of the South Sea. By Frederick O'Brien. The Century Co. 534 pp. Ill.

This book, like the author's "White Shadows in the South Seas," combines with its travel sketches humor, romance, philosophy and folk-lore. What "White Shadows" did for the Marquesas Islands, "Mystic Isles" does for Tahiti.

The Islanders of the Pacific, or, The Children of the Sun. By Lieut.-Col. T. R. St. Johnston. D. Appleton & Company. 307 pp. Ill.

The author of this work was formerly District Commissioner of the Lau Islands, Fiji. While holding that office he seems to have acquired a mass of information regarding the pathology,

social customs and religious rites of the natives. He has condensed this knowledge into a highly interesting volume, appropriately illustrated.

Macedonia. By A. Goff and Hugh A. Fawcett. John Lane Company. 274 pp. Ill.

A description, wholly free from political and military bias, of one of the most primitive lands in the world. The authors made their explorations during the war, but the tourist at present

and probably for years to come will find it practically impossible to enter the country without taking great personal risk.

Topee and Turban. By Lieut.-Col. H. A. Newell. John Lane Company. 292 pp. Ill.

Another non-political work, giving the record of numerous motor tours through the various provinces of British India. The illustrations are clearly printed reproductions of photographs.

MODERN HISTORY

Ye Olden Blue Laws. By Gustavus Myers. The Century Co. 274 pp. Ill.

For the benefit of the present generation, which is likely soon to have on its hands a new series of fights over the so-called "Blue Laws," this readable résumé on the actual Colonial enactments of our forefathers, to which the phrase was first applied, is indeed timely. The author has obtained his facts from official and other authentic documents as copied from the original manuscript volumes and published by the State governments of New England.

Our Heritage From the Old World. By Josephine H. Greenwood. D. Appleton & Co. 449 pp.

Designed as a text-book for Junior High and Intermediate schools, this volume contains much material that can be used to advantage in making students familiar with the European background of United States history. It is a rapid survey of civilization as developed in ancient and medieval times, and its title very clearly indicates the sort of knowledge that may be gained from it in connection with the study of our own Colonial beginnings.

History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. By S. M. Dubnow. Translated from the Russian by I. Friedlaender. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. Vol. III. 411 pp.

This is the concluding volume of a scholarly work giving a synopsis of Jewish history in Russia and Poland from the earliest times until the present day. Important features of the book are an elaborate bibliography and an index of over 200 pages to the entire work.

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution. By Edward Alsworth Ross. The Century Co. 302 pp. Ill.

It happened that Professor Ross was on a tour of Russia when the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 took place. He visited many parts of the old Russian Empire, watched the initiation and the destruction of the provisional government of Kerensky, and finally saw the Soviet Republic launched on its career. Few American writers were so close to the events of 1917 in Russia as was Professor Ross. He has embodied in this book not only the material that he gathered at

first hand in Russia, but also a great mass of data collected from Russian sources. The strength and vivacity of his literary style has made this contribution to history peculiarly valuable to American readers. It is to be followed by another book by Professor Ross, to be entitled "The Russian Soviet Republic," giving a history of the first several years under the government set up by the Bolsheviks.

Paris in Shadow. By Lee Holt. John Lane Company. 310 pp.

The author of this book, written in the form of a diary, is an American who has passed most of his life in France. He describes the everyday Paris of the years 1916-17 as he saw it. Some of the trifles that he notes from day to day are perhaps quite as helpful as a more pretentious record might be in revealing the spirit of the hour.

A Prisoner in Turkey. By John Still. John Lane Company. 250 pp.

Among the numerous stories of war-time experiences comparatively little has been published from the standpoint of the British prisoner of war in Turkey. If the present narrative seems unduly pessimistic, it should be remembered that it was compiled before the end of the war, when the author, in common with most of the prisoners held by the Turks, believed that about 75 per cent. of the British rank and file had perished within two years after capture. The official reports show a loss of about 46 per cent., but the figures on which these are based are admittedly incomplete. As a preface to his volume the author inserts extracts from the parliamentary "Report on the Treatment of British Prisoners of War in Turkey," of 1918.

Men and Thought in Modern History. By Ernest Scott. Macmillan. 346 pp. Ill.

This volume is the work of a professor of history in the University of Melbourne, Australia, who has sought to explain some typical modes of political thought in our time by illustrations drawn from the lives of political, literary and social leaders. By this method he has evolved what may serve as a background of modern history. It is a fascinating method, and although in some cases the biographical sketches are incomplete, they are at least helpful and suggestive for the author's purpose.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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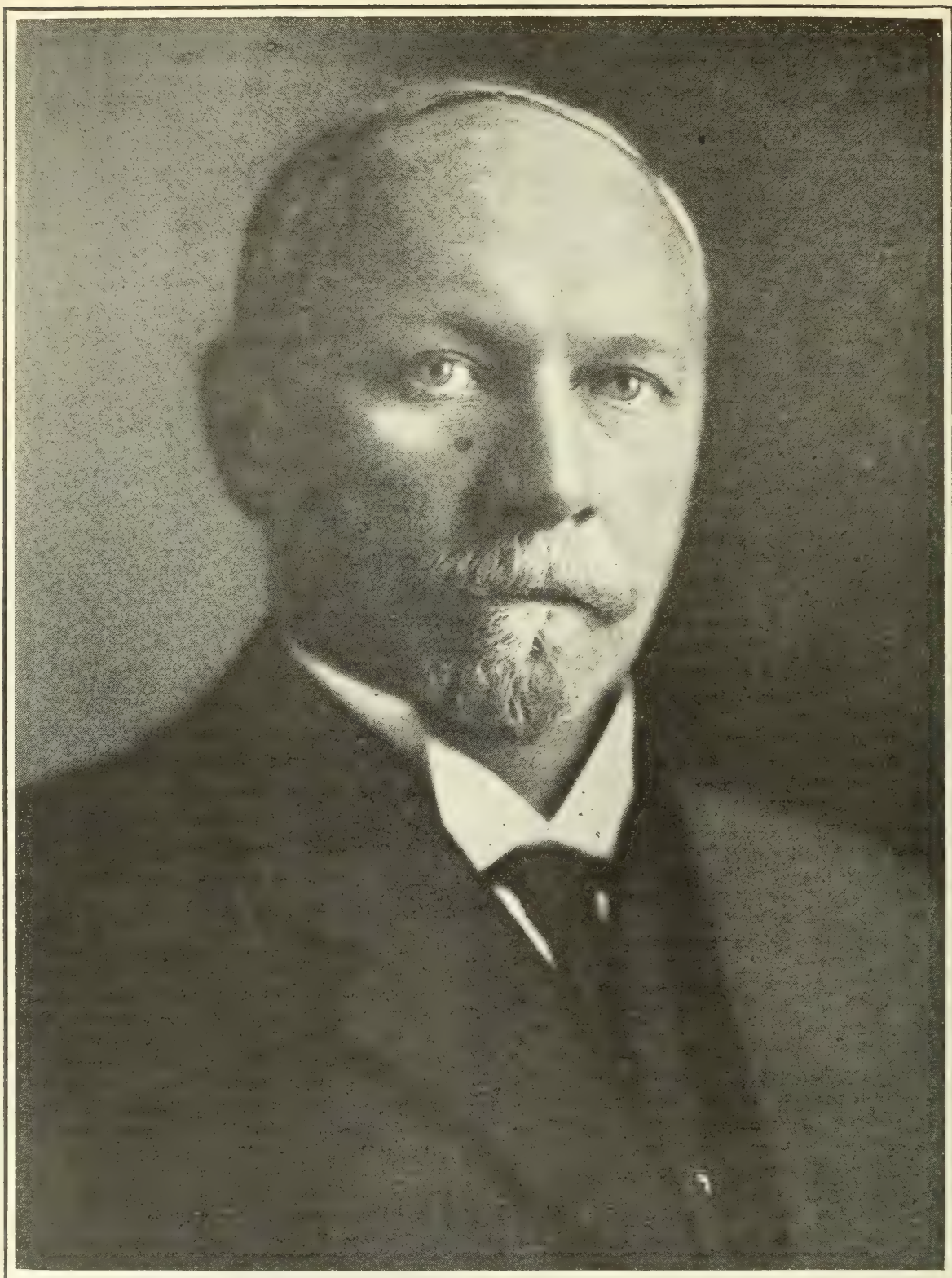
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PREMIER JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS OF SOUTH AFRICA

In the most critical period of the Great War, General Smuts went to England to represent South Africa and to become a member of the so-called Imperial War Cabinet. Earlier in the war he had commanded troops in the struggles which eliminated German military strength from the African colonies. On the death of General Botha in 1919 General Smuts succeeded him as Prime Minister of the South African Union, and last year in a general election he gained a victory on behalf of the British connection as against the independence movement. He was one of the most influential personages at the Peace Conference in 1919, and is accorded chief credit for the preliminary draft of the League of Nations. He is an eminent figure in the Imperial Conference at London this summer. Meanwhile, his initiative in bringing about the truce in Ireland last month made him, for the moment, the most conspicuous statesman in the world, with the possible exception of President Harding. General Smuts is a lawyer who was educated in South Africa and afterward at Cambridge, England. He was born in 1870 and was practising law at the Capetown Bar when the Boer War twenty years ago brought him to the front. Though a Dutchman by race, he is a bi-linguist with a perfect command of English, and is one of the most eloquent and highly accomplished public men of his generation.

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Britain's
World-Wide
Problems*

When for a time public leadership seems lacking and the ship of State seems drifting dangerously, there almost always comes to the front some new man who had been maturing in the background, or some older statesman showing new capacities. This has been happening in the case of Great Britain. The capital of the world during July was London, and the affairs of the British Empire were under observation as having a vital importance to every government, race, and people on the face of the earth. The British Government had been keeping up a brave appearance, but the ambitious imperial programs of the old-time ruling group, led by Lord Curzon, were far from holding the unanimous confidence of the people of Great Britain and the Dominions. Furthermore, the practical administration of the Empire was proving too costly, and it was failing to win the unqualified appreciation of India, of Egypt, of Mesopotamia, of Persia, and even of Palestine. Most of all, the prestige of the Empire was suffering from the growing intensity of civil war across the Irish Sea—a conflict that was steadily assuming the form of a struggle between a nascent *de facto* Irish Republic and the forces of the Crown.

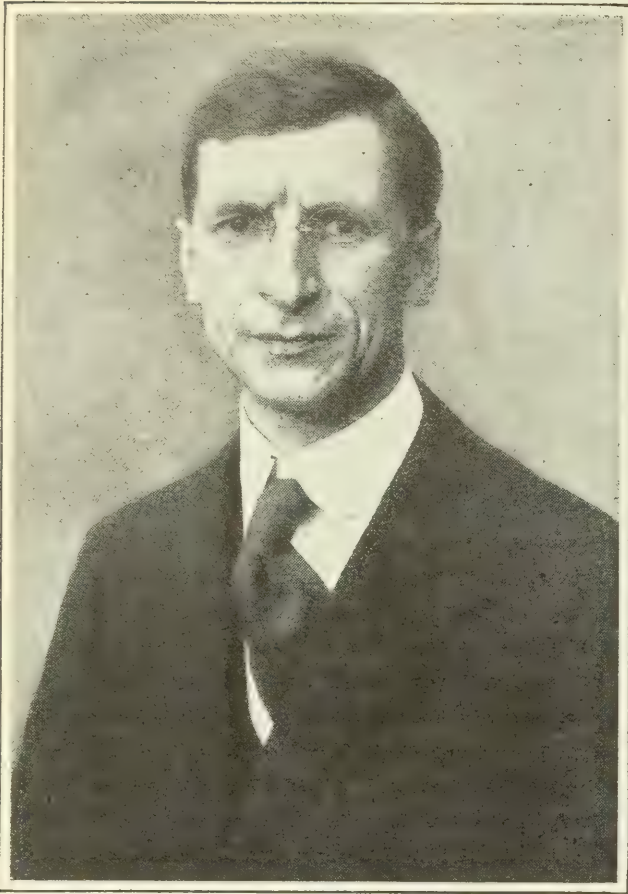
*The Dawn
of Better
Days*

The British Government, as formed for war purposes—which now frequently assumes the title of “Imperial Cabinet,” especially in Mr. Lloyd George’s speeches—has continued to retain office; but this is not wholly because of its efficiency or its success. The Coalition of war-time emergency persists in peace time because as yet there is no parliamentary group developing a strong enough opposition to take control. With the protracted coal strike, and many other complicated domestic questions on hand, and with the outlying

problems of empire growing ever more troublesome, Britannia has been handicapped in trying to utilize the best opportunities she had ever had for an unrivaled leadership in business as well as politics. But when the skies were looking darkest, and the best-informed Britishers were the ones who were most anxious, the ultimate good fortune that serves the cause of England in every crisis began—rather suddenly but very boldly—to announce itself. Leaders of a new and modern type arrived in London from distant quarters to attend the conference of Premiers and to take part with the overworked Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues in the discussion of all sorts of matters that were serious enough to give wise men some real anxiety. The newcomers “took off their coats,” and went to work with vigor.

*Dominion
Men in
London*

It was undoubtedly the presence of these fresh-minded and practical men from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and elsewhere that influenced the settlement of the protracted coal strike, and set English economic life in full motion once more. Britain’s prosperity depends upon foreign trade; and her foreign trade has rested to no small extent upon coal for the operation of her ships, and also upon coal for export to Spain, Italy, and many foreign regions. The coal strike has been a most harmful thing for British business abroad as well as at home, and its stubborn prolongation shook the confidence of many citizens of Great Britain in the three chief factors. These were (1) the management by owning capitalists of such great industries as coal, steel, railroads, and shipping; (2) the methods and purposes of British trade unionism; and (3) the capacity of the British Government to deal with a situation in which the welfare of the entire nation was involved.



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PROF. EAMONN DE VALERA

(Leader of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, which had proclaimed an Irish Republic and chosen De Valera as President several years ago)

*Out of
Insular
Ruts*

It was in this period of strain and stubborn deadlock that men of resource and of mastery, appearing upon the scene from North America, South Africa, and Australia, undertook to get the statesmanship of the mother country out of deep-worn ruts. These men informed the British Foreign Office that the problems of the Pacific belonged primarily to the peoples who faced that great highway of intercourse, and that the United States and Canada, China and Australia, would have to be consulted before British and Japanese diplomats would be allowed to settle all the questions involved in the future control of the Pacific and the Far East. It was plain enough, furthermore, to General Smuts, the Premier of South Africa; to Mr. Meighen, the Premier of Canada; and to the Premiers of Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland that until England and Ireland should find a way to live in peace and harmony the British Empire could neither expect to deal successfully with its problems in the Near East and the Far East, nor to assume the moral and political leadership of a post-bellum world. These Premiers made it clear

that they had no disposition to be patient with any phase of insular narrowness in councils at Westminster. They were wholly out of sympathy with official arrogance at the center of British affairs, and they were willing to look at the Irish question without prejudice, with entire willingness to understand it, and with a fixed purpose to have it settled. General Smuts proved to be the member of this outside group who was best fitted by talents and by experience to take the leading part in reconciling England and Ireland.

*First, the
Irish
Question*

There had been so many mistakes on both sides that a reconciliation on the basis of good-will had seemed impossible. The British Government had entered upon a deliberate plan to destroy Irish resistance by overwhelming military force. The Irish, unable to wage open warfare through scarcity of the new kinds of death-dealing devices, were resorting to those desperate expedients that revolutionists have always used against what they regard as tyranny, when the tyrant has unlimited power and exercises that power relentlessly. But the British people were earnestly wishing to give Ireland liberty as well as justice. Both parties to the conflict were suffering much and gaining nothing by prolonging strife. The situation, moreover, was becoming a real menace to the well-being of all parts of the British domains, and therefore a disquieting thing to all countries. The Irish Home Rule Bill, providing for two parliaments, had gone into effect at Belfast for six Protestant counties of northern Ireland. But, as we explained in these pages last month, the Sinn Fein leaders, with their invisible Irish Republic, had completely blanketed the plan for a Home Rule Parliament at Dublin. They had controlled the situation by electing their own men as members of the local parliament, and then abstained from any part in setting up the new machinery as provided by law.

*The King
Visits
Ireland*

King George and Queen Mary had gone to Belfast to take part in the ceremonies connected with the inauguration of the new local legislature and administration. The King's visit was a most fortunate occurrence, and his speech was a strong plea for Irish harmony. Said the King:

This is a great and critical occasion in the history of the six counties, but not for the six

counties alone, for everything which interests them touches Ireland, and everything which touches Ireland finds echo in the remotest parts of the Empire. Few things are more earnestly desired throughout the English-speaking world than a satisfactory solution of the age-long Irish problems, which for generations embarrassed our forefathers as they now weigh heavily upon us. Most certainly there is no wish nearer my own heart than that every man of Irish birth, whatever his creed and wherever should be his home, should work in loyal coöperation with the free communities on which the British Empire is based.

After expressing his good wishes for this North of Ireland legislature in its local business the King went on with certain expressions that would seem destined to have a permanent place in the history of Great Britain, of Ireland, and of world reconstruction after the Great War. We are therefore quoting the rest of the speech, which was as follows:

"My hope is broader still. The eyes of the whole empire are on Ireland to-day, that empire in which so many nations and races have come together, in spite of ancient feuds, and in which new nations have come to birth within the lifetime of the youngest in this hall. I am emboldened by the thought to look beyond the sorrow and anxiety which have clouded of late my vision of Irish affairs. I speak from a full heart when I pray that my coming to Ireland to-day may prove to be the first step toward an end of



KING GEORGE ARRIVING AT BELFAST, WHERE HE MADE HIS HISTORIC APPEAL FOR IRISH RECONCILIATION AND HARMONY

strife among her people, whatever their race or creed.

"In that hope I appeal to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and to forget, and to join in making for the land which they love a new era of peace, contentment and good-will. It is my earnest desire that in southern Ireland, too, there may ere long take place a parallel to what is now passing in this hall; that there a similar occasion may present itself and a similar ceremony be performed.

"For this the Parliament of the United Kingdom has in fullest measure provided the powers, for this the Parliament of Ulster is pointing the way. The future lies in the hands of the Irish people themselves. May this historic gathering be the prelude of the day on which the Irish people of the North and South, under one parliament or two, as those parliaments may themselves decide, shall work together in common love for Ireland upon the sure foundation of mutual justice and respect."

*The
Appeal to
Reason*

The visit of King George seems to have been the turning point, and the beginning of a series of events that inspired new hope everywhere. Attitudes of stubborn antagonism began to



QUEEN MARY AT BELFAST, WITH THE LORD MAYOR OF THAT CITY (SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD AT THE LEFT)



THE TWO FOREMOST LEADERS OF ULSTER

(Sir James Craig [left] is the Premier of the new local Ulster government, and Sir Edward Carson is the recognized chief of the movement that keeps the six counties separate from the rest of Ireland)

yield before the appeals of common sense and of everyday reasonableness. The King's influence was felt in every direction. Most of the British Unionists began to say, with the Prime Minister himself, that the Irish could have anything they wanted if they would but give up the notion of a political existence totally independent of the British Crown. In view of the long continuance of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, this was conceding a great deal. The concession does not, of course, put Ireland in the same position that Canada, South Africa, and Australia now occupy, because it has been freely admitted by British statesmen of all schools that these so-called dominions are at liberty to assume full independence in international affairs (they already possess it in domestic government) whenever it may please them to do so. The British had not conceded this liberty to Ireland any more than they would or could concede it to Scotland. Nor should the Irish attempt, because of a state of mental exasperation, to seek anything so contrary to their own real interests as a political destiny severed from that of Great Britain. The British, meanwhile, have been mistaken in dreading separation as a menace to themselves.

Consulting
Republican
Leaders

The King's speech and his actual presence in Ireland counted for a great deal at the critical moment. Everybody was weary of strife. The Irish Office in London came near spoiling the King's work by seizing that very moment to order more troops to Ireland, and Sir Hamar Greenwood's methods were severely criticized by the London newspapers. Mr. Lloyd George followed up the King's speech by writing to Mr. De Valera inviting him to come to London to confer with the British Government and with Sir James Craig, the Premier of Ulster. This was a radical change in British official attitude. Mr. De Valera, after conferring with his colleagues, replied that he would like first to confer with Sir James Craig at Dublin. Sir James accepted the London invitation, but declined the proposal to visit Dublin first. Leading Unionists of South Ireland, however, accepted Mr. De Valera's invitation and Mr. Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Fein, with Professor MacNeill, president of the Gaelic League, and others, was released from Mountjoy Prison to take part in the conferences and negotiations. The Dublin meet-



MR. ARTHUR GRIFFITH, THE ORGANIZER OF THE SINN FEIN MOVEMENT

(Mr. Griffith, who is recognized as a man of exceptional ability and who for some months past had been held in prison, was released last month to join in the conferences and accompanied Mr. De Valera to London)

ings proved encouraging rather than otherwise, because the Irish Republican leaders seemed to find some points of agreement in their conferences with Unionists on the 4th of July.

*Gen. Smuts
Takes Affairs
in Hand*

The main bridge, however, was yet to be crossed, and at this moment the man of destiny took the lead. General Smuts arrived in Dublin on the morning of July 5. His immediate object was to secure the suspension of hostilities on both sides as preparatory to a conference in London. Returning from Dublin, General Smuts, on July 6, conferred with the British Prime Minister at the famous No. 10 Downing Street. Smuts had found De Valera and his friends arguing still for an Irish Republic, and for full control of the North as well as the South. Both demands were impossible, but there was at least a chance for a truce; and the discussion began to move more swiftly. On July 7 General Smuts visited the King at Buckingham Palace and Sir James Craig, of the Belfast Government, in turn visited General Smuts. On July 8 Mr. De Valera wrote to Premier Lloyd George, proposing to discuss with him a basis for the proposed conference.

*Hostilities
Suspended
July 11*

Mr. Lloyd George had on the previous day, through Lord Midleton, the Unionist leader of Southern Ireland, made a very important



THE WELCOME ARRIVAL

"Welcome, Mam! I hope you have come to stay forever and ever."

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)



A CHANCE FOR BEAUTY DOCTORS
From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London)

[This cartoon from a famous London newspaper seems to recognize the skill of the Dominion Premiers as they had come to England to help revive the fortunes of the British Empire]

suggestion. He had written a note saying that it would be "impossible to conduct negotiations with any hope of achieving satisfactory results if there is bloodshed and violence in Ireland." He proceeded, therefore, to state that the British Government would instruct those under its control to cease from all acts of violence as soon as it was learned that Mr. De Valera was prepared to enter into a conference. It was quickly arranged that the truce should go into effect at noon on Monday, July 11. The King was continuing his activities as a harmonizer, and the hand of General Smuts was seen in all the hopeful phases of the preliminary negotiations. Steps taken by the military authorities gave the impression that plans were being made for a reversal of policy and a rapid evacuation of Ireland. Mr. De Valera fixed Thursday, July 14, as the date of the parley in London, and named Arthur Griffith, John MacNeill, and several other influential leaders of the Irish-Republic movement as his colleagues.

*The Truce
a Great
Step*

We wish it were possible in this monthly résumé of public affairs to sum up the results of the visit of Mr. De Valera and his associates. But the purpose of this first meeting was merely to agree upon the basis and scope of a subsequent conference, which should reach definite conclusions, and our readers will follow the story as it unfolds from day to day in the newspapers, which, fortunately, have been giving us very excellent reports. As regards the preliminaries, however, it must be admitted that the truce of the 11th was in itself a great forward step. For a day or two it

was not perfectly observed, and in Belfast there was a protracted riot with numerous casualties. But, speaking generally, the truce brought marvelous relief to the "distressful Island." The constabulary, the Black-and-Tan auxiliaries, and the British soldiers fraternized with the Irish people in Dublin and elsewhere. Even the uncompromising Ulstermen showed some softer and kindlier attributes; and there was real hope that Ulster might consent, however doubtfully, to go as far by way of coöperating with the rest of Ireland as the King should believe to be right and best, in order to settle the Irish question permanently.

*Lloyd George
and the
Moderates*

Mr. Lloyd George's value in the situation lay, above all else, in his marvelous adaptability and his utter lack of obstinacy or prejudice. He was willing to have Jan Christian Smuts intervene freely and win the world's applause. As one of the greatest parliamentary leaders of all history, Mr. Lloyd George was strong in his sense of being able to carry the House of Commons with him in adopting any solution that Mr. De Valera and Sir James Craig could be induced to agree upon. The sentiment of moderate men began to resume its rightful influence, and the "irreconcilables" in all camps found that their accustomed power to play upon prejudice and fear

was somehow disappearing, as their followers listened to the voices of King George and of sensible men like General Smuts.

*Opening the
Conference of
"Greater
Britain"*

Undoubtedly the British Imperial Conference deserves all the attention that it has been receiving in the United States; and, indeed, its importance is not likely to be exaggerated in any quarter. It is an informal, rather than a legal or constitutional gathering; but its frank and open treatment of things fundamental and also of pending issues will have helped to make history in the highest sense. Mr. Lloyd George made an opening speech on June 20 in which he undertook to express on behalf of Great Britain what are now the accepted doctrines as to the status of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. He declared that these countries had achieved full national rights, that they were signatories to the Treaty of Versailles, distinct members of the League of Nations, and fully accepted into the comity of nations by the whole world. The British Premier dwelt particularly upon relations with Japan and argued for the renewal of the alliance. He spoke eloquently of the need of coöperation with the United States as a cardinal principle of British policy, and announced readiness to take part in any American proposal to discuss limitation of armaments. Referring to prac-



A FAMILIAR SCENE IN IRELAND THAT—AS EVERYONE HOPED—WOULD DISAPPEAR FOREVER FOLLOWING THE PEACE CONFERENCES

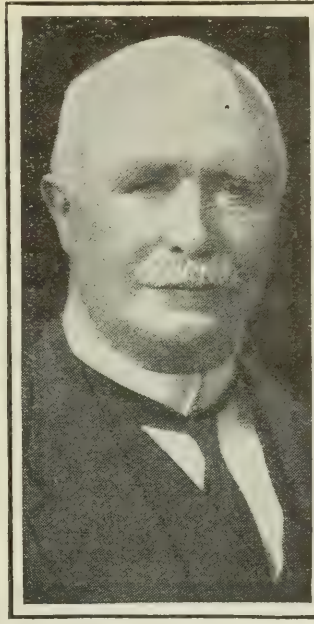
(There had been an ambush of the British troops in the village of Mellin, County Cork, and official reprisals were ordered and carried out. Our picture shows the rounding-up of all the males of the village under military guard while the operation of blowing up a farmhouse was in progress)



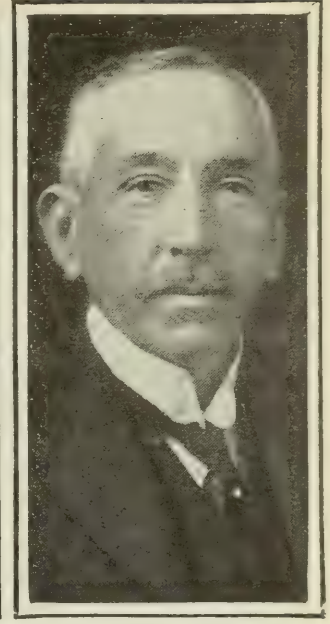
Premier R. E. Squires,
of Newfoundland



Prime Minister Meighen,
of Canada



Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey,
Premier of New Zealand



Premier W. R. Hughes,
of Australia

FOUR OF THE DOMINION PRIME MINISTERS ATTENDING THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON

tical steps, he accepted willingly Canada's decision to have her own diplomatic representative at Washington.

*Dominion
Premiers Are
Frank*

The Dominion Premiers favored the utmost publicity for the Imperial Conference, while the British group desired privacy. A great speech was made by General Smuts at the second session of the conference on June 21, in which the need of world peace was strongly presented. He deprecated the kind of foreign policy on the part of the British Empire that should make expensive armaments necessary. He pointed out the economic advantages that were already accruing to Germany from forcible disarmament, with consequent freedom from heavy army and navy expenditures. General Smuts told the British statesmen that the European stage was no longer of supreme importance, and that the scene had shifted away from Europe to the Far East and to the Pacific. At this session, also, an important speech was delivered by Mr. Arthur D. Meighen, the new Prime Minister of Canada, whose attitude is strongly that of a North American leader, while Mr. Hughes of Australia reviewed British diplomatic policies in various regions with his characteristic freedom of inquiry and criticism.

*Discussing the
Japanese
Alliance*

The utmost frankness was shown in the discussion relating to the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, both in the conference itself and in the British newspapers. It was pointed out

that the maintenance of a special alliance of this kind was contrary to the principles of the League of Nations, that it was essentially antagonistic to the United States, and that it was not justified from the standpoint of its original objects, which had been entirely attained in the downfall of Germany and Russia as great powers in the Far East. The value of this London discussion, as bearing upon the conference to be held at Washington in November, is at once evident. No convincing arguments of any kind were presented at the bar of public opinion in favor of an exclusive Anglo-Japanese domination in the Far East, as against the powerful arguments of Mr. Meighen, General Smuts, and others, in support of the American view that Pacific problems must be submitted to a conference of all the peoples having vital interests at stake.

*America's
Call for a
Conference*

Thus the discussions at London were lending themselves most fortunately to the plan that was in preparation at Washington for holding a conference of powers to discuss naval disarmament. The Borah resolution attached to the naval appropriation bill, as set forth in these pages last month, was an expression of American opinion that accorded with world-wide sentiment as shown in the London discussions. It must not be supposed that the Borah resolution, which had passed the Senate unanimously and which afterwards, with President Harding's encouragement, had been adopted by the House, was in itself the initial step which the President and

Secretary Hughes were awaiting for executive guidance. Without any Congressional resolution, President Harding would have called a conference on the problems of the Pacific and on naval armament. But, after the fate of the Versailles Treaty in the United States Senate, the world at large needed some expression which would give assurance that the deadlock between the Executive and the Legislative branches at Washington had been broken, and that the American Government was in position to deal efficiently with international problems.

*The
Naval
Problem*

The exact Borah formula might indeed have been a useful thing if nothing better could have been devised. But the Borah plan contemplated a continuance of the theory of naval competition, with a mere cheese-paring of expenditures by the adoption of some agreement which must have left the United States virtually powerless in the Pacific as against the combined Anglo-Japanese sea power. The world is looking for a new doctrine and a new practice. Rivalry in sea power is a dangerous policy, that the nations must abandon in favor of a coöperative plan of security at sea, for all legitimate interests. To limit armaments before settling the questions which make armaments seem needful is unstatesmanlike in conception and would prove to be fatal in practice. Fortunately, the country never considered the Borah resolution in its precise terms, but accepted it merely as expressing a desire for real disarmament on the basis of international friendship. As we have tried to show from time to time in these pages, a disarmament conference should address itself chiefly to the settlement of questions that make nations distrustful of one another, and then should go forward on a plan of coöperation in support of international law. When the maritime nations accept the only sound doctrine regarding sea power, which is the doctrine that the seas belong to the world at large and must be made safe for everybody by coöperative policing and the abolition of naval warfare, it will be easy enough to adopt any one of half a dozen plans for cutting down naval expenditures.

*The
Hughes
Statement*

It was on July 10 that our State Department made the expected announcement regarding an international conference. This statement, which is flawless in its sense of the practical

way to proceed and of the principles involved, reads as follows:

The President, in view of the far-reaching importance of the question of limitation of armament, has approached with informal but definite inquiries the group of powers heretofore known as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, that is, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to them to take part in a conference on this subject, to be held in Washington at a time to be mutually agreed upon. If the proposal is found to be acceptable, formal invitations for such a conference will be issued.

It is manifest that the question of limitation of armament has a close relation to Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and the President has suggested that the powers especially interested in these problems should undertake in connection with this conference the consideration of all matters bearing upon their solution with a view to reaching a common understanding with respect to principles and policies in the Far East. This has been communicated to the powers concerned, and China has also been invited to take part in the discussion relating to Far Eastern problems.

*Cordial
Responses to
the Call*

It was of course known in advance that the invitations to such a conference would be gladly accepted by all the Governments mentioned. The Washington call had been in full accord with the developments in the Imperial Conference at London. In Japan as well as in England, it was apparent that the drift of opinion favored the expansion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance into a wider sort of understanding, which would be agreeable at once to the Governments of the United States and Canada and the Government of China. The participation of France in such a conference is absolutely essential from the American standpoint, and the presence and help of the Italians, though not so necessary, is regarded as desirable for many reasons. It is expected that the conference will take place at Washington in November and that every country taking part in it will be represented by its ablest leaders. Mr. Lloyd George will probably head the British delegation, and it is hoped that the Dominion Governments will be represented. The plan for this conference met with the most complete approval in France, and Premier Briand was planning to attend in person. Japan's acceptance was of course never in doubt, and the willingness of Japan to have China take part was also an encouraging sign. The Japanese statesmen were in some doubt as to whether the conference could deal conclusively with all of the questions that must arise in relation to the Far East, but were wholly cordial.



THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION THAT HAS RECENTLY VISITED THE UNITED STATES

(From left to right are: Takeo Tamaka, director; Juichi Nozoye; Hideo Higuchi; Kunimatsu Hamada, vice-chairman; Tobei Nakamura, secretary of the House of Representatives; Rokusaburo Nakanishi, chairman; K. S. Inui, secretary of the Delegation; Naota Kumagai, Senpei Yajima; Eikichi Hikita; and Torao Kawasaki, secretary of the delegation)

*American
Accord with
Japan*

The recent visit of a group of members of the Japanese Parliament to the United States was one of many indications of growing accord between the two countries. These representative men explained everywhere that they were the elected spokesmen of the Japanese people; and while all leading parties were represented, the Liberals formed a majority of the group, their party being now in full control of the Japanese Diet, which is the popular chamber as distinguished from the House of Lords. These visitors, in referring to the Anglo-Japanese treaty, were unreserved in stating that they desired practical agreements with the United States quite as much as with Great Britain. Our State Department and the Japanese Embassy at Washington are by no means drifting apart in their views of questions under discussion, but, on the contrary, are proceeding in the hope of a complete understanding about various things, in advance of the conference on Far Eastern questions in November.

*Peace with
Germany
Legalized*

President Harding, on July 2, at the home of Senator Frelinghuysen at Raritan, New Jersey, signed the Porter Joint Resolution declaring peace with Germany and Austria. It had been two years plus four days since President Wilson had signed the Treaty of Ver-

sailles which the Senate had refused to ratify. The Senate had approved the resolution on July 1 by vote of 38 to 19, and the House had adopted it on the previous day by 263 to 59. Three Democratic Senators, Shields of Tennessee, Walsh of Massachusetts, and Watson of Georgia, voted for the resolution, and all the Republican Senators favored it. It was made plain that Senators expected the declaration of peace to be followed by treaties to be negotiated with Germany and Austria. There is no evidence of keen interest in the country as to the exact course that will be followed. Full diplomatic relations with Germany will be established in the immediate future; and it will be for President Harding and Secretary Hughes to decide whether they will ask the Senate to ratify a revised version of the Versailles Treaty, or whether they will negotiate directly with Germany as respects any matter about which agreement is found to be necessary. No difficulties of any kind lie along the path of such agreements, except the partisanship of one group in the Senate and the pride of opinion of another group. Theories yield to the logic of facts.

*Efficiency
in the State
Department*

There is reason to repose confidence in the State Department, and it will be well for the average citizen to assume that, when President



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DR. JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN, AMERICAN
MINISTER TO CHINA



© Frank Scott Clark

HON. CHARLES B. WARREN, AMERICAN
AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN

Harding and Secretary Hughes are ready to announce the methods they think best regarding resumption of full relations with Germany and Austria, there should be ready acquiescence. The great Republican victory of last November was not in fact a verdict against the League of Nations or any other measure, but it was a tremendous verdict against the stubbornness, the pride, and the folly of the deadlock at Washington, particularly as it concerned the management of our foreign affairs. The Harding Administration is doing excellent work, and it has the increasing confidence of the country. There is evident approval of Secretary Hughes as a wise and efficient manager of our foreign relations. He has brought about a state of harmony in Cuba under difficult circumstances, with the prestige of the United States increased and with the avoidance of intervention. He has found a way to smooth out the troubles in San Domingo without sacrifice of legitimate interests. He is winning full acceptance for his policy of supporting Chief Justice White's Panama boundary award. He has obtained from Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, a complete reversal of attitude toward the claim of the United States that we must be

consulted about mandates over former German or Turkish possessions. His methods of dealing with Mexican issues are likely in the near future to prove successful. He is negotiating industriously, courteously, and hopefully with the representatives of Japan. He is working in harmony with the President and the Cabinet, and with no undue detachment from the Congressional leaders.

*Some New
Diplomats
Named*

Some of the diplomatic appointments made by the new Administration have already been noted in these pages. Mr. Harvey at London is credited with having helped to secure favor for the plan of a conference at Washington on problems of the Pacific and Far East, with naval coöperation and reduction as an associated object. Hon. Myron T. Herrick is now taking up his duties once more as Ambassador to France, Mr. Wallace having left that post in the middle of July. It has been intimated that the Hon. David Jayne Hill, who has been visiting in Germany, might return to his former post at Berlin, and such an appointment would be approved alike in America and Europe. Meanwhile, the appointment of the Hon. Charles Beecher Warren of Michigan, as Ambassador to



Wide World Photos

PRESIDENT HARDING SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

(The resolution was brought to Raritan, N. J., where the President spent the week-end, by the courier at the right of the picture. Senator Frelinghuysen and family are on the President's right)

Japan has been announced and is regarded with high favor by those who are aware of Mr. Warren's exceptional ability as a lawyer and a publicist. The appointment of ex-President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University as Minister to China brings to our diplomatic service another man of high repute and broad experience. Mr. Richard Washburn Child, who is a new figure in public affairs but a well known writer, goes to represent us at Rome, where there is good reason to believe that he will prove to be in every respect a worthy and capable Ambassador. Mr. Cyrus E. Woods, an official of Pennsylvania, succeeds Hon. Joseph E. Willard as Ambassador to Spain. Mr. William Miller Collier, recently president of the George Washington University, but formerly Minister to Spain, is our new Ambassador to Chile.

*Mr. Taft
as Chief
Justice*

The appointment of Hon. William H. Taft to be Chief Justice of the United States has met with friendly approval throughout the country. We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW a thorough and timely article, which will appeal especially to our readers of the legal profession, on the characteristics of the late Chief Justice White, his

judicial career, and the circumstances which lend interest and importance to the successorship of ex-President Taft. Mr. Taft's heart was in his work as a federal judge, and he made real sacrifices of no small order, when, at President McKinley's urgent request, he resigned his place on the United States Circuit Bench, and went out to head our new administration of the Philippine Islands. Afterward, when Secretary of War in the Roosevelt Administration, he made sacrifices again of his preference when he turned away from two opportunities to go on the Supreme Bench, because his services were needed in executive work. He was not a self-seeking candidate for the Presidency, and if he was less successful in that office than many of his supporters had expected him to be, it was principally because his mentality and training had made him a man of the judicial rather than of the executive type. With all his great experience in public affairs, he has never ceased to retain his active interest in the work of the courts; and he will take his place on the Bench with the full confidence of the American Bar and the public at large. Mr. Samuel Spring, who writes so intelligently (see page 161) concerning the Supreme Court, reviews recent judicial history with rare discrimination.

*Dawes and
Brown in
Washington*

The activities of two capable men recently brought to Washington by President Harding for tasks of exceptional difficulty and importance will be followed with particular interest for some time yet to come. About the work of both of these men we are publishing special articles in this number. One of these is Mr. Dawes of Chicago, who is Director of the Budget under the new law which centers in the President the business of revising estimates and presenting to Congress a well-balanced scheme of proposed expenditures and a forecast of public revenue. Back of the forcible expressions and breezy manner of Mr. Charles G. Dawes is a long experience of able public service and of success in the business world. Mr. Walter Brown of Ohio, one of the foremost of the progressive leaders in the political period of 1912-16, has accepted the difficult task of representing the President, and taking the most active part in the work of the Commission that is planning nothing less than the thorough up-to-date reorganization of the Departments and Bureaus of the Government, to get rid of overlapping and to make the mechanism efficient for its purposes. In many ways the work of the Director of the Budget and that of the commission on reorganization are closely related. Mr. Dawes and Mr. Brown have undertaken hard and thankless tasks, whereas each of them could have had public positions of a more ornamental sort. Thus Mr. Brown waived an offered ambassadorship, and Mr. Dawes might perchance have been in the Cabinet. Attention is called to the excellent article elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW on what is involved in the work of the Commission that is trying to reorganize the Departments.

*The Soldiers'
Bonus
Bill*

The "adjusted compensation" act, more popularly known as the Soldiers' Bonus bill, had been favorably reported to the Senate by its finance committee when, on July 12, President Harding appeared in person before the Senate to urge a postponement of consideration of the matter for an indefinite period. The bill on which the Senators were just about to take official action offered seven different alternatives to every American "veteran" of the Great War, and it is impossible to calculate with any approximation of exactness how much its demands on the Treasury would total. The minimum estimate is a billion and a half dollars. The more prob-

able cost to the nation would be between three billion and five billion dollars. The wording of the President's very forceful request for postponement of action clearly implied that he expected the proposal for a general compensation of the soldiers to come up for consideration again at some future date. The only intimation he gave as to what, in his judgment, would be the proper time for such future consideration, was conveyed in his question: "Would it not be better to await the settlement of our foreign loans? At such time it would be a bestowal on the part of our Government when it is able to bestow." The obvious suggestion here is that the Administration may consider the paying or funding of Europe's war debt to us as the practicable occasion for arranging a war-bonus plan.

*Don't Break
Down the
Treasury"*

The President was clear and emphatic in his reminder to Congress that the finances of the nation were in no shape to stand the additional shock that would be caused by the payment of billions in war bonuses. We owe about seven and one-half billion dollars in the form of Victory Bonds and War Saving Certificates which must be paid or refunded during the next two years. The executive officers of the nation are straining every nerve to cut down their requests for appropriations; Congress, the Administration, and the people are at one in feeling that the excess-profits tax should be abolished if the orderly resumption of business is not to be further interfered with, and the President left no uncertainty in this address to the Senate as to his own belief that individual and corporate taxes in general should be reduced from their war-time levels. It is clear to everyone that even without the added burden of a soldiers' bonus, Congress is having great difficulty to find the courage requisite to make the necessary rearrangements of our tax schedules. The three financial tasks that demand attention first and foremost are: (1) the revision of taxes—in general, downward; (2) the refunding of that portion of the national debt which is about to mature; and (3) the adjustment of Europe's debt to us.

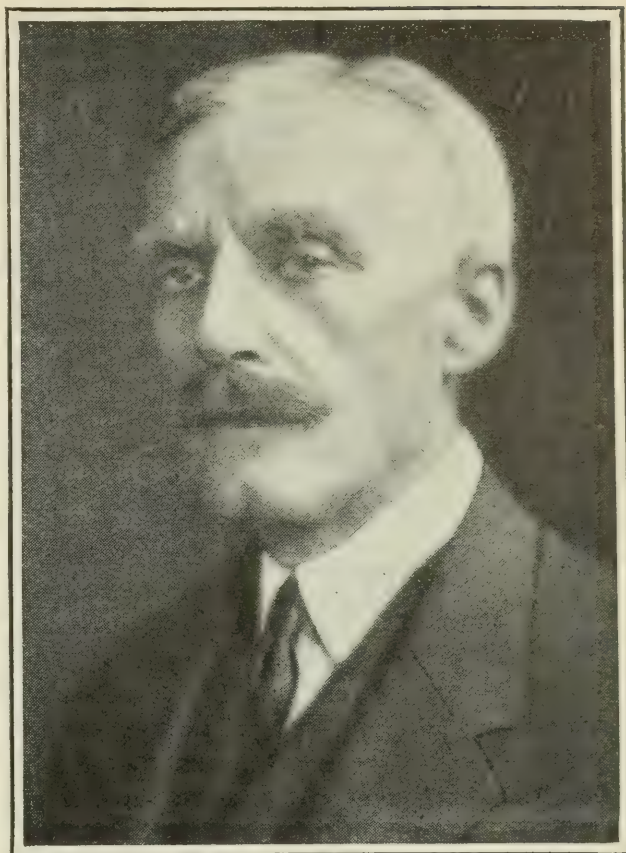
*\$1,500,000,000
Already Spent
for Soldiers*

It has been rather the fashion to cast slurs on the nation's post-war treatment of its soldiers; the man in the street has heard many half-truths and untruths which have left him feeling that America has been careless and niggardly

in the extreme toward the sick and disabled boys and bereaved families left here by the great war. President Harding in his Senate address arrayed actual figures of the help given by the nation to ex-soldiers and their families that furnish an impressive answer to accusations of this sort. He showed that in the two and a half years since the armistice the Government has spent nearly a billion and a half dollars in the aid of its soldiers, and that this total is still mounting, month by month, from heavy expenditures for vocational training, hospitals, and insurance payments. Opponents of any general bonus bill have made strong use of these tremendous outlays which have been actually made and which already total about as much as the minimum estimate of payments under the bill which President Harding has protested against. To date about \$200,000,000 has been spent for vocational training. Bonus allowances of sixty dollars to each soldier account for \$250,000,000; hospitals for \$143,000,000; family allowances for \$300,000,000; and military and naval compensation for nearly \$400,000,000.

Vocational Training

The President showed particular interest and pride in the work of vocational training of disabled soldiers. Some 108,000 men have enrolled for this training, and to-day there are about 76,000 who are in training with pay at a cost to the nation of \$160 per month for each. "Four thousand disabled men have completed their training and have been returned again to employment. These earned an average of \$1051 per year before entering the army, and are earning to-day, in spite of their war disabilities and in spite of the diminished wage or salary levels, an average of \$1550 per annum." This splendid work the Government proposes to carry on and increase, regardless of its concentration on an era of economy. It is planned to furnish the training for an average of 95,000 disabled men at a cost of \$163,000,000 per year. So far Congress has appropriated only \$65,000,000 for the current year. The President's strong reasoning against the passing of any bonus bill at this time was sympathetically received by Congress, and Senator Penrose immediately moved for the recommitment of the bill which had, apparently, been destined for certain passage. The Senate agreed to vote on this motion promptly; and on Friday, July 15, after a short debate, the bill was re-committed by a vote of 47 to 29.



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HON. ANDREW W. MELLON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(Mr. Mellon's strong hand in financial administration begins to make its due impression, and his appeal to Congress to grant the Treasury Department full authority to make agreements with foreign governments for the funding in long-term securities of the war debts due the United States is one of the principal measures now pending)

Nothing Done Toward Tax Revision

Up to the middle of July Congress had done practically nothing of value in the work of tax revision, as to which so many promises have been made. With the shadow of the soldiers' bonus bill out of the way for a time, the taunts of the country and the urging of the Administration will doubtless now be answered by more effective efforts. Practically all that had been done to date consisted of desultory hearings on the subject of a tax on sales, which left the law-makers and the country at large about as well informed on the subject as they were before the hearings were had. When Congress does get around to active work in tax revision it should be easy enough to repeal the excess-profits schedules and certain special taxes that are justly unpopular and not very important as revenue producers; it should be practicable—though not so easy, politically speaking—to reduce drastically the higher surtaxes on individual incomes. But the matter of finding some new source of revenue to take the place of the money hitherto produced by the excess

profits tax is not by any means easy; and there seem to be in Congress almost as many different minds on the matter as there are Congressmen. The proposal of a tax on the undistributed income of corporations is a thoroughly bad one and will probably not prevail. Any device that tends to force corporations to distribute earnings more freely than they now distribute them would operate to increase some of the worst errors of corporate financing. The most practical suggestion for finding the money to be lost by abolishing the excess-profits tax is the fixing of a reasonable flat tax on the net income of corporations.

*The Tariff
Bill
Reported*

Congress has displayed more energy in tariff matters than in tax revision. With the emergency tariff out of the way last spring, the House proceeded rapidly to a study of the present situation; and on July 6 Chairman Fordney of the Ways and Means Committee of the House presented the new general tariff bill for debate. Mr. Fordney, whose name will go down in history as the father of whatever new measure is finally accepted by Congress, gives in his report a clear intimation of the philosophy on which the new bill is built. He finds the resumption of production in Europe after the war bringing keen foreign competition to American producers. Industry and trade in the United States are suddenly and fearfully depressed. "This industrial depression is the inevitable result of the offering of foreign goods upon the American market at less than the American cost of production." The Fordney Tariff bill is a logical document for all who believe that our present woes in trade and industry are due entirely or chiefly to the trade competition of Europe. It is estimated, though roughly, that the bill in its present form raises the average duty from the present general average of about 40 per cent. to nearer 56 per cent. The Dingley Tariff in 1890 showed a general average of about 44 per cent., and the Payne-Aldrich schedules of 1909, the last Republican-constructed tariff, was about 66 per cent. The authors of the bill have made an attempt to take care of the household necessities of life. Coal is left on the free list and coffee pays no duty. Some articles taxed under the Underwood act are transferred to the free list by Mr. Fordney's committee, but a larger number are taken from the free list to be taxed. The President is empowered to adjust tariff rates with coun-

tries that give trade advantages to the United States.

*The New
Method of
Valuation*

A complete innovation provided by the Fordney bill is the method of valuing imports for the purpose of levying duties. Ever since the United States has collected duties on imports, their "value" has been construed as the actual cost of the goods to the importer. The Fordney measure changes this by providing that the value for the purpose of calculating duties shall be determined by the price at which the goods sell at the time in America. Mr. Fordney and his associates defend this radical change by claiming that assessment of duties on home values will tend to eliminate fraudulent undervaluation, and by pointing out that the device will equalize the amounts of duties to be collected on similar articles from various countries. The opponents of the bill hold up the second alleged advantage of the American valuation method as one of its chief faults, asserting that it is a fraud on the American people to prevent them from obtaining the advantages in price that would come from imports of goods from a country producing at very low cost. The Democratic critics of the bill say, further, that through the new method, the ad valorem system would be changed to a speculative opinion delivered by a custom-house appraiser who might or might not find out correctly the wholesale prices of "comparable and competitive products of the United States."

*A Controversy
Over Oil
Duties*

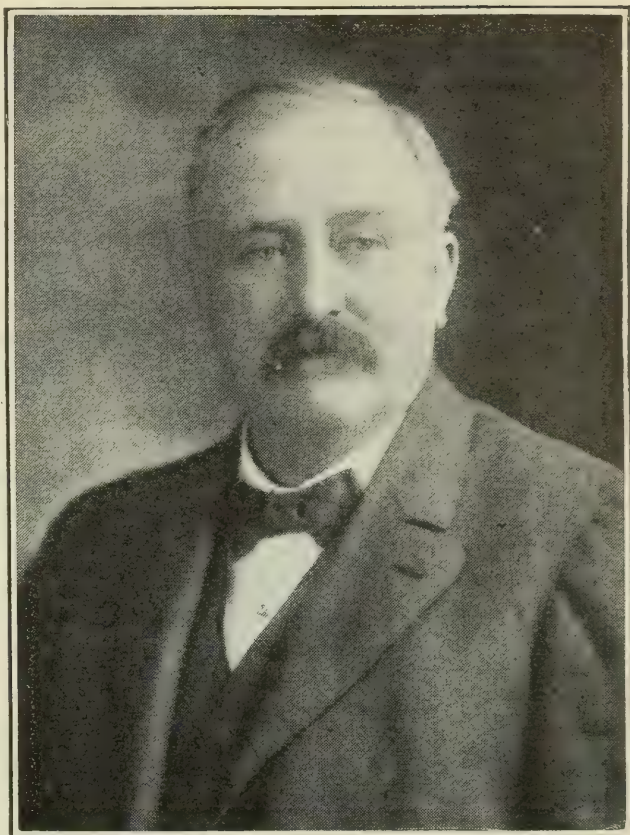
Just before the Tariff bill was reported to the House, and after the bill was printed, there were added two items that have already provoked wide and bitter controversy. A duty of 35 cents per barrel was placed on crude petroleum and 25 cents a barrel on fuel oil. The fierce hostility which has been shown to these two items comes mainly from two considerations. First, the great foreign producers, notably those of Mexico, find such a duty practically prohibitive when joined to the heavy export duties of the countries from which the oil is brought. Second, a very large body of Americans who are more unprejudiced in the matter, so far as their individual businesses are concerned, feel that with the enormous drains on the limited quantity of petroleum in the reserves of the United States, with the enormously growing demand for oil for all sorts of essential industrial purposes, it is the height of folly to shut out

from the United States oil produced in Mexico and South America and thus directly increase by just so much the demand on our own dwindling resources. The Administration has recently been active in its demands to keep American oil producers from being shut out of foreign fields. To be so solicitous about our participation in oil production in foreign countries, and then to build up an impassable tariff wall against this foreign oil is indefensible. President Harding has let it be known that these heavy duties on petroleum are in his judgment highly inadvisable, and in mid-July the general feeling was that they would eventually be cut out of the Fordney Tariff bill. There will be many such changes, of course, and it is difficult to form any approximate idea as to the total amount of revenue the new schedules will finally produce. Its authors estimate the annual return at \$700,000,000.

*Troubles of
Mexican Oil
Producers*

July was a bad month, all around, for foreign oil producers. Over and above the unexpected shock of the Fordney Tariff bill, they were suddenly confronted with a new Mexican export tax of 25 per cent. to be levied in addition to other existing taxes on petroleum. Mexico produces more oil than all the other wells of the world outside of the United States, and a vast quantity of it is brought into this country. It is undoubtedly true that, at the present low prices, the majority of Mexican producers could not pay this export tax, plus the Fordney oil duties, with any margin of profit at all. Several of the largest Mexican oil companies announced that they would cease drilling and, as far as possible, stop taking out oil from Mexico. Unemployment and consequent labor unrest at Tampico, the shipping port of the great Mexican oil district, brought two United States gunboats to the harbor to protect the interests of our nationals there. There was a spectacular drop in the quotations of the securities of the largest Mexican oil companies. Things began to happen rapidly behind the scenes. Mr. Harding not only opposed the import tax on oil, but withdrew the warships from Mexican waters. Mr. Obregon, in turn, made favorable moves toward plans for adjusting foreign claims and recognizing American rights. Reports from Mexico indicated that the drastic export tax on oil might be withdrawn if the proposed import duties of the Fordney bill on crude and fuel oil were stricken out.

Aug.—2



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HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, OF MICHIGAN

(The Fordney Tariff bill is now under discussion, although there is a strong movement in favor of bringing tax revision to a conclusion in advance of the passage of the permanent tariff bill)

*Oil
Versus
Coal*

While there is at present a depression in the businesses of producing and refining petroleum, inevitable after such a vertical drop in the activity of trade and industry—a depression which has brought the price of several grades of petroleum to less than half of their prices at the peak of a year ago—nothing is more certain in the future of industry than that the world will soon be hard pressed to find oil enough to turn the wheels of modern commerce. The First Lord of the Admiralty recently announced that within a short time every ship of Britain's navy will have been converted into an oil-burner. Steps are already being taken to turn Great Britain's marvelous chain of coaling stations all over the world into oil supply stations. Both the British and American merchant ships are growing to depend more and more on oil for fuel. Hundreds of factories in England are being remodeled to use oil for power instead of coal. The gasoline-driven engine is taking on new work constantly in transportation, in factories and on the farm and a hundred out-of-the-way areas are being explored for new sources of petroleum to supply an increased demand certain to come.

*Britain's Loss
of Coal
Supremacy*

In the case of Great Britain, the turn from coal to petroleum has been hastened by the English coal miners' strike and Britain's indubitable loss of her position of supremacy as a coal producer. It is not, of course, true that the strike could cause, permanently, England's loss of supremacy in this fundamental industry. Both the strike troubles and the shattering of England's coal trade have been caused, primarily, by the falling off in the British miner's average production. The figures are startling, but it seems actually true that the present average yearly production per man in the English mines is only 225 tons, whereas in America it is 770 tons. Such a discrepancy simply puts England out of the running in the competitive markets, and her present demoralization is completed by the competition of coal from the continent of Europe seeking markets the more eagerly because of the German indemnity coal supplies delivered to France. The failure of English miners to produce coal at any rate comparable with the workers of other countries is not by any means due solely, or chiefly, to labor inefficiency or trade union restrictions, though these factors have made the situation worse. The fundamental reason for the exhaustion of an industry which will have a profound effect on the British Empire and the rest of the world as well is the great depth of the coal mines and the meagre cross-sections of the seams. Coal-mining has been carried on in England and Scotland over a far longer period of time than in America; and the easily mined coal has long since been used up. Furthermore, the American mines are equipped with labor-saving devices and other modern machinery, while the British collieries have antiquated equipment and methods which can now scarcely be changed without greater cost than would be justified.

*A Bad
Crop
Month*

June was an unfortunate month for the crops of the United States. All of them suffered rather serious deterioration, except in the cornfields. Yet there will be a reasonably good harvest of wheat—809,000,000 bushels if the estimates of July 1 are correct—and a very large crop of corn, 3,123,000,000 bushels. The yield of oats is not so good, and there will be a very poor hay crop in this country and Canada as well. The pre-war average of wheat production was 728,000,000 bushels, and last year's crop was 787,000,000. As Russia is still in no position to

export wheat, its price has been holding up better than the prices of other farm products. Secretary Hoover estimates that the year's carry-over of wheat in this country will be barely 75,000,000 bushels, against 500,000,000 bushels of corn. The cotton crop of 1921 will be the smallest in twenty years. Not only is the area planted about 25 per cent. less than normal; the farmers have been in such poor shape financially that much less fertilizer was used.

*Farmers
Appeal to
Congress*

The sharpness of the decline in the price of agricultural products during the past year has resulted in hardships which we have already discussed at some length in recent numbers of this REVIEW. Representatives in both Houses of Congress from the South and West have been working upon plans to aid the farmers by better methods of financing. Senator Norris has been leading in support of a measure to provide the necessary long-time credits for enabling farm products to be sold in Europe. Various other measures are directed toward supplying individual farmers with better opportunities for employing capital in buildings, machinery, livestock and fertilizers, so that the business of farming may be put upon a modern basis as regards the use of borrowed money. Strong criticisms have been launched against the Federal Reserve Board's methods on the ground that they have failed in times of emergency to support the basic industries upon which our whole prosperity must rest. On June 17 the Senate passed the House bill to regulate the great meat-packing industry of the country by a vote of 44 to 21. There were some important differences to be thrashed out in conference committee and next month we shall sum up the features of the bill as finally agreed upon, with an explanation of its purposes and its probable effects.

*Rural Life
and Its
Needs*

Farming is a mode of life, as well as a kind of business or industry; and intelligent efforts are being made, in the regions which rely too much upon one crop, to improve conditions by diversifying products, by building up home markets, and by making communities more fully self-sustaining. If the cotton districts had learned to raise more corn; to keep more hogs, cows and sheep; to cultivate home gardens and to practice the preserving of vegetables for winter use, their recent

disasters through the decline of cotton prices and shortage of crops would have been mitigated by at least seventy-five per cent. In other parts of the country also the success of rural life requires less dependence upon one or two kinds of product. Country life in the United States is not yet a failure, although it shows relative decline when compared with the progress of the cities. The adoption of coöperative principles and plans will go far to revive country neighborhoods. We are this month publishing an article (see page 177) calling particular attention to a farm colony that is now on its way from New York, under the leadership of Mr. W. D. Scott, to settle on irrigated land in Idaho. The plans upon which this colonization proceeds have been worked out by public officials, agricultural experts and private capitalists.

Are "Dry"
Laws a
Failure?

It was not to be expected that so radical a change as that which followed the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment and the passage of the Volstead Act would be accepted without a good deal of friction and fuss. By reason of the unwise continuance, after the war was over, of the drastic and arbitrary prohibition measures taken under exercise of the war power, the country was left with great surplus stocks of alcoholic beverages when the

amendment became effective. It has been almost impossible to prevent the illicit distribution and use of these accumulated supplies: Everyone knew, moreover, that there would be almost countless sporadic attempts to make intoxicating drinks in cellars and garrets, on moonshining plans, or as domestic experiments. The great industry of distilling has been wholly abolished; and what remains of the brewing industry produces for the most part drinks that are at least more wholesome than the concoctions sold at "soda fountains." The political saloon as an undesirable institution in this country has completely disappeared. At some time in the distant future the Eighteenth Amendment may be modified; but for the present it is as solidly a part of the Constitution of the United States as any other article or clause. The question remains whether or not this amendment might be interpreted more liberally, so that beer and light wines might to some extent be permitted, with corresponding changes in the Volstead Act. Upon this question there are differences of opinion that are entitled to respect, although the severity of the Volstead Act is, in our opinion, wholly consistent with the understanding and purpose of the people when they adopted the prohibition amendment. A tremendous "wet" parade was ostentatiously announced for New York City on the Fourth of July.



ONE OF THE "FLOATS" IN THE ANTI-PROHIBITION PARADE IN NEW YORK ON JULY 4

The promised quarter-million, more or less, of marchers did not appear; but there were actually 15,000 people in the parade. The spirit of the protest against prohibition was far from being impressive; and somehow the floats and the banners and the whole performance had rather the effect of making the metropolitan public ashamed of the wet crowd and glad of the marvelous improvement of New York City during recent years, in everything that makes for outward aspects of good order and good conduct.

Real Sports
Vs.
Prize-fighting

Judged by the amount of space given, and the prominence accorded, the newspapers in June and early July regarded a prize-fight and a certain divorce case as the two chief subjects before the American people. It is proper and wholesome that the country should take interest in games and sports, and in all the activities of outdoor life. The tendency is toward shorter hours of labor, more recreation, and a healthier and happier existence for millions of people; so that there is far less disparity now than twenty years ago between the opportunities for enjoyment of the so-called rich and those of the great mass of the community. If the interest in competitive performances and championship games, whether baseball, football, tennis, rowing, running, golf, or polo, were merely a gambling interest—like the one-time interest in horse-racing—it might be said that we were carrying competitive sports too far. The truth is, however, that the interest in these subjects is shown in the main by the activity of millions of boys and girls, on their own account, in athletic pursuits and pastimes. So we have no fault to find with the ordinary "sporting page." The principal criticism to be offered against the newspapers and against certain people of prominence in officialdom and society for their support of the Dempsey-Carpentier prize-fight consists in the fact that they were guilty, intentionally or otherwise, of taking part in a conspiracy to bamboozle the public as to the true nature of this event.

Not a
Proper
Recreation

A prize-fight is not legitimate sport, and its encouragement does not make for the welfare of the community. To pretend that what is in reality an old-fashioned fight is a "boxing exhibition" is pure humbug. It is a demoralizing spectacle and a discreditable affair. The bull-fighting of Mexico and Spain is a refined amusement, and a desirable phase of

social life, as compared with such a performance as an American prize-fight. The fight between Jack Johnson and Jess Willard had to go to Cuba as recently as 1915 because our laws had become sufficiently uniform throughout the forty-eight States to shut out such a contest even from California and Nevada. Nobody who looks facts in the face pretends for a moment that the Jersey City fight of July 2 for the heavy-weight championship was an essentially different kind of contest from the Havana fight between Johnson and Willard for that same championship. It is probably true that restrictions of law, and modifications of the old Marquis of Queensbury rules, made the fight at Toledo two years ago (when Dempsey defeated Willard) and the fight at Jersey City last month less hideous in their incidents of degrading brutality than some of the more unrestricted championship battles of earlier dates. But a championship prize-fight is not a college gymnasium exhibition of skill in boxing; and New Jersey was not deserving of praise for having permitted this gladiatorial contest last month. It is not so much a question of law that is involved as one of good taste and sound judgment and clear public opinion. There are enough good things to be encouraged without condoning bad things.

New York
Leaders in
Education

In justice to the newspapers, their constant interest in schools and social progress must be fully acknowledged; and during the present summer the New York press has given great attention to educational problems and kindred subjects. The new Commissioner of Education at Albany is Dr. Frank Pierrepont Graves, who is one of the best qualified educational leaders of our generation. He is a New York man by birth and education, but has had a great range of western experience. In his younger days he was president of the University of Wyoming and afterward of the University of Washington. More recently he has been head of the education departments of the University of Missouri and of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Livingston Farrand, the new president of Cornell University, was educated at Princeton and Columbia, but, like Mr. Graves, sought western experience, and after some years of teaching in Columbia University became president of the University of Colorado. He is a famous anthropologist and public-health authority, who has recently been the head of American Red Cross activities.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From June 15 to July 15, 1921)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

June 17.—The Senate passes the House bill to regulate the packing industry, 44 to 21, after defeating the Sterling substitute measure offered by Mr. Sterling (Rep., S. D.); enforcement is placed in the hands of the Department of Agriculture.

June 20.—In the House, Mr. Johnson (Dem., Miss.) introduces a bill which would prohibit smoking by women in the District of Columbia.

June 22.—The Army Appropriation bill is agreed to by the Senate, following agreement by the House; reduction of enlistments is to be made by October 1, from 220,000 to 150,000.

June 23.—The Naval Appropriation bill is agreed to by conferees from both Houses, the compromise carrying \$417,000,000; the House had authorized \$396,000,000, and the Senate \$496,000,000; the Borah amendment on disarmament is retained.

In the Senate, Mr. McCumber (Rep., N. D.) brings up the Soldier Bonus bill, and Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) speaks strongly against it.

June 27.—The House, by a vote of 250 to 93, passes the bill prohibiting prescriptions of beer by physicians, which the Attorney-General had declared legal under existing prohibition-enforcement laws.

June 28.—Conferees from both branches agree on a compromise phrasing of the Peace resolution terminating war with Germany and Austria-Hungary; parts of both the Knox and Porter drafts are retained.

Nearly 100 first term Republican Congressmen, led by Mr. Ansorge (Rep., N. Y.), call a caucus to determine ways of securing greater participation in affairs of the House.

June 29.—In the House, Mr. Fordney (Rep., Mich.) introduces the permanent tariff bill prepared by Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee. . . . The deadlock over the question of disarmament is broken, the House accepting the Borah (Senate) amendment to the Naval bill, authorizing and requesting the President to invite Great Britain and Japan to send representatives to a conference upon the reduction of naval expenditures; a letter from President Harding to the Republican floor leader had been read, urging prompt action upon some form of authorization.

June 30.—The House passes the compromise peace resolution, voting 263 to 59.

July 1.—The Senate passes the peace resolution by vote of 38 to 19.

July 6.—In the Senate, Mr. Underwood (Dem., Ala.) and Mr. Frelinghuysen (Rep., N. J.) attack the Bonus bill, the latter reading from a letter the opinion of Secretary Mellon that the measure would cost from \$1,500,000,000 to \$5,250,000,000, and would thus increase taxes and



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MAJOR JOHN G. EMERY, NEWLY ELECTED COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

(Major Emery was a business man of Grand Rapids, Mich., when the war came. He entered the officers' training camp at Fort Sheridan, was commissioned a captain of infantry, and went to France among the first American troops. He participated in important engagements and was wounded during the Meuse-Argonne drive. He becomes the third national commander of the American Legion, succeeding the late Colonel Galbraith)

living costs, spoil economy plans, and lower prices of Liberty bonds.

The Senate passes the House bill doubling the Philippine debt limit, with an amendment to stabilize exchange.

In the House, the new Fordney Tariff bill is presented with a majority report of the Ways and Means Committee.

July 7.—In the House, the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee submit a minority report condemning the Fordney Tariff bill.

The President confers with Senators of both parties and asks that the Bonus bill be recommitted in order not to upset years of savings expected under the new budgetary reform.

July 11.—Both branches adopt the conference report, and the Naval Appropriation bill goes to the President.

July 12.—President Harding delivers a special message to the Senate, requesting delay in passage of the Soldier Bonus bill, because of its huge

cost; Senator Penrose moves to recommit the measure.

The House holds its first night session on the tariff, after adopting a rule calling for final vote by July 21.

July 15.—The Senate votes 47 to 29 to recommit the Bonus bill.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 17.—Secretary Weeks settles the Army Air Service controversy between Generals Menoher and Mitchell by conciliatory means. . . . Major-Gen. Peyton C. March applies for retirement as Chief of Staff July 1; he will be retired from active service November 1.

Carl F. Egge, of Minneapolis, is appointed General Superintendent of the Air Mail Service.

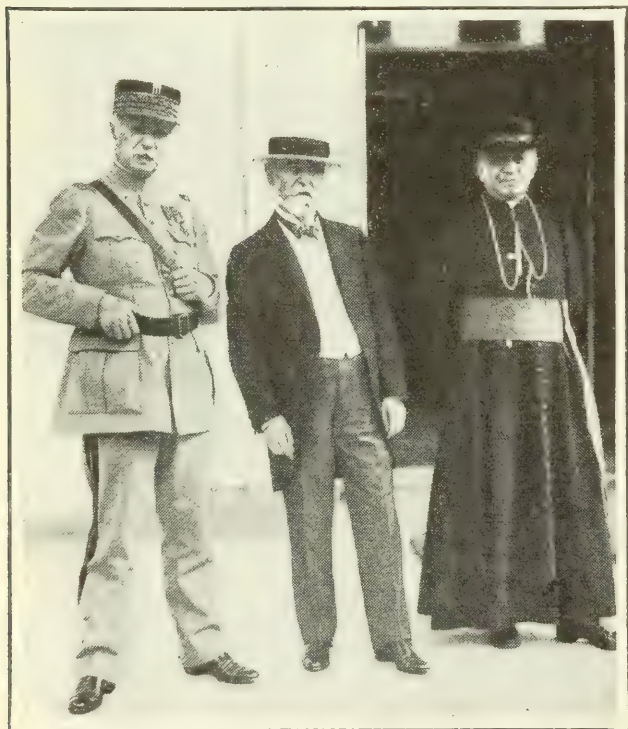
General Wood cables that Philippine finances are badly disorganized and asks immediate action by Congress to raise the debt limit of the Islands from fifteen to thirty million dollars.

June 18.—The Secretary of the Navy appoints Vice-Admiral Hilary P. Jones commander of the Atlantic Fleet, and Rear-Admiral Edward W. Eberle to command the Pacific fleet.

June 20.—The Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court upholds the State soldier bonus act as constitutional.

Changes in the fleets are announced, placing only "superdreadnoughts" in the Pacific; coal-burning ships are retained in the Atlantic fleet; while oil burners go to the Pacific.

June 21.—Charles G. Dawes, a leading Chicago banker with a brilliant war service, accepts the new post of Director of the Budget.



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THE FRENCH MISSION SENT TO CANADA TO EXPRESS FRANCE'S GRATITUDE TO CANADIAN ARMIES FOR THEIR PART IN THE WAR

(The picture was taken in Washington, and shows Marshal Fayolle, head of the mission, Ambassador Jusserand, and Monsignor Landrieux, who was a priest in the famous cathedral of Rheims during the war)

June 23.—Through President Harding, Secretary Mellon asks Congress for unlimited power to refund foreign debts amounting to \$10,141,267,585.

The Census Bureau announces a total white population in the United States of 94,822,431, with 10,463,013 negroes, 242,959 Indians, 111,025 Japanese, and 61,686 Chinese.

June 24.—Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the New York housing investigation, presents to Senator Lockwood, chairman of the legislative committee, a plan of legislation to cure conditions; trade organizations would be strictly supervised by State and nation, investment by financial institutions in real-estate mortgages would be required, usury laws would be repealed on loans over \$10,000; fire-insurance exchanges curbed and rates reduced; and jail sentences mandatory upon conviction of violating the State anti-trust law.

Rear-Admiral Sims receives a public reprimand from Secretary Denby for indiscreet remarks in London on Irish sympathizers in America.

President Harding appoints Charles B. Warren, of Michigan, as ambassador to Japan, and William Miller Collier, of Washington, D. C., as ambassador to Chile; the Senate confirms Cyrus E. Woods as ambassador to Spain.

June 25.—Eleven defendants are convicted of conspiracy in the \$1,000,000 Toledo mail-robbery.

Retiring Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, of Georgia, condemns lynchings of negroes; the new Governor, Thomas W. Hardwick, taking office, promises to "vindicate the majesty and impartiality of the law."

The Census Bureau announces that there are 2,090,132 more males than females in the United States—a ratio of 104 to 100, as compared with 106 to 100 in the previous decade (1900-10); there is an excess of female population in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

June 27.—The United States Railroad Labor Board extends the 10 per cent. wage-reduction order to every large railroad in the country.

Dr. Lee K. Frankel takes charge of the welfare bureau of the Post Office Department; he formerly performed similar duties for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

June 28.—President Harding nominates Henry Lincoln Johnson, of Georgia (colored), as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia.

June 29.—Charles G. Dawes, Director of the Budget, calls a meeting of 600 bureau chiefs, attended by the President and his Cabinet, to explain the new system and win general support where most needed.

Dr. Frank Pierrepont Graves, of the University of Pennsylvania, is elected Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, succeeding Dr. John H. Finley, resigned.

June 30.—Ex-President William Howard Taft is nominated and immediately confirmed as Chief Justice of the United States, succeeding the late Chief Justice White.

President Harding signs the Army Appropriation bill, but suggests postponement of army reduction to 150,000 until after October 1 to avoid breaking Government contracts with soldiers.

Federal attorneys begin prosecution of the so-called "cement trust" at New York City.

July 2.—President Harding signs the joint Congressional peace resolution, thus ending the technical state of war with Germany and Austria-Hungary which has continued for two and a half years since the armistice.

July 5.—President Harding and Secretary Hughes confer on proclaiming peace.

July 6.—General Dawes, Director of the Budget, orders a survey of surplus federal property.

July 7.—The Treasury Department announces total internal revenue collected during the fiscal year ending June 30 as \$4,593,933,248.61.

Governor Denny of Delaware appoints T. Coleman duPont (Rep.) to succeed United States Senator Josiah O. Wolcott (Dem.), resigned; the term expires in March, 1923.

July 10.—General Pershing and Senator Lodge pay tribute to 7264 soldier dead in a stirring memorial service at Hoboken, N. J.

New York Socialists select Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken to run for Mayor.

July 11.—The Shipping Board reorganization plans of Chairman Lasker are approved by the President; three operating vice-presidents are selected—J. Barston Smull and William J. Love, of New York, and A. J. Frey, of San Francisco.

President Harding writes Chairman Fordney, of the House Ways and Means Committee, that he is unalterably opposed to the oil and crude-petroleum imposts added at the last minute to the Tariff bill.

The President signs the Naval Appropriation bill, carrying \$410,000,000—\$86,000,000 less than the Senate figure.

July 13.—Army planes, in a bombing test, sink a former German destroyer off the Virginia Capes in twenty minutes.

Secretary Weeks announces dismissal of 21,174 civilian employees of the War Department, with an estimated annual saving of \$225,408,800.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 16.—British miners refuse to settle their strike on Government terms, voting 313,703 to 111,846—3005 more than the necessary two-thirds.

June 20.—Representatives of the United Kingdom, the dominions, and India, meet in London to discuss problems of the British Empire; the Premiers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa attend in person.

The Republic of Salvador goes on a gold currency basis, upon approval by the Congress of an American fifty-year banking concession.

June 26.—Germany's revenue for April is reported as 7,953,418,000 marks; expenditures were 14,442,363,000, of which 3,151,379,000 was for service of the debt; floating debt May 20 was 176,642,660,000 marks.

June 27.—The city of Quebec suffers a strike of police and firemen, but calls for troops and starts to organize a volunteer patrol force.

Premier Meighen, at the Imperial Conference at London, pleads for Canada's participation in shaping foreign policies of the Empire.

The Italian Cabinet, headed by Premier Giolitti, resigns after receiving a majority of only 34 upon a Socialist resolution opposing the Government's entire policy.

June 28.—Spain is reported terrorized by labor guerillas who murder French employers on slight pretenses without subsequent arrest or punishment; German industrialists pass unscathed.

Lord Curzon, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the British Empire, explains to the Imperial Conference all phases of the Anglo-Japanese alliance; it is reported the renewal negotiations have been postponed by agreement from July to October, to allow British consultation with America.

The British coal strike is settled, awaiting only Parliament's sanction of Lloyd George's offer of £10,000,000 subsidy to mine workers; the agreement will run to September 30, 1922, subject to termination on three months' notice.

June 29.—In Spain, the murder of Señor Madurell, a large employer of labor, results in a general round-up of Red Syndicalists.

July 1.—British miners vote to accept the strike settlement.

July 4.—In Italy, a new cabinet is formed by Signor Bonomi, recently Minister of the Treasury.

July 5.—The Imperial Conference appoints a committee to consult with British officials and develop improved imperial communications by land, sea, and air, radio-telegraphy and radio-telephony; the conference hears British war chiefs on the subject of military defense.

July 6.—At Leipsic, Germany, Gen. Karl Stenger is acquitted and his subordinate, Major Bruno Crusius, is convicted on a charge of murdering war prisoners; the major gets two years for manslaughter and is forbidden to wear the German uniform.

The Imperial Conference discusses the distribution among British Dominions of the 22 per cent. of German reparations which go to the British Empire.

July 10.—The Mexican Government sends 2000 troops to Tampico to preserve order.

The new Mexican National Director of Railroads, Ernesto Ocaranzo Llano, asks employees to eliminate the immense graft that has cost the Mexican Government 300,000,000 pesos.

July 11.—Premier Briand successfully sustains attacks on his foreign policies on the eve of summer adjournment of the Chamber.

The Indian visit of the Prince of Wales is postponed until October.

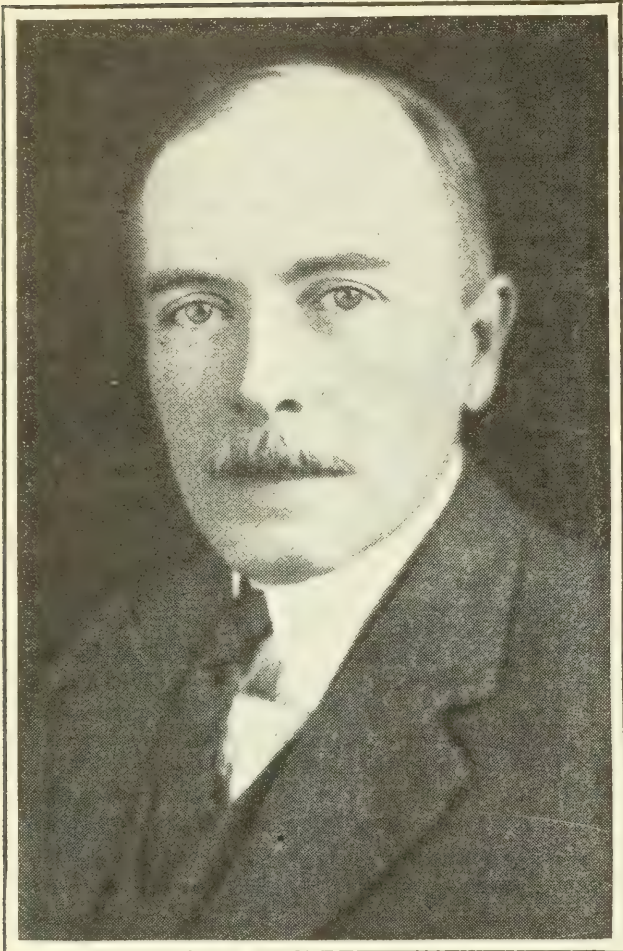
July 13.—The Chilean Senate authorizes a Government loan of 25,000,000 pesos gold and 50,000,000 pesos in paper at 8 per cent. for five years.

PARLIAMENT AND PEACE IN IRELAND

June 22.—King George of England opens the North Ireland Parliament at Belfast; he pleads for peace between opposing factions, appealing "to all Irishmen to forgive and forget."

June 25.—Premier Lloyd George invites Eamon de Valera, President of the "Irish Republic," and Sir James Craig, Premier of Ulster, to confer with him at London to effect peace in Ireland.

June 28.—De Valera, Irish Republican leader, replies to Premier Lloyd George that he wishes to confer with leaders of the political minority (Ulsterites); Sir James Craig, Ulster Unionist leader, accepts the British Premier's invitation.



DR. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, ELECTED PRESIDENT OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY

(Dr. Farrand's recent activities have been as executive director of tuberculosis and other public-health work, both in the United States and in France. He was graduated from Princeton University in 1888, and took his medical degree at Columbia in 1891. During the twenty years following, Dr. Farrand was a member of the faculty of Columbia University, becoming president of the University of Colorado in 1914 and entering upon Red Cross work in 1917)

The South Ireland Parliament is formally opened with too few members in attendance to function; the majority are Sinn Feiners.

June 30.—Arthur Griffith, Prof. John MacNeill, and other prominent Sinn Feiners are released from prison at Dublin.

July 1.—De Valera confers with released Irish Republicans regarding plans for Irish peace.

July 4.—Irish leaders from north and south—Republicans and Unionists—meet in conference at Dublin; some agreement is reached but not announced, and adjournment is taken until July 8.

July 5.—Gen. Jan Christian Smuts, Premier of South Africa, confers at Dublin with Irish Republicans and Unionists to remove some obstacles to the proposed London conference.

July 6.—General Smuts confers at London with Premier Lloyd George over De Valera's insistence on an Irish Republic and Irish unity.

July 8.—At Dublin, four Unionists—Messrs. Middleton, Woods, Jameson and Dockrell—confer with Irish Republican leaders, De Valera and Arthur Griffith; General Macready, commanding British forces in Ireland, attends and is cheered by an orderly crowd policed by citizen

volunteers; De Valera accepts the British Premier's invitation tentatively and agrees to discuss the basis of the proposed conference.

July 9.—Irish truce terms are agreed on, to take effect at noon, July 11; the British are to stop all troop movements, the Irish Republicans to cease attacks; neither side will display arms.

July 10.—At Belfast, on the eve of truce, serious rioting breaks out in the Falls District; fifteen are killed and nearly one hundred wounded.

July 11.—Lloyd George announces in the House of Commons that De Valera has set July 14 as the date for his conference at London; Commons decides not to debate Irish questions.

July 13.—The South Parliament meets with two members of the House and twelve Senators attending, and adjourns *sine die*. . . . "Black and Tans" (Auxiliaries) begin to leave Ireland.

July 14.—De Valera, leader of Sinn Fein and South Ireland republicans, confers for over two hours with Lloyd George at London; the Premier sees the King after the conference.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

June 15.—Washington announces opening conversations with Tokio looking to final settlement of all matters in dispute on the Pacific.

At New York, federal authorities seize a contraband shipment of machine guns in the bunkers of the *East Side*, about to sail for Ireland.

Britain delivers a note to France calling attention to her lack of cooperation in Silesia.

Japanese Prince Hirohito is received by Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, after leaving England.

June 16.—Dr. Sun Yat Sen, South China's new President, appeals to President Harding for recognition in a note delivered by Mr. Ma Soo, Dr. Sun's personal representative at Washington.

June 17.—Lord Curzon, British Foreign Secretary, and Premier Briand, of France, confer over Near East affairs in an effort to prevent further warfare between Turkish Nationalists and Greece.

June 18.—The League Council at Geneva discusses Danzig; Austria signs the protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice, being the thirty-eighth nation to sign.

June 19.—The Greek Government receives a note from the Allies suggesting peace with the Turkish Nationalists.

American members of the Hague Arbitration Tribunal are requested to name four candidates (two to be American) for election as judges on the International Court of Justice.

June 21.—At Paris, the International Wireless Conference opens, with delegates present from England, France, United States, Italy, and Japan.

June 23.—Washington announces the early establishment of an American consulate at Kovno, Lithuania; consulates are already established at the Baltic ports of Riga and Reval.

June 24.—The League Council awards the Aland Islands to Finland, with military neutralization and protective provisions for Swedish citizenry, following the report of its commission.

June 25.—The Reparations Commission approves a change in terms for payment of war indemnity by Germany, which allows her to make tender in European currencies instead of dollars.

Peking reports the signature on May 21 of a treaty of amity and commerce between China and

Germany under which German nationals subject themselves to Chinese laws and courts; this is a new departure in Chinese foreign relations.

Greece declines the mediation offer of the Allies in her war with Turkish Nationalists.

June 26.—Upper Silesian troubles seem ended with the agreement by Polish General Korfanty and German General Hoefer, under suggestions from British General Henniker, approved by the Interallied Commission, to evacuate belligerent forces from the district to their respective national borders.

June 28.—Ecuador officially refuses to join the Peruvian centennial of independence because Peru decorated soldiers who killed Ecuadorians in a border fight at Torres Cansana.

Germany pays the second of her twenty \$10,000,000 notes, dated June 1, in European currency, equivalent to 44,000,000 gold marks.

June 29.—Greek forces evacuate Ismid, Turkey, leaving an open road to Constantinople for the Turkish Nationalists.

July 1.—British Lord High Chancellor Birkenhead tells the Imperial Conference that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance technically continues automatically for another year unless formally denounced, notwithstanding the acceptance of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

July 4.—American warships anchor off Tampico as a precaution against possible unemployment riots where oil plants have shut down owing to the new increased Mexican tariff on exports of oil products, which became effective July 1.

July 6.—On the Siberian border, 500 Korean casualties are inflicted by Japanese troops, who claim the Koreans have joined the Siberian Bolsheviks.

July 7.—General Sir Charles Harrington, in command of Allied forces at Constantinople, tenders a cautious invitation to Mustapha Kemal for a conference, apparently in the nature of a peace overture.

July 8.—The French War Trials Mission is withdrawn from Leipsic on the ground that German trials of German war criminals are a farce.

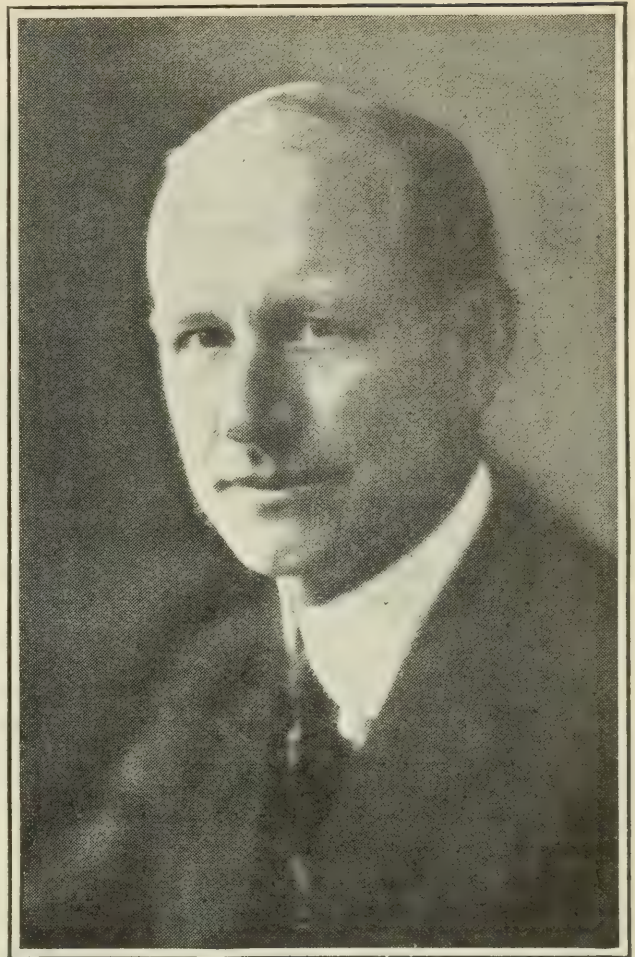
Brazil nominates for the Permanent Court of International Justice Elihu Root, of the United States, Ruy Barbosa, of Brazil, Joaquin Gonzales, of Argentina, and Prof. Alejandro Alvarez, of Chile.

American warships at Tampico are ordered returned to their stations.

The International Joint Commission receives a favorable report, after eighteen months' survey, on the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence ship canal project from American and Canadian engineers; the canal would cost \$252,278,200 and would accommodate deep-sea vessels.

Washington refuses to surrender in China its rights under a contract between China and the Federal Telegraph Company, despite protests of other nations; and Secretary Hughes reiterates in his note to Peking the continued American policy of "the open door," saying we will never participate or acquiesce in monopolistic concessions in China.

July 9.—Allied Commissioners of Constantinople criticize British assumption of command through General Harrington; his invitation to Mustapha Kemal, as yet unaccepted, did not receive the sanction of the Commission.



DR. FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES, NEW COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION IN NEW YORK STATE

(Dr. Graves comes back to his native State after a long period of educational service at the Universities of Wyoming, Washington, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania. He was graduated from Columbia University in 1890, and for the past seven years has been dean of the School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.)

July 10.—It is officially announced that President Harding has invited Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy to a world disarmament conference covering also Pacific questions, with China invited as a participant.

The League of Nations organizes an International Blockade Committee, leaving one seat vacant as heretofore in similar bodies.

July 11.—Lloyd George announces to the Commons receipt of satisfactory replies to proposals for a world conference on disarmament and Pacific questions from America and China—to be held at Washington, November 11, the date desired by President Harding.

July 12.—France and Italy accept President Harding's invitation to a disarmament conference.

July 13.—Lord Northcliffe rebukes Lloyd George and the Foreign Office for the attempt to "jump" President Harding's claim on the disarmament conference.

Prince Hirohito visits the King of Italy.

President Obregon promulgates a decree inviting all interested nations to send delegates to form a permanent Mexican claims commission.

Japan is reported to have accepted the invitation to the disarmament conference, but not to discuss Pacific questions.

Ambassador Herrick arrives at Paris from the United States.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 19.—After a lapse of seven years, the Mint resumes coinage of silver dollars, to replace 279,000,000 sold to Great Britain during the war.

June 21.—Egyptian cotton acreage for 1921 is reported as 1,400,000, a decline of 20 per cent.

The former German submarine *U-117* is sunk in sixteen minutes by bombing planes firing twelve bombs at 1100 feet altitude; Navy and Army planes participate in this test.

June 22.—The American polo team at Hurlingham, England, defeats the British team; the polo cup returns to America.

The United States Naval Academy eight defeats all opponents in the intercollegiate championship rowing race, breaking the three-mile record of 15:51 in 14:07.

James Rowland Angell takes office as fourteenth President of Yale University.

June 23.—The national marine workers' strike, which started May 1, is officially ended.

June 24.—Mme. Marie Curie sails from New York for France, returning with a gram of radium purchased for \$100,000 by popular subscription and presented to her by President Harding; she visited many cities and was awarded many honorary degrees.

June 25.—The American Federation of Labor, for the fortieth time, elects Samuel Gompers as its president, defeating John Lewis 25,022 to 12,324.

George M. Cohan, noted actor and producer, announces his retirement until "labor no longer has a strangle-hold on the profession."

June 27.—Livingston Farrand is elected president of Cornell University to succeed Jacob Gould Schurman.

June 28.—At Valparaiso, Chile, a forty-eight-hour general strike is begun in support of cigarette workers; port work is at a standstill.

June 29.—Franz Schwarz is awarded the Prix de Rome just as he reaches "the end of his rope."

July 2.—William H. ("Jack") Dempsey retains the world's heavyweight boxing championship, defeating Georges Carpentier, the French champion of Europe, in four rounds, at Jersey City, before 90,000 spectators, for a purse of \$500,000.

July 5.—A memorial to the late William T. Stead, the noted British journalist, is unveiled at New York (see page 146).

July 6.—Builders at New York City ask 100,000 men to accept a wage reduction of \$1 a day now to avoid greater wage loss later.

The Census Bureau announces a 13.2 per cent. decrease (88,502) of foreign-born farmers since 1910; native white farmers number 4,917,305, and make up 85 per cent of the total; negro farmers increase 3.7 per cent., only a little over 1 per cent. being in Northern States.

The World's Christian Endeavor conference opens at New York City with 10,000 delegates from three continents.

July 8.—An exceptionally oppressive heat wave extends north and south and westward to the Rockies, with high humidity and many deaths.

July 9.—Gabriel Poulain wins the 10,000 franc Peugeot prize for a flight in a man-driven airplane a distance of more than ten meters at a

height of one meter; the machine weighs thirty-seven pounds and is operated like a bicycle.

July 11.—The Department of Commerce announces a favorable trade balance for the fiscal year ended June 30 of \$2,852,000,000; exports were \$6,519,000,000, compared with \$8,108,000,000 the previous year; imports were \$3,666,000,000, compared with \$5,238,000,000; total trade decreased \$3,000,000,000.

OBITUARY

June 12.—George Perry Morris, a widely-known journalist of Boston and Washington, 57.

June 15.—Judge William A. Blount, president of the American Bar Association, 70.

June 16.—William E. Mason, Representative in Congress from Illinois, 70.

June 19.—Frederick Lothrop Ames, noted cattle breeder of North Easton, Mass., 45.

June 22.—Gen. Charles H. Taylor, for nearly half a century editor of the *Boston Globe*, 74. . . . Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, authority on Semitic languages, 60.

June 23.—Lucille Marcel, well-known Austrian operatic soprano, 34.

June 24.—Joseph Auld, founder of the Burlington (Vt.) *Daily News*, 73. . . . George C. Hazelton, playwright, 53. . . . Bishop Joseph Maria Koudelka, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Superior (Wis.), 68.

June 25.—George L. Dyer, well-known advertising expert, 52. . . . Emory A. Chase, Judge of the New York Court of Appeals, 67. . . . George Frederick Blessing, dean of the engineering department at Swarthmore, 46. . . . Dr. Xavier Prado, Peruvian intellectual and collector of historical relics. . . . John B. Stanchfield, a leader of the New York bar, 66.

June 26.—John A. Moon, who served twenty-four consecutive years representing the Third Tennessee Congressional District, retiring recently, 65.

June 27.—Charles E. Hamlin, long editor of *School*, a teachers' weekly.

June 28.—Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy and Attorney-General under President Roosevelt, 70.

June 29.—Lady Randolph Churchill, first American society girl to wed in English nobility, 67. . . . Dr. Harry Barringer Cox, noted California electrical scientist and inventor, 57.

July 1.—Edward Fielding, vice-president and major-general in the Volunteers of America, 59.

July 2.—Jacob A. Cantor, for forty years Democratic politician of New York, 67.

July 8.—Charles A. Prouty, for eighteen years a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 68. . . . Frederick T. Richards, of Philadelphia, cartoonist and illustrator, 57.

July 9.—Francis Bacon Crocker, a noted electrical engineer and Columbia professor, 60.

July 10.—Henry Marquand, former literary editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 66. . . . Douglas Story, British author and journalist, 48.

July 11.—Edward Hay, former general manager of the Imperial Bank of Canada, 66.

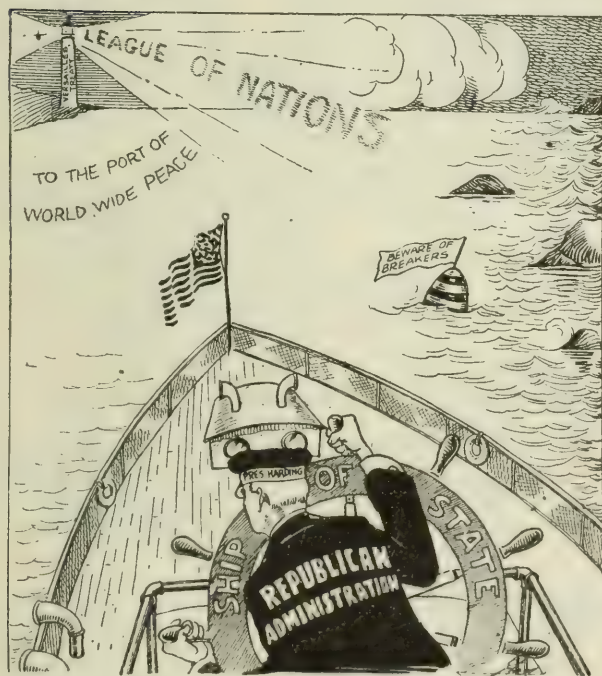
AN EVENTFUL MONTH AS REFLECTED IN CARTOONS



ANOTHER HISTORIC OCCASION FOR JULY
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



BETTER GOING LIES AHEAD NOW!
From the *World* (New York)



TURNING TO THE LEAGUE
From the *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.)

[Despite earlier indications to the contrary, this Southern cartoonist believes recent events show that President Harding is steering the Ship of State toward the League of Nations]



WHO'LL TACKLE HIM FIRST?
From the *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colo.)



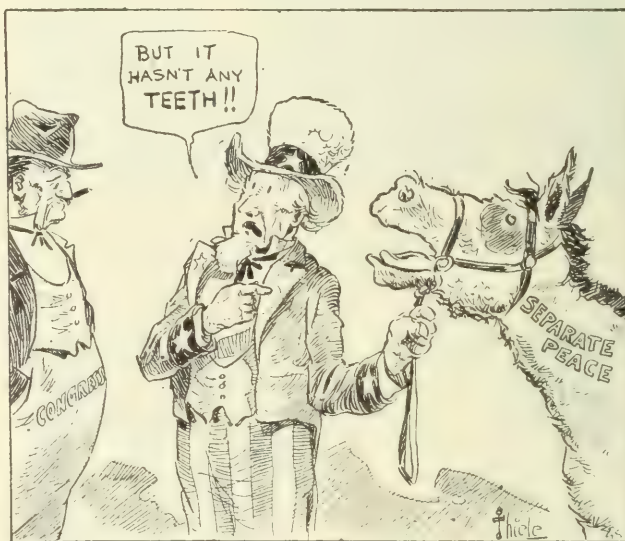
WHAT KIND OF A WORLD PEACE WILL MAGICIAN
HARDING BRING FORTH?
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



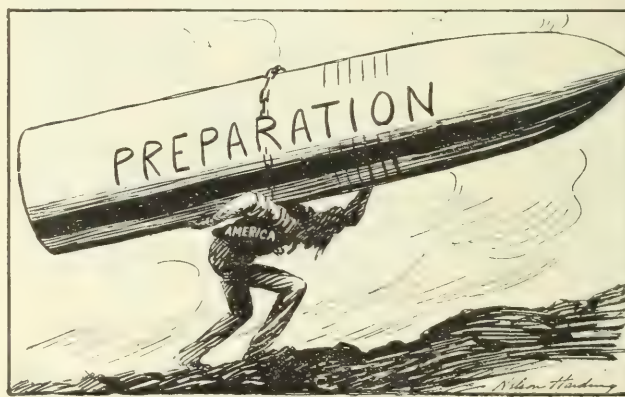
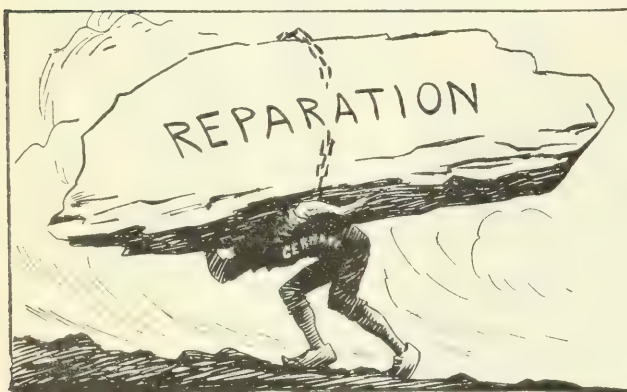
THE FIRST STEP OF THE DISARMAMENT CHILD
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



THE NATURE FAKER
CONGRESS: "This is just as good as a live one."
From the *Times* (New York)



UNCLE SAM LOOKS HIS "GIFT HORSE IN THE
MOUTH!"
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



VANQUISHED AND VICTOR—HOW MUCH WORSE OFF IS ONE THAN THE OTHER?
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

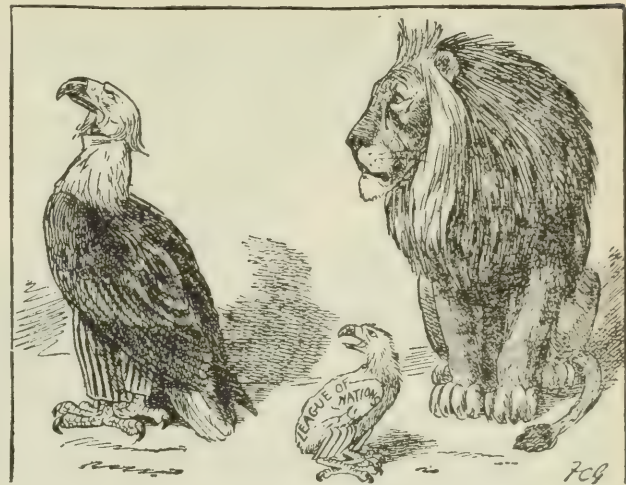


CUPID, THE LEAGUE, AND UNCLE SAM

UNCLE SAM: "Boy, you can stop firin' them darts. I ain't goin' to love her."

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

WE are still living in a period when history is made rapidly. The month covered by this selection of cartoons saw the consummation of peace with Germany and



REPUDIATION OF THE YOUNG LEAGUE

THE AMERICAN EAGLE: "I'm not going to be beguiled into having anything to do with it!"

THE BRITISH LION: "Beguiled! Well, I've taken a liking to it—and I thought I recognized a likeness!"

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



UNCLE SAM: "I'M GOING TO SIT IN, BUT I WON'T PLAY THE GAME"

From the *Times* (New York)



"IT LOOKS FINE, BUT I CAN'T MAKE IT BREATHE!"

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



THE GREATEST PROTECTION WHERE THE GREATEST DANGER LIES

From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



HOLLAND AMONG THE GREAT POWERS

UNCLE SAM: "Why does she stick between those two? Am I not a fine fellow?"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

Austria, the approach of permanent solutions in Ireland, and the formal invitation of

President Harding—with authorization from both houses of Congress—to the leading



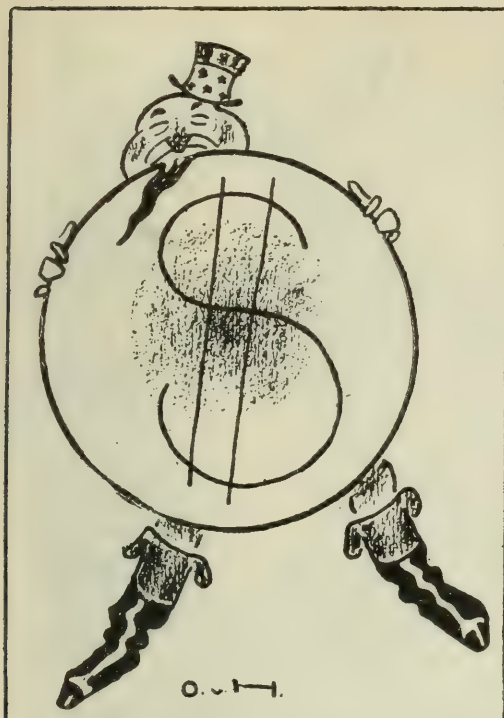
WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

["... But across the great water there arose a strong man who slew the League of Nations monster, the offspring of the Lion and Cock."]
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



A HINDU VIEW OF UNCLE SAM

GERMANY: "I'm trembling for my very existence, Uncle. Won't you come to my help and release me from the clutches of those Shylockean creditors of mine?"
UNCLE SAM: "Not until you pay and settle the matter once for all."
From the *Hindi Punch* (Bombay, India)



AMERICA'S POSITION

UNCLE SAM: "So long as the dollar retains its present value, I have no need to join the League of Nations."

From *Hæpsen* (Christiania, Norway)

powers of the world to discuss limitation of naval expenditures. There were other events of hardly less importance. In the cartoons reproduced here, both sides of controverted questions are presented.



RUSSIA INVITES FOREIGN TRADE

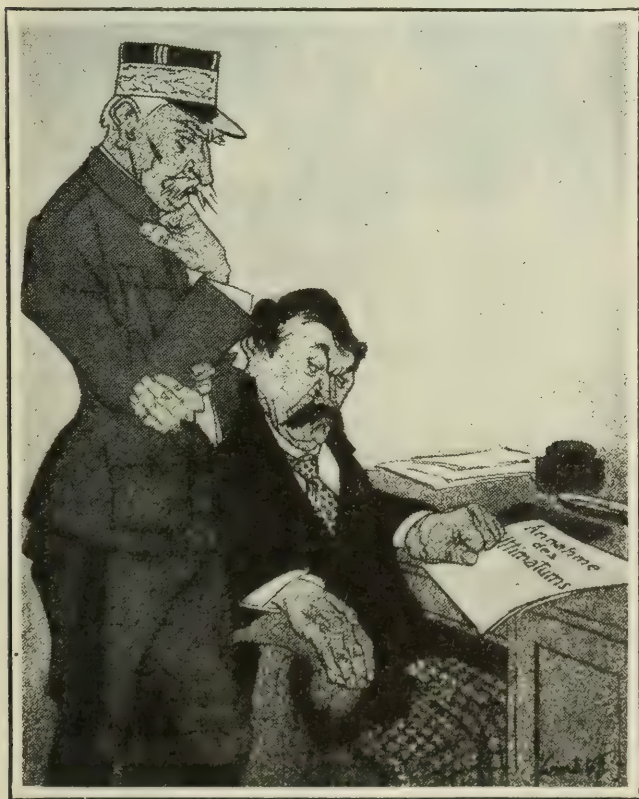
LENINE: "Come right in. You have full freedom for exploitation."
From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)



THOSE GERMAN SENTENCES

"You can't expect a German to punish a German for behaving like a German!"

From *Opinion* (London, England)



A NEW DIFFICULTY

BRIAND (reading Germany's acceptance of ultimatum): "Dammit! Now we shall have to find a new pretence for occupying the Ruhr district."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



THE ALLIES (TO SHACKLED GERMANY): "NOW ROW US QUICKLY TO OUR DESTINATION"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



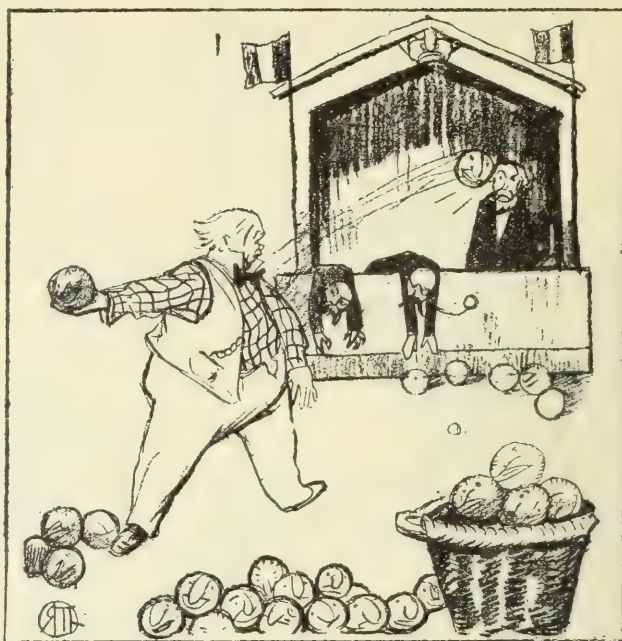
JOHN BULL'S DILEMMA

Self-determination is demanded by the Indian Elephant, the Canadian Bear, the South African Lion, and the Australian Kangaroo.

From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)

THE SEA IS CALM BEFORE A STORM
(Peaceful meeting of the Three Friends—Japan, Britain, and United States—in the Far East)

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



LLOYD GEORGE'S LITTLE GAME

LLOYD GEORGE: "You also, Briand, must go."

From *Dessin de Miercolès* (Paris, France)



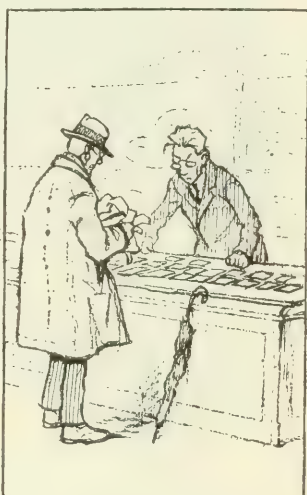
ALLIES OF YESTERDAY

"Anybody looking at us from behind would still imagine us to be an affectionate couple."

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



In the United States



In Germany

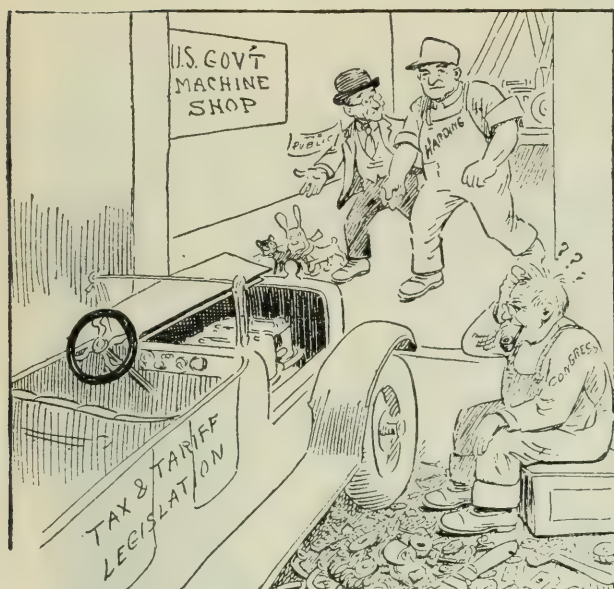


In Austria



In Poland

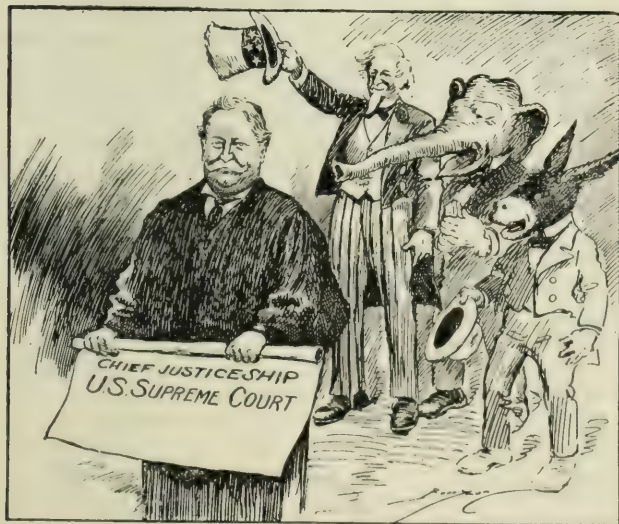
A YARD OF CLOTH IS BOUGHT—From *Fliegende Blaetter* (Munich, Germany)



TIME CONGRESS WAS GETTING OUR CAR REPAIRED
By Perry, in the *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon)

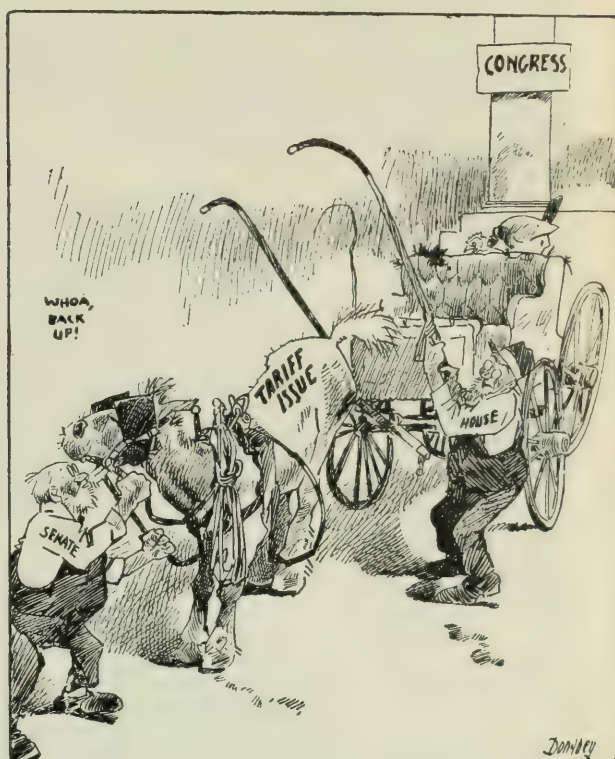


DOESN'T LOOK LIKE A VACATION THIS SUMMER
By Nelson Harding in the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



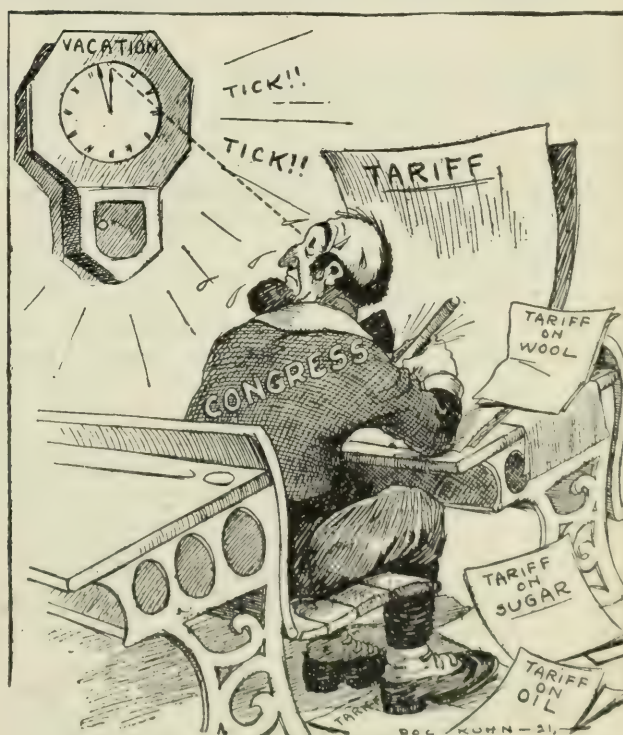
THE AMBITION OF A LIFETIME REALIZED
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)

Aug.—3



GETTING READY FOR ANOTHER JOY RIDE
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

Congress has been in special session more than four months, and—as is so often the case—there is evident a tendency to find fault with the sum total of legislation to its credit. It is now expected that the Tariff bill and tax revision will keep Congressmen in Washington through the entire summer.



KEEP YOUR EYE ON THE PROBLEM
From the *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colo.)



THE STEAD MEMORIAL IN NEW YORK

SEVERAL years ago, subsequent to the lamented death of William T. Stead, who was one of the victims of the *Titanic* disaster in 1912, a tablet was erected in London in memory of that great journalist by his friends and particularly the fellow members of his profession. Last month a duplicate of this London tablet was placed against the wall of Central Park, New York City, opposite the Carnegie home at Ninety-first Street. No journalist ever had a higher conception of the possibilities for usefulness of his relations to the public. He had been editor of a daily paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in London for some years, when, at the beginning of 1890, he founded the *English Review of Reviews*. Through his encouragement and active coöperation, the *American Review of Reviews* was established one year later under its present management.

Mr. Stead was the greatest journalistic advocate of the mission of the British Empire, and of the value to civilization of the British Navy. He had inspired Cecil Rhodes and Admiral Fisher. He became in due time the most promi-

nent advocate of Anglo-American accord, and of harmony and coöperation throughout the English-speaking world. In his later years he gave increasing attention to the dangerous conditions that were arising through the rivalry of the European powers in armament and in designs for aggrandizement, and he was one of the most active promoters of the Hague Conferences and of all projects for avoiding war and strengthening the ties of international association and friendship.

In recognition of his services in the cause of peace, his statue was placed in the Peace Temple at The Hague, which was built through the munificence of his lifelong friend, Andrew Carnegie. The doctrines that he preached, and the policies that he advocated, are those that are widely accepted to-day as essential to the world if our civilization is not to go down in wreckage. Mr. Stead's courage as a journalist was unflinching, and in the ups and downs of British politics he was among the most pronounced controversialists of his day; but his memory is revered and his fame will be enduring.

"OLD HOME WEEK" IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE LONDON CONFERENCE

BY far the most important event of the past month has been the reunion of the representatives of the various Dominions of the British Empire in London, by all odds the most colossal "Old Home Week" in human history. But this conference is something other than a gathering of the representatives of India and of all the Dominions around the Seven Seas to celebrate the magnitude of the Empire. The mood and the purpose of this assemblage was something far different from that of the Diamond Jubilee which marked the apex and, in a certain sense, the end of an era and of a century.

Not to glorify the past or celebrate the present, but to find, if possible, some constitution for the future, which would enable the greatest empire in all human history to reconstruct itself and thus to escape the dangers present and perceptible for the immediate future—this was the dominating purpose of the new gathering. And, in a sense, this London Conference was no more than another consequence of the World War, an effort to translate its lessons into enduring facts.

The German, in that strange, disordered vision which he had created and cherished, saw the British Empire as a creation of conquerors, held together by the combined strength of military establishments and financial chains. Among all the things which he reckoned certain, when the war came, none was more completely assured than the collapse, the flying apart, of the imperial structure.

Looking at the Empire of 1914, from Ireland to India, applying German intelligence and reason to British facts, the German decided that with war would come revolt in Ireland, in India, in Egypt, in South Africa. And, in addition, there was to be domestic revolt within the frontiers of England, Scotland and Wales, class warfare at home, race revolt abroad—such were the things the German saw.

He was not wholly wrong. One of the

obvious facts about German calculations is that there is always a fraction of truth. The fallacy lies in the distortion and overvaluation of this particle of truth. There was a revolt in Ireland; there were rebellions in South Africa; Egypt was disturbed and if India remained passive during the war, there has been trouble and plenty since the armistice.

Yet the supreme fact was and is that the troubles were so insignificant. The Irish Rebellion was a thing of a day, of Easter Week at most. The South African trouble became almost pathetically ineffective the moment Botha and Smuts declared against it. Egypt was held securely. By contrast, to counterbalance these brief uprisings, there was the response of the Dominions, the arrival of a million of Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders and even South Africans in Europe.

Here was something on which the German had not calculated. He had reckoned upon passivity, at the very least, so far as the Dominions were concerned. He had never dreamed that he would be called upon to pit his Bavarians, Prussians, Hanoverians, against the soldiers of the British Dominions come in vast numbers to reinforce a British army, already guaranteed by conscription after having been filled by volunteering.

Yet it would be a mistake not to perceive that the coming of the Dominions had consequences for the future of the Empire which cannot be exaggerated. The war to which Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand came was a war of European making. Its causes and its issues were on the surface, as remote from the everyday life and concerns of the citizens of the Dominions as from those of the people of the United States. Old rivalries and new ambitions in Europe—these had brought a universal disaster.

Since Britain was in danger, since the consequences of the foreign policies of the British statesmen had been such, since Britain herself felt the menace, her dominions responded unhesitatingly. They came, they

fought, they contributed their share to the common victory, and it was not a minor share either in blood or treasure. But back of it all there was discoverable, even during the war, a deliberate determination that the circumstances of any future coming should be different.

What the several Dominions decided was, not that they would not fight again for the security of the Empire, not that they regretted the swift and magnificent response to the call of 1914, but that in the making of the policies of the future, from which war might flow, they should have that share which of right belonged to Dominions on whom would devolve an increasing share of the burden of defense.

In his effort to destroy the British Empire the German failed, but history will record that what he did not destroy he did transform. Each of the greater Dominions emerged from the war with a wholly crystallized determination to play a new rôle in the imperial association. The notion of Imperial Federation was not born of the war, but the war gave it a strength and a clarity which had hitherto been lacking.

If one could conceive that the Britain of 1921 was that of 1775, if one could imagine that the policy of the Ministers of George V. was that of George III., then one could easily perceive the prompt collapse of the Empire. With the close of the war the Dominions frankly demanded partnership in the imperial enterprise, voice in the making of policies, in the preserving of peace and in the declaring of war. Out of this demand came the present conference.

II. THE JAPANESE QUESTION

In such a gathering it is obvious that the United States could not participate, because if by birth and ancestry we are of the family, we have by our own act definitively left the home and dissociated ourselves from the business of the Empire. Yet nothing was more striking than the fact that, once the conference was assembled, the relation of the Empire to the great Republic became one of the most absorbing of issues.

The discussion of a renewal of the Japanese Alliance served as the center about which the American problems revolved. Many years ago, when the first reactions from the German challenge to British sea power were noted, the British made an alliance with the Japanese. It enabled the British to recall their fighting units from the Far East and

concentrate them in the German Ocean. It was a bargain like that made with France in the general liquidation of 1904, which had, for an immediate result, enabled the British to recall their better units from the Mediterranean and leave to the French, become friends, if not allies, the policing of the Mediterranean.

The alliance served its purpose. In conformity with it the Japanese, with a few British troops added, took Kiaou-Chau in 1914 and the Japanese fleets, unsuccessfully as it turned out, pursued the Asiatic Squadron of Von Spee into South American waters, where, after the victory of Coronel, they encountered the destruction of the Falkland Islands. Japanese ships, war and merchant alike, were valuable to Britain and her allies during the war. The terms of the alliance did not call for Japanese troops in Europe and none came, but in Asiatic waters Japan was a useful ally.

Confronted with the question of renewing the alliance, now, however, Britain and her Dominions find themselves faced with the fact that unfortunately present relations between Japan and the United States in the Pacific are such that a real blow to Anglo-American understanding might be dealt if the alliance between Britain and Japan were continued, renewed. And on this point, as on all others, the voice of the Dominions is unmistakable. As a first act in participating in the making of a decision in the foreign policy of the Empire, these Dominions stipulate that nothing, neither a Japanese Alliance nor any other understanding abroad should be permitted, which would weaken, even morally, the ties which bind the two English-speaking peoples.

To me this is an enormously significant detail, because one must perceive that the center of gravity of the British Empire is changing. To-day the white population of the Dominions counts perhaps 16,000,000, rather more than a third of the population of the British Isles, but it is clear that the present century may see Canada and Australia both containing a larger population than the home country, while the development of wealth in both Dominions must be colossal.

Conceivably rivalry between Great Britain and the United States might result from the position which has fallen to us in recent years. Ancient prejudices, present annoyances—one can see all the details out of which European observers are already constructing the war of the future, the next

world struggle, the fight for supremacy between the Briton and the American. But in such a rivalry British participation, even, could only be thinkable were the Dominions standing behind the statesmen of the United Kingdom—and the Dominions have disclosed as the cardinal doctrine in their scheme of foreign policy, friendship with the United States, even at expense of existing alliances.

For the rest, the progress of events at the conference is of little real moment. The main fact is that another League of Nations, similar to the United States of America, is forming under our eyes. The British Empire is federalizing itself voluntarily. No one can mistake the good-will and the friendliness which are revealed in the discussions. Neither secession nor separation are even thought of. All the emphasis is on the other foot, all the striving is for a basis of solid union, but not less clear is the fact that the required basis must transform the whole structure of the Empire.

And the United States, more than any other country on earth, is and must be concerned with this transformation, for we are, in reality, in the very heart of the Empire, itself, geographically speaking. Canada is our next-door neighbor, Britain our nearest European shore, while with New Zealand and Australia our relations grow more intimate and more important with each year, and common conceptions and difficulties face us and the British Dominions about the Pacific.

It is, indeed, in the Pacific and in Asia that not a few competent students of world affairs see rising the greatest problems for the future. There, moreover, we have a large stake, and if there be, in reality, a "Yellow Peril," if, as some would have us believe, a new revolution is stirring among the uncounted millions of eastern Asia, it must have the same meaning for the Australians and the Canadians as for ourselves.

It must remain the supreme problem in imperial history for years to come, whether community in race, history, language can insure the preservation of political unity among states as widely separated as the British Dominions. The present Imperial Conference can represent no more than a deliberate attempt to promote that unity and prevent the divergence, which might seem inevitable. The war failed to wreck the structure, but it did clearly demonstrate the necessity for a total reconstruction. Yesterday colonies, to-day Dominions, the great white settlements of the British race must

inevitably be nations to-morrow and, to endure, the British Empire must become in fact a League of Nations, different, after all, from the American union composed of States comprising a geographical entity uninterrupted by oceans.

III. THE TWO PROBLEMS

In reality two great problems confront the statesmen of the British Empire, of which one is in a sense European, that is, British, the other of wider extent. At the moment when the Imperial Conference was in session, British statesmen were struggling with the crisis in the Near East and the not less critical situation in Upper Silesia.

As a European state Britain must always be intimately concerned with the events upon the nearby mainland. If the Empire is united by many ties, commercial, financial, moral, yet the security of the British Isles, the circumstances of the daily life of millions of Britons, is bound up in the Continental condition.

We have, ourselves, in consequence of our participation in the World War, been brought to perceive the endless entanglements which European conditions impose. We have shrunk from a formal commitment in the case of the League of Nations, because we have realized that such commitment carried with it the obvious possibility of a participation by our armies in each dispute that arose over the boundaries of European states and the obligation to risk our lives and our treasure in the maintenance of European order.

Yet this, after all, must be the problem for Canada, for Australia, for South Africa, inescapable, so long as these Dominions remain parts of the British Empire, for Great Britain will remain in Europe. To-day it is a question of the boundaries of Upper Silesia. Out of the dispute, war conceivably might result—if not now, in a future by no means remote. Such a war would threaten Britain quite as much as the last war did, for it would have its western repercussion and France would march with Poland.

Theoretically the making of British policy, of imperial policy, as it affects Upper Silesia, Danzig, the Sarre, all the thousand and one "questions" of war-causing character, must be framed by Britain and the Dominions in conference, but in practice does one suppose that the statesmen and politicians of the remoter Dominions can or will concern themselves with these? But the alternative is

a European alliance for Great Britain, with all that such an alliance must mean of danger.

There is, too, the second problem, the colonial problem. To-day Great Britain confronts the gravest sort of crises in India, in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. The very life of the colonial Empire depends upon the preservation of British supremacy in the Near East. The present maneuver about Constantinople, which I shall discuss in a moment, represents a continuation of British policy which goes back at least to the Napoleonic era.

But how to create the same interest in the Dominions for the colonies as exists in the British Isles? The colonial empire, which has been built by an almost instinctive effort to open new markets and find fresh fields for British enterprise and British administration, depends upon London, not upon Melbourne or Montreal, Auckland or Cape Town. The profits of the enterprise are British, not colonial, but the costs, as Gallipoli and the Mesopotamian affairs indicated, will be divided between the United Kingdom and the Dominions.

Moreover, if the British have been supremely successful in holding their white colonies, now become Dominions, and if the earlier years of their history as a colonizing nation among native populations finds no parallel since Roman times, if then, it is not less clear that in recent years there has been a distinct change. To India and Egypt the British brought law, order, security, the Pax Britannica, which succeeded to an endless era of oppression and anarchy, but they brought also that system, that point of view, which is expressed in the conception of the superiority of the White Race, and it is this superiority which is to-day challenged alike in India and in Egypt.

Egypt, which has been and remains a shining example of the success of British administration, one of the finest achievements in history, is precisely the land where the demand that Britain depart is most insistently heard and the native resentment is most emphatically disclosed. What the situation is in India is less clear, yet the same symptoms are unmistakable. Mesopotamia, only newly acquired, reveals all the same circumstances.

Here then is another transformation to be made, vastly more difficult and complicated by the fact that, whereas in the white Dominions the spontaneous and universal desire is for perpetuation of the imperial edifice, in

the native colonies the desire to escape from British association has already revealed itself, not alone in protests but in bloodshed.

Conceivably the day is not far distant when Britain will be called upon to maintain her rule in her native colonies by force of arms alone, by armed resistance to rebellion. Here, as in the case of European complications, a new problem will be posed for that Imperial Conference, which must guide the actions of the Empire.

In any event, unrolling under our own eyes, emphasized by the recent Imperial Conference, important to us by reason of our thousand and one material and other associations with Great Britain and with the Dominions, is a problem of surpassing interest. Built by the Britons of the narrow islands in the North Sea, the British Empire, the greatest in history, is transforming itself. Even before the World War it was plain that the existing organization could not endure. The war has only made more unmistakable the fact that to endure the Empire must rebuild itself, must become not an Empire like that of Rome, ruled from the Thames as that of the Cæsars was from the Tiber, but ruled by some common council made up from the federated nations which combined to preserve the edifice. To this task imperial statesmanship is now directing its attention and the success or failure of the undertaking will have incalculable consequences for all mankind and, perhaps, for Americans beyond all other peoples.

IV. SMUTS AND HUGHES

By an odd circumstance, the most conspicuous figure of the whole gathering was not the Premier of Britain, but of South Africa, and the most striking episode during the period of the session did not directly bear upon the business in hand at all. Not accidentally, probably, at the precise hour when the London Conference was gathering, a new Parliament in the north of Ireland was meeting in the presence of the King, and from the British sovereign and from the British Prime Minister final appeals were being made to the people of Ireland to accept some sort of compromise which might end the contest now prolonged over five years with ever-increasing intensity and fatality.

Following this appeal came the announcement that General Smuts had appeared in Dublin and that he was seeking to bring about a meeting between Sinn Fein and Loyalist, between the Green and the Orange,

which might prove a promising prelude to truce and then peace. Further than this there came a formal announcement a few days later of a real truce, an interruption of hostilities, and the acceptance by "President" De Valera of an invitation to conference. At the least the most promising developments of the whole long Irish dispute were thus disclosed.

But it is the appearance of Smuts rather than the Irish phase which at the moment has significance. Less than two decades ago Smuts was one of the leaders of a race which was at war with the British, which sought to escape British rule, and, after a long and gallant resistance, was crushed by weight of numbers and superiority of resources. To-day he stands forth as the most conspicuous colonial figure in a conference of the leaders of the whole British Empire, having already played an equally large part at the Paris Peace Conference.

Obviously, then, Smuts had special qualifications for the rôle of mediator. He could speak as no Briton would or could. He represented a race as little English as De Valera himself. Certainly there has not been in history a more dramatic episode than this appearance in Dublin, the spiritual capital of the Irish revolt, of the South African Boer, come to strive to reconcile Briton and Celt, as Briton and Boer had been reconciled in what has become the loyal Union of South Africa.

Smuts personally is a figure fairly well known in the United States. At the Paris Conference he shared with Lord Robert Cecil the glory of the guilt of authorship of that League of Nations plan which President Wilson adopted, with certain relatively minor changes. Even during the war it was Smuts who went as British agent to Switzerland to discuss the question of a separate peace with Austria—a discussion which was brief and fruitless.

In point of fact, the agile Welshman who is Prime Minister of Britain seized upon Smuts even before the Paris Conference and made of him an ally invaluable. He had to choose between the Boer and another Welshman, the Right Honorable W. M. Hughes, of Australia, like Smuts a commanding imperial figure during the war and now the spokesman of Australia in the London Conference. In 1916 Hughes had come to England and been seized upon by the Tory press and leaders as an ally in the campaign to "ginger up" the war. He had contributed

materially to arousing popular criticism of the Asquith Ministry and its policy of "wait and see," and it might have been expected that when Lloyd George came to power Hughes would find an enthusiastic friend.

But before the Paris Conference Hughes and Smuts took diverging paths. The Australian demonstrated in advance his distrust of President Wilson and his opposition to the President's proposals. Smuts, on the contrary, chose the more adroit course. He supported the President by every conceivable declaration of approval, admiration, sympathy—and then proceeded to persuade Mr. Wilson, impressed with the Boer's obvious admiration, to accept those modifications of his program which best suited British policy.

Having to choose between a policy of opposing Wilson outright and following him with reservations gracefully disguised, Lloyd George chose the latter, and Smuts had the foreground, Hughes the background, in the Paris Conference. In this conference Smuts acquired a great reputation as a modern spirit keenly awake to the new age which had been born as a consequence of the war. Yet, if his words disclosed an appreciation of Utopia, his deeds indicated a clear eye to the main chance. Thus it was Smuts who invented the formula by which the costs of Allied pensions should be added to other reparations claims against Germany and so, against the will of Mr. Wilson and the advice of American financial advisers, doubled the size of the German indemnity.

In South Africa Smuts's opponents say that he is "slim." Certainly he is adroit, and, despite a keen appreciation of the value of the "liberal" pose, knows how to play the game of practical politics and even of old-fashioned diplomacy. His alliance with Lloyd George has made him the most conspicuous of imperial figures. Hughes, who chose the other course, has been quietly but firmly excluded from the center of the stage. He had his brief moment of glory in 1916. Now, although Tory and conservative journals regretfully censure the elevation of Smuts and the elimination of Hughes, Lloyd George remains able to maintain his South African ally.

It is interesting, however, to note that these two Dominion Premiers are both, in a measure, typical of the new age. Smuts, a Boer, almost recently a rebel, an Africander in almost every detail save in his support of the imperial tie; Hughes, a labor leader, a Sydney docker, raised to power in Australia

by the workingmen, become now the chief of a coalition party, in fact, like Lloyd George, having evolved from a radical to the most conservative politician, whom the conservative elements can put in office. Despite their contrasts, it is at least true both of Smuts and Hughes that they rendered invaluable service to imperial unity during the war, and both risked political destruction at home to serve the cause of imperial victory abroad, for radical Labor has deserted Hughes and the extreme Africander patriots have assailed Smuts, in recent times.

In the London Conference, as one might have expected, Hughes and Smuts have championed different causes. Hughes has favored the renewal of the Japanese Alliance. Smuts, with the approval of Meighen, of Canada, comparatively a new figure in imperial politics, has opposed it, save only as it might be subordinated to an agreement with the United States. In a word, he has advocated renewal only provided such renewal would awaken neither bitterness nor even disapprobation in the United States.

Hughes's attitude is a little surprising, since Australia is almost as hostile to Japan as California, and this radical commonwealth, dominated by Labor, has accepted compulsory military service as a necessary protection against possible Japanese menace. Yet the real explanation must be found in the fact that Hughes, in imperial politics, stands with those elements in Britain which are hostile to Lloyd George, to the Smuts elevation to the League of Nations and Anglo-American partnership, and would see Britain pursue her old policies, even in the new age.

To be sure, Hughes has made it clear that Australia desires that the Japanese Alliance should be made on terms which will not offend the United States, but this is rather a concession to the home front than aught else. The fact is that Hughes in the nature of things would stand against Smuts. And, since Lloyd George has staked much on Smuts, Hughes finds both a cause and allies in the British political camp which advocates the renewal of the Japanese Alliance.

On the Irish Question, as on the League of Nations and the Japanese Alliance, Hughes and Smuts are in opposite camps. During the war it was the Irish influence which was most effective in blocking the truly heroic efforts of Hughes to support the war with every Australian resource. Twice his effort to pass a conscription law failed mainly because of Irish opposition. And, quite natu-

rally, Hughes believes in an Irish policy of coercion rather than conciliation. Here again he finds natural allies in Britain and among the Tories.

At the moment Smuts, backed by Lloyd George, is plainly in the ascendancy, Hughes's political situation, at home, in part at least, as a consequence of his uncompromising support of the war, is rather shaky, yet it is not impossible that both Dominion Premiers will face each other at a new Imperial Conference presently with rôles reversed. In any event they are the most interesting and conspicuous personalities at the moment in the imperial assembly and are thoroughly representative of the two points of view.

In a sense Hughes is the representative of the spirit which the British call "imperialistic" when disclosed in Frenchmen. Smuts represents the element which calls itself "liberal" and is described by its critics as "pacifist" and worse.

V. CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE NEAR EAST

Aside from the London Conference the crisis in the Near East has replaced the Silesian quarrel as the most absorbing detail in foreign affairs. Here a new war seems on the point of breaking out, or, to be more exact, a conflict which has continued for many months appears to be entering a new stage. Thus for weeks a new Greek army, replacing that routed at Eski Shekr and representing the last hope of Greek patriotism and royalty alike, has been assembled in Asia Minor, prepared to take the field against the Turk and establish Greek rights in Asia Minor and in Thrace, as written in the Treaty of Sèvres.

But back of the Greek phase lies the far larger issue. The whole Eastern Question is again in the melting pot and, as in Upper Silesia, so in Anatolia, France and Britain find themselves in square opposition, with Italy this time supporting France, not Britain. It is the supremacy of the Near East and the keys to the Far East which are at stake, and the Greek and Turk are in reality but pawns in the game.

A month ago I described the fashion in which French statesmanship had committed itself to the Polish cause in the German and Russian frontiers because Poland had become an essential, a vital detail, in the maintenance of the security of France against any new German attack. This French "imperialism"

was in reality an extension, logical and inevitable, of the policy which before the war led to the Russian alliance, and in the war compelled Germany to divide her military forces between the West and the East, and thus to lose the Marne and the war at the moment when Hindenburg won his colossal victory at Tannenberg.

Now for Britain, Greece has been commissioned to play the rôle that Poland has taken in the French combinations. The weak point in the British Empire, the sensitive point, is in the Near East. During the war the Germans used to describe the Suez Canal as the British "heel of Achilles." Between the vast British possessions in India, Burmah, and China, and the United Kingdom, all the lines of communication run through the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and for a century British policy has been as active in the Egean and at Constantinople as French on the Rhine and in Petrograd.

We have, in reality, two imperialisms in operation, both appearing to those who hold to them no more than policies of legitimate national defense. French policy in Poland, British policy in the Near East—both have precisely the same characteristics. But what serves French interests on the Vistula does not please Britons. For British statesmen a strong Poland is not attractive, and British support has gone to Russia, to Germany, to Lithuania in every dispute which has arisen.

By contrast France has no desire to see Greece become a mere agent of Britain, promoted to control of western Anatolia, to the important post of Sentinel at Straits, least of all permitted to occupy Constantinople, which has been in the background of all combinations since Venizelos made his bargain with the British during the Paris Conference.

Americans should appreciate the course of the disputes both in Silesia and in the Near East. France would give everything possible to Poland as an ally, as a friend whose support insures French security. Britain would support Greek claims to Smyrna, to Adrianople, to Gallipoli, to the old Bulgarian littoral on the Egean, because the Greek is surpassingly useful in the British scheme of things in the Near East. But what underlies the French policy is the Polish army, what the British are playing for is the Greek army; what France seeks is security against Germany, what Britain aims at is the protection of her position in the Near East itself—the basis of British safety in the Far East.

But just as British interests seem best advanced by restoring Germany at the expense of the Poles, French interests, and Italian as well, are obviously advantaged most by the restoration of the Turk. Thus the real difficulty in both cases is that the great powers, theoretically partners in world reorganization, are in fact rivals, and are playing totally different games, which have come into collision.

Until the French, the British and the Italians can reach a compromise in their conflicting policies both in Poland and in Greece, we shall continue to have chaos. As long as the British oppose the French in the case of Poland, the French will back the Turks against the Greeks in Asia and in south-eastern Europe. As for the Italians, they are equally anxious to see Germany restored economically, and to restrict Greek expansion in regions which all Italians regard as the future field for Italian expansion, economic and political alike.

During the past month there have been many reports of a possible Anglo-French alliance, prefaced by a general liquidation of all disputed questions, such as preceded the Entente of 1904, which developed into the alliance of the recent war. Then British and French statesmen took the map of the world and examining the points of friction between their two countries arrived at a transaction. France renounced her claims in Egypt. Britain withdrew her long opposition to French expansion in Morocco. All the boundary troubles in West Africa and in Indo-China, along the Niger and the Mekong, were adjusted and the slate thus wiped clean.

"Why not another such liquidation?" men in London and Paris have inquired, as it has been becoming increasingly clear that Anglo-French quarrels were blocking Anglo-French interests the world over. But no such simple transaction is now possible; for the single basis of common action would seem to be an agreement on the part of France to accept and support British policy in the Near East and an undertaking on British part to give France a free hand in Europe. And it is patent that British statesmen are in no mood, and in fact, given their political situation at home, in no position to give such a far-reaching undertaking.

Patently French statesmanship is playing for an agreement which will at least go a certain distance in this direction, which will at the least permit France to have her way in the fixing of the boundaries in Upper

Silesia, while leaving the British a similar latitude in the Near East. But so far there is nothing to suggest that any basis of bargain has been reached.

There are, of course, Polish and Greek angles to the whole discussion. Polish claims in Upper Silesia, Greek claims in Asia Minor and Thrace, both should enlist the sympathetic attention of observers who are partisans neither of British nor of French theses. But the merits of the claims of the Poles and of the Greeks have very little to do with the case, as it stands. The dominating circumstances are French and British interests, which conflict on the Vistula and at the Golden Horn.

Meantime, the Turk, taking advantage of European incoherence, as usual, is seeking to regain Constantinople and his control of the portals of the Black Sea. His military forces, under Kemal Pasha, are at Ismid, at the base of the Scutari Peninsula, facing Constantinople from the Asiatic shores, and if the Allied fleets are capable of preventing a passage into Europe, the presence of Turkish troops at Nicea serves to emphasize the insecurity of international control in Byzantium.

France hopes and expects the Greeks will attack and be defeated, just as the British hoped that the Poles would attack and be defeated in their invasion of Russia nearly two years ago. But if this should happen, then Britain would be faced with the necessity of supporting the Greeks, actually, as the French supported the Poles—and this would undoubtedly lead to political difficulties for the British at home and abroad.

Meantime French and Italian diplomacy is seeking to arrive at private bargains with the Turks. The French have already resigned Cilicia and accepted a less favorable frontier for Syria. The Italians have withdrawn their last troops from Adalia and the mainland of Asia Minor. The situation is further complicated, moreover, by an apparent alliance between the Bolsheviks and the Kemalists which carries with it the possibility, remote, to be sure, that Bolshevik troops will appear as allies of the Turks in Asia Minor.

Finally, to cap the climax, the British have just recognized as Arab prince in Mesopotamia the same Emir Faisal whom the French, after a bitter experience, expelled from Damascus. And this British policy promises future evil for the French Mandate in Syria and further embitters Anglo-French relations the world over.

VI. IN UPPER SILESIA

While the Near Eastern situation has become hourly more acute, the Upper Silesian quarrel has at least superficially died down. British troops in considerable numbers have arrived in the plebiscite area. Polish and German troops have been disbanded or withdrawn. The dangers of an immediate clash seem to have disappeared.

But the improvement is at best only temporary. Everyone agrees that if the British prevail and the German contentions are upheld at the expense of the Polish, a new outbreak will follow and such an outbreak would almost inevitably bring Poland and Germany into collision—a development which would with equal certainty lead France to drastic action against Germany.

Despite the efforts of Count Sforza, Italian representative in the discussions between Britain, France and Italy, no solution to the dispute has been found which France and Britain will accept—let alone Poland and Germany. Moreover, it is quite certain that if Polish rights are properly recognized the Wirth Ministry will fall in Germany, while any sweeping rejection of Polish rights would probably bring down Briand, whose ministry has manifestly lost ground in recent days, partly, to be sure, through home issues.

In Upper Silesia, as in the Near East, everything has come to a standstill as a result of the Anglo-French deadlock. Until the two great powers can adjust their quarrels, even a compromise is impossible. Meantime delay serves to accentuate bitterness in both cases and to make it more difficult to impose any settlement that may ultimately be agreed upon.

We are seeing an old-fashioned diplomatic battle, carried on behind the scenes, but revealing itself in symptoms which are unmistakable in many quarters of the world. Actually the peace of the world, the task of reconstruction, waits upon a bargain between the British and the French and until such a bargain is made it is difficult to see how any further improvement can take place in the general situation.

Obviously, France and Britain are equally anxious that the United States should intervene, but of course each counts upon our assistance in establishing their own policy. Yet it must be manifest to all Americans that the real, as contrasted with the apparent, issues at stake are those of the familiar European type. As I said before, two imperialisms are in collision. To be sure, as

is almost inevitably the case, both these imperialisms are intimately associated with national security, yet each is dominated by necessarily national rather than international considerations. Nor is it less plain that the Italians, in opposing French policy in Poland and British in the Near East, are seeking objectives of their own, the most obvious of which is supremacy for themselves in the Egean and on the shores of Asia Minor, while only less patent is their desire for a strong Germany economically necessary to them and politically useful in restoring the balance of power on the Continent.

VII. PRESIDENT HARDING'S CALL

As I close this article the press despatches from Washington carry the first announcements of the President's invitation to the sea powers, which are, now, the nations who were allied or associated in the war against Germany, to send representatives to a Conference at Washington to discuss the limitation of armaments and the problems of the Pacific and the Far East generally.

It is at once clear that the President has chosen his moment well with respect both to the foreign and the domestic political situation. Abroad the Imperial Conference in London has halted over the question of the renewal of the Japanese Alliance, and the delay has been due clearly to the evident desire to avoid any possible resentment in the United States. From France, moreover, in recent weeks has come a clear statement of a desire to see some sort of Pacific Compact which would include all the great powers having interests in that ocean.

At home the President has observed a growing demand on the part of his fellow-citizens, disclosed in the Borah Resolution, in the discussions over Army and Navy appropriations in Congress, that some way be found to avoid a new competition in naval strength with Britain or with Japan and a further desire to see some further step taken toward an organization of world peace, at least, so far as the United States is directly concerned.

The President's proposal now goes right to the heart of the possible and practical at the moment. For the United States the immediate problems are those of the Pacific and of naval construction. Discussion of the Mandate of Yap has led to unmistakable bitterness in Japan and patent resentment in Washington. On the surface there are many indications which point to the pos-

sibility of precisely such a naval race as marked the first stage in the march of Germany and Britain toward war.

Given the present state of feeling both in this country and in Japan, it is, perhaps, too much to hope that an agreement, as between our two nations to restrict naval construction would be possible. But once the problem is broadened to take in the naval powers of the whole world, then the matter is simplified, and in any conference the United States can count upon the certainty of French and Italian support, and can reckon that the views of British Dominions will tend to modify any traditional sensitiveness in the British Isles.

In the larger view the President has had recourse to the ideas which were expressed in The Hague Conference and has raised the chief issue in the two great gatherings at the Dutch capital. The League of Nations conception was one of mutual international responsibility, of world regulation by a direct ruling body, which was the League Council and Assembly. The Hague was a less ambitious effort to achieve international agreement on certain issues and leave to the respective nations the application of it.

In the one case there was international responsibility, the obligation to enforce the views and principles adopted by the League and to impose them by armed force if necessary. In the other there was the totally different idea of international amity, good faith, personal national responsibility. The great powers in conference were to agree upon certain policies, as to armament and as to arbitration. The several governments were later to ratify these agreements and thereafter apply them. Force was left out and good faith alone relied upon.

It is plain that the idea of force as embodied in the League has broken down. It has been demonstrated that the people of Britain, France, and Italy, for example, will not consent to the large use of their own troops to compel the Russians, the Poles, or the Turks to comply with the conclusions of the League Council or Assembly. This principle of responsibility for the enforcement of League decisions has contributed much to the rejection of the whole conception in the United States.

By contrast, the method to which President Harding now has recourse is vastly simpler. Let us suppose that Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, with Japan, agree upon the principle and formula of a limitation of naval construction. It is

patent that with the exception of Japan—possible exception, that is—all these powers have every reason in the world to desire to avoid huge naval expenses. Then, given the popular opinion of all these countries, it will be impossible to obtain great appropriations or to stimulate construction. Public opinion will regulate all this.

Precisely as long, moreover, as the public opinion of all the nations remains constant in the Western nations, a violation of the compact by Japan would be an offense against all of them, equally unpopular in London, Paris, Rome, and Washington, while Japan, whatever her aspirations—and I am not suggesting that she has any, but merely proposing an illustration—would risk challenging not the United States, but all of the Western powers equally united upon a policy of naval holiday.

It is suggested that limitation of land forces, as well as navies, may also be considered. But it seems to me this would be a grave mistake at this moment, when conditions are so different on sea and on land. France, confronted with the German problem, Poland and Rumania with Russian questions, Britain with her difficulties throughout the Far East, as well as her responsibilities in Europe—all the considerable powers in Europe as contrasted with America must approach the question of the limitation of land forces with totally different points of view.

The fact is that the world situation, so far as naval armament is concerned, is ripe for international agreement. By contrast there is no such condition in the matter of armies. Yet it is equally true that if substantial progress is made on the sea, then, at a later time, this progress, this success, will serve as an invaluable aid in extending the field of limitation and approaching the regulation of land forces. It is a mistake to talk about disarmament now, either on land or sea. We are still far from such a possibility. What we are now seeking to avoid is a costly race in excessive armament, leading not impossibly to war and certainly arousing all sorts of international jealousies and bitterness. Disarmament lies beyond the ideal to be sought, perhaps, but at the moment the first step is patently restriction on sea.

Outside of the discussion of restriction of armaments there is the equally important problem of the Pacific. It concerns Japan, Britain, and the United States closely, because of the importance to them directly of

the various issues. In a lesser degree it affects France, who has a really large stake in Indo-China and other interests in Tahiti and New Caledonia. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, all three have interests which are vital, and, in the main, coincide with those of the United States.

One may doubt if any final settlement of Pacific problems can be achieved at a single conference. No one can mistake the thorny issues which from Shantung to the "Open Door" must be dealt with. Even the matter of Yap is by no means as simple as the size and importance of the island itself would suggest. But it is clear that Europe and Asia, which in practice means to-day the Western powers and Japan, must agree upon a Pacific policy or a new rivalry and a new peril to world peace will emerge.

Europe has sought eagerly for many months to persuade America to come back to the Continent and share in the settlement and responsibilities there existing. President Harding and his able Secretary of State have now very cleverly riposted by inviting Europe to come to America to discuss in Washington those Asiatic issues which have for us an importance that can hardly be mistaken.

Thus, at one time we indicate full recognition that isolation is a thing of the past and avoid immediate intermixture in the still unsettled quarrels growing out of the World War. For Upper Silesia we substitute the Pacific, and in this substitution we are assured of the agreement of at least three of the four Dominions of the British Empire, namely, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, equally concerned with ourselves in a real solution of this problem, which is at the front door of all of us.

Between the Imperial Conference in London and the new Conference of Washington there is an obvious connection. The latter is, in reality, only an expansion of the former. The most important subject before the London gathering could not be settled because the United States was not represented there, and in the nature of things could not be. The solution was precisely the conference President Harding has now invited. But it must be plain that such a conference marks a new step in Anglo-American relations, or more exactly in American relations with that British Empire in which the Dominions have come to occupy a totally new position of decisive importance.

DAWES: BANKER, BRIGADIER, BUDGETEER

THE PICTURESQUE AND EFFECTIVE BUSINESS MAN AND PUBLICIST WHO HAS BEEN DRAFTED TO PUT BUSINESS METHODS INTO GOVERNMENT

BY JUDSON C. WELIVER

IT was at the headquarters of Marshal Foch during the summer of 1918. General Pershing had motored to the Foch establishment for conference. A group of staff officers had accompanied him, among them Brigadier-General Charles G. Dawes. Foch and Pershing disappeared into the big stone house, discussed their problems, and reappeared. They walked quickly down to the open gate in the high wall surrounding the grounds, and stood exchanging good-byes while waiting for Pershing's car to come up.

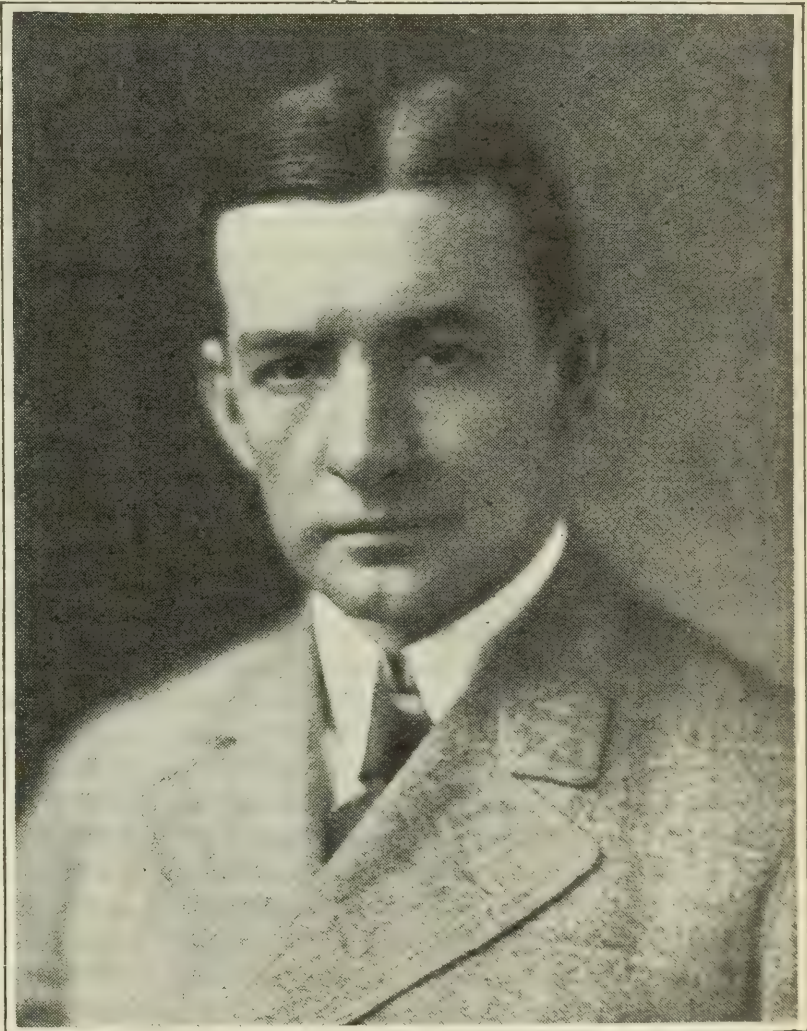
Pershing, stickler for military form on formal occasions, glanced around and saw Dawes, possibly a rod away, his overcoat open save for a single button, diligently puffing a long cigar. A shade of sadness passed over his face, the significance of which Dawes would have recognized if he'd been looking that way, but he wasn't.

The American commander motioned to General Harbord, Chief of Staff and beau ideal of military properties.

"Tell General Dawes to take that cigar out of his mouth and to button his overcoat," said the commander.

The order was duly delivered and instantly obeyed. Dawes came to attention, but, being Dawes, he took his little shot back, in an undertone accurately calculated to reach the commander-in-chief, but not to be quite understandable to the French officers standing near. This was all he said: "That's a fine job for a Chief of Staff to be doing."

That was Dawes all over; Dawes, thirty-odd years ago, when he and Pershing were



Photograph by Moffett, Chicago

GENERAL CHARLES G. DAWES, DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET

already devoted friends; Dawes as head of one of the great banks of the country; Dawes as brigadier-general and head of Pershing's board on coördination of supply purchases; Dawes before a committee of Congress, "cussing" the people who found unintelligent fault with the management of military affairs; finally, Dawes as Director of the Budget and Chief of Staff of Commander-in-Chief Harding in executing the greatest business-methods reform ever undertaken in government affairs.

When the United States got into the war, Dawes was running his bank. He wasted no time getting into the army. Pershing, who knew what a useful person he would be in dealing with administrative problems, interested himself in assuring that Dawes should first get in; and then announced a special assignment for him. He started to explain it and had got as far as "board to coördinate purchasing," when—

"Hell and Maria," broke out Dawes, "I enlisted in the engineers because I wanted some action; and I'm damned if I don't stay there and get it."

"Just keep still for fifteen minutes and I'll show you that you're going to do what I want you to do, because it's the biggest job there is for you," replied the commander calmly. Dawes listened, and fell. Everybody did when Pershing was running affairs.

So Dawes was made chairman of the general purchasing board of the army in France. Coördination was his business. Everybody with supplies to buy brought his schedule of requirements to Dawes, who eliminated duplications, prevented departments competing with each other, enforced business methods, and saved hundreds of millions. Later he was made head of a board for all the allied armies to coördinate supplies. If Foch had supplies that Pershing needed, this board's business was to know it and get them to Pershing. It combined the resources of all the armies and made them available to each; and the commanders have declared it contributed a big factor to making victory possible. It wasn't the thing Dawes had wanted to do, but it was bigger and more important.

When the war was over, Dawes handled the liquidation of our mountains of supplies in France. Then he came home, with the D.S.M. and orders from half of Europe, only to be drafted for his present coördination operation.

Charles Gates Dawes was wise enough at an early age to select Ohio as his birthplace, and has continued his successes ever since. The son of General Rufus R. Dawes, long prominent in Ohio, he early entered business, banking, finance, and politics. In 1896 he was one of the McKinley leaders in Illinois and member of the Republican National Executive Committee. McKinley made him Comptroller of the Currency, a post he held five years, when he went to Chicago as president of the Central Trust Company of Illinois. He remained in that position until within the past year, when he became chair-

man of the board. His financial experience, his accomplishments in France, his intimacy with government business methods, and his reputation as a driving business man, together with a long personal intimacy and complete mutual confidence, led President Harding to tender him the post of Director of the Budget as soon as the budget legislation had become effective. Though at a great sacrifice, the place was accepted.

It is doubtful if the President has at his command any position for which he has more earnestly wanted precisely the right man than for this. From long before his public service in Washington he has entertained the idea of putting government on a real business basis: better results, less cost, lower taxes. Before the war it was a pleasant subject of casual conversation. Since the war, what with vast debts, expanded establishments, and monumental taxes, he has seen it as a desperate necessity. Ergo Dawes, Director of the Budget.

From the beginning, raising revenue and then spending it has been a pretty haphazard affair in our government. At first there were five departments headed by Cabinet officers, each making its own estimates for appropriations. Inside the departments were various bureaus, doing the same. The number of departments has doubled, and of bureaus has multiplied many times. Within each department there has commonly been only the most sketchy attempt at supervision of estimates. Each bureau, with a perfectly human disposition to make itself important, sought to increase its appropriations and functions. Nobody was entrusted with insuring that the garment of expenditure should be cut according to the cloth of revenue. It was assumed that Congress would attend to that; and so the bureaus and departments fell into the habit of estimating so liberally that even if Congress should lop off a good deal, plenty would be left. So there developed a competition among bureaus and departments to arm themselves with the most ingenious reasons for increased appropriations. The result was what it always tends to be in governmental fiscal experience: the spenders wore out the occasional economists; expense grew and flourished like a green bay mushroom.

While the estimators were asking for plenty and fooling Congress into the belief that it was a crusty old miser for refusing them what they never expected to get, the legislative end was getting less and less capable of dealing with the situation. For

many years all appropriations were dealt with by a single committee in the House. It had no time to learn whether two or three departments were getting money for the same things; whether there was overlapping of functions, paralleling of work, duplication of overhead charges. So as the business grew it became necessary to distribute the estimates among various committees, for more detailed consideration. The army bill went to the Military Affairs Committee, the Indian bill to Indian Affairs, naval bill to Naval Affairs; river and harbor bill, sundry civil bill, pension bill, agricultural bill, and so on,—all to their appropriate committees.

In many ways this was to the good. Legislators sought committees in whose work they were especially interested, and worked sincerely. The development of many great and useful activities of government may be traced to this system. Hard-working legislators became expert in their own realms, often achieving a familiarity with departmental concerns that enabled them to confound administrative officers.

But there was a tendency to competition among appropriating committees. Each committee assumed a guardianship for its own sphere of activity; wanted its department to prosper and increase in usefulness; wanted as much money as it could decently ask. If there had been unlimited revenue, it would have been a fine way to make the Government do useful and ornamental things. But it was expensive. Not that anybody cared, so long as revenue came easy. There were occasional spasms of economy oratory, but who has made a national reputation advocating economy? Once, indeed, thirty years ago, there was a huge uproar because a Congress spent a billion dollars in two years, but a few years later it spent a billion in one year, bragged about it, and got away with it!

Gentlemen talked academically about the desirability of a budget, and at large, folks were convinced it was good, just as they are satisfied that Einstein has a big idea; and for just about as intelligent reasons. So the national business wore on, and a budgetless Government burst into the war and spent \$20,000,000,000 in a year, pitchforking it out in all directions, competing with its allies, and its own various departments competing with each other, to the joy of the profiteers and the pain of the taxpayers—when they got time to think about it. Nobody can guess how much might have been saved if there had been budgetary coördina-

tion, but it would have been, by common consent, a long way into billions.

Peace came—high; and, the horse being stolen, it was determined to lock the stable. A budget there must be. Congress passed a law for it, and the President vetoed it because of a technical transgression of the executive authority in the act. Both parties promised the legislation during the last campaign, and it was one of the first acts passed after the Harding régime came in.

The President is head of the budget system. He names the director and makes all regulations for carrying out the law. The budget is his budget. The powers granted him, which he delegates to the Director, are as sweeping as could well be asked. Of course, the Bureau of Budget does the actual work, but he must accept, approve, and transmit to Congress the results of its efforts. Here is, very briefly, the plan:

At the beginning of the regular session in December each year he will submit the budget. It will tell Congress how much money is needed for the next fiscal year; how much existing revenue laws will produce; how much will be produced by any new revenue laws he is proposing; how much was collected and spent during the last completed fiscal year; estimates of receipts and spending during the fiscal year current when the budget is submitted; detailed condition of the treasury for the last complete fiscal year, and estimates for the current and ensuing years; complete facts about the public debt; recommendations for increasing the revenue, if more will be needed, and for reducing it, if that is going to be possible; detailed showing of how appropriations of the last complete and the current fiscal years have been spent. And to make it iron-clad, it is provided that no officer may ask for an appropriation, or an increase of one, unless House or Senate calls for it. Everybody must deal with appropriations through the Division of the Budget and not otherwise.

To equip itself for this huge task, the Bureau shall study the Government organization and recommend changes, redistribution of services, etc., and shall codify laws governing revenue and expenditures; but its conclusions must be submitted to Congress by the President and enacted into law, before being enforced.

The budget plan aims simply to organize the Government's business so as to make every Government dollar produce full value, just as a business concern, seeking dividends,

would do; to estimate in advance of each year the prospective revenue and whence it shall come; to keep taxation closely adjusted to needs, so that surpluses and deficits may be avoided; to prevent officers or departments getting more money than is needed for effectively doing the precise things Congress meant them to do; and to insure that if it isn't all needed, it shall not all be spent.

President Harding needed only one guess to determine whom he wanted as his first lieutenant, his right arm, in the post of Director of the Budget. He drafted Dawes, and told him he would have the full authority that the law gives the President. For budget-making purposes, he could go over the heads of Cabinet and other chiefs of establishments; in his realm, everybody must work for him, nobody must interfere with him.

Dawes accepted, read the law, discovered the size of the job and that Congress had appropriated only \$225,000 for the first year's operation of the Bureau, and told the newspapermen: "Congress might as well have given me a toothpick to tunnel Pike's Peak."

Thus relieved, he went to work, determined to dig the tunnel anyhow. He began with a conference with the President and Cabinet, outlining his plans and insisting that he must have the complete coöperation of the Cabinet, which was assured. Next, the President arranged a unique convention of Cabinet, Bureau and Commission chiefs; several hundred of them, in the auditorium of the Interior Department building. The President opened the session with a little talk that convinced everybody he was ready to support Dawes to the limit. Then he turned the meeting over to the Director; made it *his* meeting.

"I simply act as eyes and ears of the Chief Executive, in gathering business information," said General Dawes. "I am entitled, because I represent the President, to information, and entitled to that information over the head of any executive department from now on. * * * The call of the Director of the Budget for presence and advice takes precedence over the Cabinet head. The President is putting into effect a condition which exists in any business corporation. There must be no resentment at any incursion into a department by the Director of the Budget, acting for the President, in search of information only. There must not be on the part of any of the bureau chiefs any feeling that they may safely hold back in-

formation, that we are a detective agency, that we are anything but reasonable business men inflexibly determined to exercise the right of the President, given to us, to gather information for his use from heads of Departments or anybody under them."

Having thus, with the President listening and approving, stated his own broad powers and determination to use them, Mr. Dawes complimented Congress as the originator of the budget idea, declaring his purpose fully to coöperate with its agencies. Then he reminded the bureau chiefs that he had had experience, when Comptroller of the Currency, as one of them; he knew their problems, their difficult tasks, the long hours they work, and the misunderstandings, widely entertained, about them. He told them that the success of the plan would largely be theirs, and that in the end they would get full credit for their coöperation.

It was a smashing, magnetic address, ending with this appeal:

Fellow Bureau Chiefs, are you willing, after what I have said, that I should now represent you in addressing myself directly to the President with assurance of your coöperation in reduction of Government expenses? If you agree, will you indicate it by rising?

The effect was electrical. No trace of hostility, resentment, jealousy, could remain after that man-to-man plea. President, Vice-President, Cabinet and the entire audience rose and applauded. Turning to the President, waving toward the cheering company, General Dawes concluded:

I wish to say to you, Sir, that the men before you realize the cares and perplexities of your position, and that you ask us to help you in lifting the burden of taxation from the people by reducing the costs of government. We all promise you, Sir, to do our best.

"I thank you all for your presence and your commitment to this great enterprise," said the President; and the meeting was ended. The moving, human force of one man had started the huge task right, by winning the sympathy, understanding, confidence and good-will of all. It had required skill, tact, determination, and intimate knowledge of the situation to be met. All these Dawes possesses, and his record of effectively utilizing them throughout his career of doing big things is the best ground for confidence that the budget system will succeed.



THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN 1894, WHEN MR. JUSTICE WHITE TOOK HIS SEAT

(Seated, from left to right, are: Horace Gray, Stephen J. Field, Melville W. Fuller [Chief Justice], John M. Harlan, and David J. Brewer. Standing, from left to right, are: Howell E. Jackson, Henry B. Brown, George Shiras, and Edward D. White)

TWO CHIEF JUSTICES

EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE AND WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

BY SAMUEL SPRING

FOR over twenty-seven years, as Associate Justice and as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, the late Edward Douglass White was one of nine men who held the most august judicial power in the history of the world. Indeed, when compared to the powers of the executive and of the legislative branches of our government, the scope of their influence still remains dazzling. Not only do the Justices of the Supreme Court determine, beyond appeal, what may and what may not be done under the Constitution—but their tenure of office is ended by death alone.

This continuous power, essential for the maintenance of an independent, beneficent judiciary, is nevertheless deeply significant in our form of government. The late Chief Justice—in such decisions as the Standard Oil, the West Virginia Debt, the Selective Service, and the Adamson Hours of Work cases—opened and closed the gates of wealth, of empire, and of mercy upon his fellow-citizens. Yet clothed with these soaring powers, passing upon the very existence of corporations with assets running almost into

the billions, he himself drew a modest salary, lived humbly and left an estate of scarcely fifty thousand dollars. Justice Harlan, before him, left only an insurance policy of ten thousand dollars. Not since the days of the early Roman Republic, in truth, have we had such imperial power held and exercised so simply and so unostentatiously.

The Supreme Court, like other Common Law courts, is supposed to follow its own precedents. Indeed, our famous common law was created simply by the accumulation of decisions, each fresh decision being based upon the precedent of all that went before. It is therefore startling, and even droll, to find so many precedents shattered in the careers of our former and of our new Chief Justice. One does not look for romance and color on a judicial tribunal. Yet this reversal of the usual, and the similar, nevertheless contrasting, qualities of the two men, are almost as striking and vivid as episodes found in a novel.

The reversals of precedent are familiar, yet not fully appreciated. Mr. Taft appointed Mr. White Chief Justice, breaking

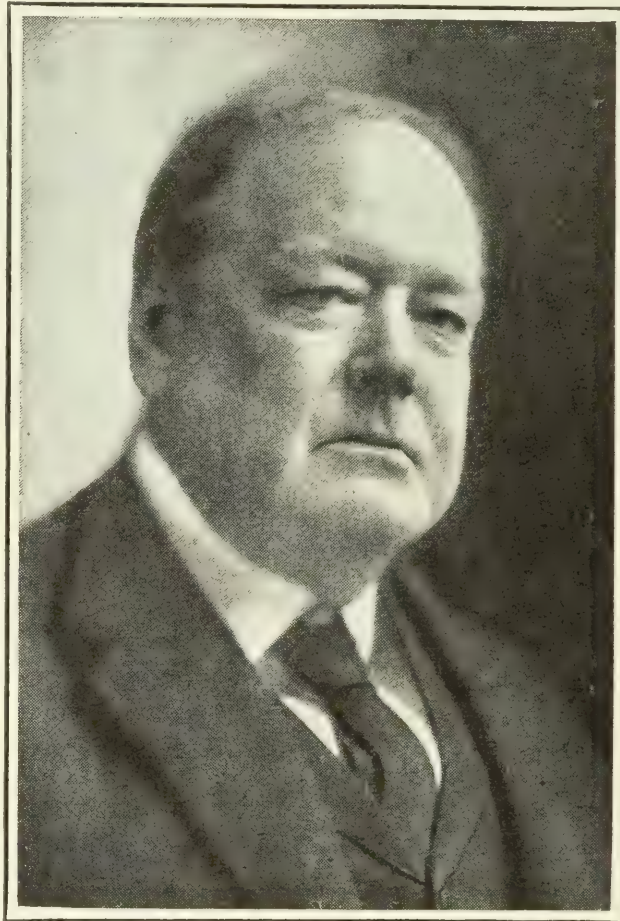
the precedent which held that the Chief Justice should not be selected among existing justices because jealousies and ambitions might otherwise appear on the bench. Mr. Justice White was a Southerner, a Democrat, an ex-Confederate soldier. At the time of his appointment by a Republican he seemed to have every adverse political quality possible. Mr. Taft is the first man to hold both of the highest offices in the gift of the American people. Mr. White warmly admired Mr. Taft's judicial qualities and almost openly expressed the hope that he would succeed him. After Mr. Taft's slender electoral vote in 1912, he seemed a rather sad, declining figure; yet, with the cheerful, optimistic nature which is so representative of the best in America—democracy can survive only among a nation of good losers—he set about his teaching at Yale, his editorial work, his administrative tasks on the Labor Board and in the Canadian Railroad Arbitration Cases, his plans for international arbitration and peace, in

a manner which has made him fully as popular an ex-President as we have ever had. Deftly, tactfully, cheerfully, Mr. Taft kept himself in the public eye without creating irritation, although he had so many acrid enemies in 1912. And now that he becomes the tenth Chief Justice, who can do other than wish him success and felicity in the remarkable achievement which has made him unquestionably one of the outstanding and foremost figures in American history?

The new Chief Justice comes to the Supreme Court at a rather critical time in the history of that tribunal. What his influence as Chief Justice will be upon American institutions and American development, the future alone can tell. Many of us feel that he gives promise of displaying those same

moderate, middle-of-the-road qualities of mind and heart and constitutional outlook which were the outstanding attributes of the late Chief Justice. Indeed, by ascertaining the influence of Edward Douglass White upon America, politically, economically, and socially, we can not only better grasp the position he will occupy in our judicial and national history, but also more clearly understand the profound influence our Supreme Court has upon our national life and future, as well as sense the opportunities before Mr. Taft and the judicial impress he is likely to leave upon the nation.

The paramount influence which the Constitution has upon the American method of government to-day is shown cogently by the lofty importance attributed to the position of Chief Justice. Formerly, this was far otherwise. The office was deemed even more unimportant and unwelcome than that of Vice-President. John Jay, of New York, the first Chief Justice, despite his judicial position, left



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THE LATE CHIEF JUSTICE EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE
(November 3, 1845—May, 19, 1921)

America to serve as minister to England. No one criticized him for holding both offices. Later he resigned to become Governor of New York. Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, the third Chief Justice, absented himself from the bench to go on various diplomatic missions. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, the second Chief Justice, was not happy in his position. Indeed, until 1801, when John Marshall was appointed Chief Justice, the office was considered of minor, indistinct importance and the first three Justices of the United States, in the eleven years that they held the position, left practically no influence as such upon our national life.

Yet those were years of the greatest formative importance. It was John Marshall, who

served as Secretary of State for some months after his appointment, of course, who established the importance of both the Constitution and the office. Not a profound common-law lawyer himself, more of a statesman than a jurist, nevertheless in the thirty-four years that he held the office—the longest tenure known, against which the twenty-seven years which Mr. White served as Justice and Chief Justice make a not unworthy contrast—John Marshall boldly and yet successfully carried out the greatest and most startling innovation in free government. He gave the Supreme Court the power to annul legislation as unconstitutional, although the Constitution confers no such express right. Was the implied power upon which Marshall relied an assumed power? Was this great addition to the theory of free government accidental? Be that as it may, Marshall made the judiciary and the judicial interpretation of a written constitution an essential part of our free government.

He made the Supreme Court what it is to-day—more than a judicial tribunal—a continuous constitutional convention.

His successor, Roger B. Taney, a Southerner, a Catholic, and a kindly, courteous gentleman like Chief Justice White, held the office for twenty-eight years. Taney in the early years of his service suffered by contrast with his predecessor. In some branches of the law his opinions have had a lasting influence, notably in patent law. Taney had successfully established himself as a powerful justice, when aged, infirm, and unwisely patriotic, he felt that he could finish the devastating conflict between the North and the South over slavery by injecting an elaborate judicial dictum in the Dred Scott case, which he expected the nation to accept as

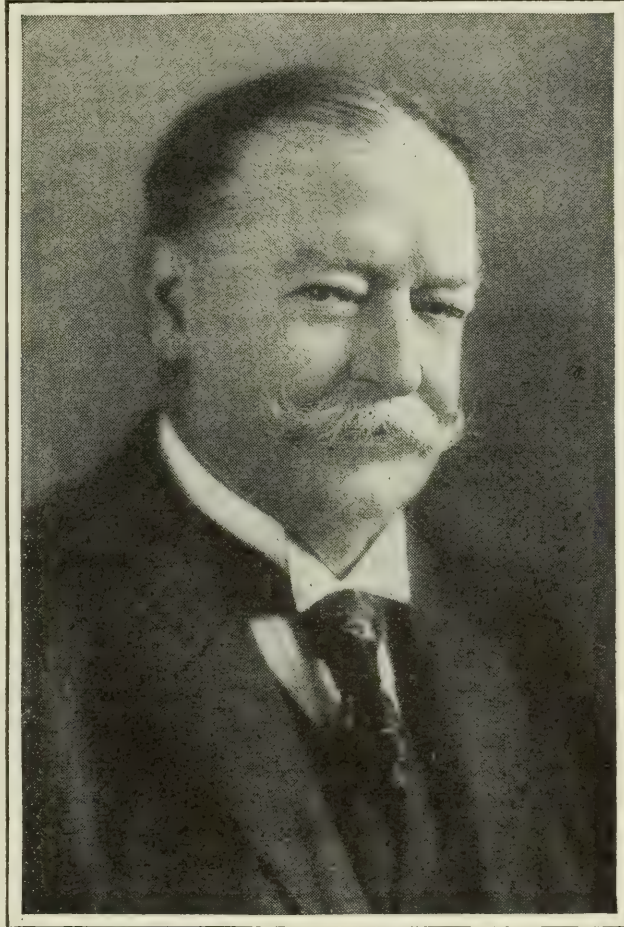
final. Taney's mistake not only robbed him of much of his prestige, but cast a serious reflection upon the court itself. His successor, Salmon B. Chase, was appointed to the office by the magnanimous self-abasement of Lincoln, who admired the qualities of his head as much as he suffered because of the defects of his heart. Chase, as Chief Justice, has left little impress upon America. We re-

member him for his overweening ambition to be President, and for his failure to perceive that the position of Chief Justice cannot be viewed as a stepping stone to the Presidency. Of Morrison R. Waite and Melville W. Fuller, neither of them a powerful or exceptionally impressive figure, though both conscientious and able patriots, little new can be added.

It is apparent, therefore, that by contrast with Mr. White's predecessors, if we exclude John Marshall, Mr. Justice McKenna was not far from the truth when he said in announcing the vacancy in the office to the Bar, "I make full admission,

in assured prophecy, of the abilities of those who will succeed him, yet considering his qualities and their exercises, I dare to say that, as he has attained, he will forever keep a distinct eminence among the Chief Justices of the United States." Indeed, the late Chief Justice's opportunities were unusual. The influence of the Supreme Court upon our American life has grown increasingly more manifest, and the opportunities afforded Mr. Chief Justice White when he came to the bench were greater than those of any of his predecessors, with the exception of John Marshall, over a hundred years before.

The historian of the future will probably say that at the time Mr. White was appointed Chief Justice, the Supreme Court, as well as the entire judiciary in America, was



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HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, APPOINTED LAST MONTH CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES

passing through the most distinct crisis in its history. The public had become suddenly distrustful of our courts and resented the absolute power of the judicial veto. Recall of judges as well as recall of judicial decisions was one of the flaming issues of the day. Indeed, antagonism to the power of judges was one of the basic creeds of a nascent political faith. The Ives decision by the New York Court of Appeals, holding the workmen's compensation laws of New York unconstitutional, had made a profound and dismal impression upon a nation whose pulse was quickened by the aspiration for social justice. Many thoughtful students of our constitutional government felt that the Supreme Court had reached its zenith and that tumult and decline alone lay ahead.

Indeed, Mr. Taft, who appointed Mr. White, at the time of the appointment was struggling ardently and courageously to maintain the supremacy of the judiciary. He refused to admit Arizona to the Union by exercising his veto, because of the provision contained in its constitution for the recall of judges. It will be remembered that Arizona took out the offensive clause, became a State, and defiantly put the clause back into the constitution again by popular vote. Colorado was providing for the recall of judicial decisions by a constitutional provision, which has lately been held unconstitutional by its own Supreme Court, without public comment or public complaint. Something like twelve States inserted provisions in their constitutions for the recall of judges. And yet, suddenly, this issue, which many held so menacing, and which was so urgently and so passionately advocated, has ceased to interest or harass the public. What produced the change?

Simply the tact, moderation, and abnegation of power, which the Supreme Court has manifested in its decisions beginning about the time when Mr. White became Chief Justice. The future student of our Government will speak of the great readjustment which the Supreme Court has made in our constitution. The Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution have been so modified in their meaning that practically any plan of social advance or social justice—workmen's compensation, limitation of hours of employment, blue-sky legislation, rent laws—has been upheld as valid. The recent case of *Hirsch v. Block*, wherein the rent laws of New York State and the District of Columbia were upheld, despite the startling, burning dissenting opinion of

the minority, indicates the great alteration which has been made in our Constitution. Had the Supreme Court in its interpretation of the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments blocked these schemes of social advance, it is difficult to say what changes would have been brought about in our constitutional fabric. The eleven years that Mr. Chief Justice White held his high office have indeed been years of paramount importance, not only to the history of the Supreme Court, but to the basis of our Government as well.

II

Before indicating the part that Chief Justice White had in this difficult period of adjustment, a glimpse of his life may not be out of place.

Like his successor, the late Chief Justice came from a family with a remarkable background of achievement and judicial tradition. One of Mr. Taft's forebears was a New England judge. His father held the office of Supreme Court Justice in Ohio, Attorney General of the United States, and Secretary of War. James White, the grandfather of the late Chief Justice, was a judge of western Louisiana, while Edward White, the Chief Justice's father, served his State both as Congressman and Governor. In Parish Lafourche, Louisiana, Edward Douglass White was born on November 3, 1845. Unlike the present Chief Justice, he came not of English, but of Franco-Romanic stock. He received his education at various Roman Catholic Jesuit institutions, and at the age of sixteen years left college to enlist as a private in the Confederate Army. On the fall of Port Hudson in 1863, shortly after Grant took Vicksburg, he was made a prisoner. When the war was over, he went into politics, as every Southerner had to do during the period of reconstruction, but also studied law. After he had practiced law several years with eminent success, he was appointed a member of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

Like Mr. Hughes, the Secretary of State, who fought race-track gambling so vigorously, Mr. White early in life identified himself with a great moral issue, the abolishment of the Louisiana lottery, against which he fought passionately. When one considers how common the lottery is in Europe and among our own Latin-American republics, the vigor and warmth of Mr. White's ambition is all the more noteworthy. Largely as a result of his successful fight against the lottery, he was elected to the United States

Senate in 1891. During these years, in addition to being in politics, a successful lawyer, and a jurist, the late Chief Justice was interested in the sugar plantations of his native State, being a successful planter. Indeed, one of the outstanding achievements of his short career in the United States Senate was his successful protection of the Louisiana sugar interests despite the free-trade tariff which his party adopted. In 1893 President Cleveland, who had tried to fill the vacancy on the Supreme Court arising from the death of Mr. Justice Blatchford of New York, by appointing a New York man, and then a second, both of whom the Senate would not accept, suddenly and dramatically turned to the extreme South for his appointee, naming Mr. White. This nomination was immediately confirmed by the Senate.

Versed in the French Law

Mr. Justice White brought to the Supreme Court a wide knowledge of the civil law based upon the code of Napoleon which prevails in Louisiana. His college training developed in him a sharp sense of logic that was an unfailing aid in his judicial career. Despite his familiarity with Roman law, he oddly seldom turned to civil or Roman precedents. Thus he created no antagonism among our common-law lawyers who, as in the days of Coke and Littleton, look upon the civil law with suspicion. He was, of course, a fluent master of French as well as of Latin, and was drenched with the French culture of his native State.

Chief Justice White in his personality manifested an unfailing graciousness and courtesy, a kindly consideration and urbanity, which we associate with the South, and particularly with France. He was always one of the most popular men in Washington. At Bar Association meetings throughout the country he unfailingly made a marked and genial impression. He was ever democratic in his instincts. A confirmed pedestrian, he might frequently have been seen strolling through the streets of Washington, wearing a soft hat, greeting his friends with a cordial wave of his hand—a neighborly American, happy to be among his friends. In appearance he was particularly striking. If the novelists' phrase "a large jowled man" could be applied to anyone, it must be the late Chief Justice. His figure was erect and pleasing; and there was always about him that subtle mingling of dignity and humility which is everywhere

the high attribute of nature's gentleman.

Unfortunately, Chief Justice White did not acquire from his French training a quality which always endears the judge to the bar—a lucid, precise, sharp style. Lawyers warmly admire a judge who can state his conclusions so clearly that those who hurry may understand. In glancing over Chief Justice White's career, we must be frank. Many lawyers speak somewhat unkindly of his decisions because in form they tend to be involved and opaque. The French, as well as the Romans, are noted for the precision, lucidity, and delicate terseness with which they write. Roman law is memorable for the sharp-cut clearness with which it is stated. Though intimately familiar with the tongue and literature of both peoples, Mr. Chief Justice White—and may one say that the present Chief Justice manifests some of the same defects?—wrote in an involved manner. His first opinion, written in the Seeberger case (153 United States 32), which involved an insignificant question of tariff interpretation, as to whether or not scrap tobacco was manufactured tobacco, begins with a periodic sentence. His last opinion likewise begins with a periodic sentence. The Chief Justice was fond of a long sentence, after the Teutonic rather than the French manner—the thought suspended until the end.

Mr. White did not possess a masterly instinct for the use of the written word. Yet he did not indulge in judicial proverbs or epigrammatic turns of language which usually create legal confusion. A judicial epigram often conceals a world of obscurity. The late Chief Justice was always anxious to state frankly and definitely what he concluded was the law—witness his protest in the Prohibition cases where the Supreme Court simply announced its conclusions. Yet all this is merely a matter of form, not of substance.

Mr. Chief Justice White, on the other hand, had a prodigious and remarkable memory. It is probably because of his reliance upon his memory, which enabled him to dictate many of his opinions, that he showed so slender a feeling for style. It was his custom, often in announcing his opinions, to repeat his decisions word by word, including citations, without reference to the written opinion—indeed a remarkable and almost unbelievable feat. He had at his finger tips all the precedents and decisions of the court, and his unfailing sense of logic made it possible for him to interpret and understand

those decisions with an eye for the effect of each addition thereto upon the complete structure of our national jurisprudence.

The late Chief Justice was particularly noteworthy in the candor with which he was ready to admit his error when he appreciated his mistake. Courts too often try to avoid a mistaken opinion by attempting to distinguish it upon fragile grounds to the confusion of the public and the amusement of the Bar. Not so with Chief Justice White. Those familiar with the technicalities of mining law will remember how in one decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, involving the bristling problem of the extralateral right, Mr. White wrote an opinion in which the Supreme Court unfortunately adopted an unusual theory. The Mining Bar complained rather vigorously. When the same question came before the court again, the briefs clearly pointed out the error. The Supreme Court decided to reverse itself. Mr. White wrote the second opinion and clearly and bluntly stated that the court had erred before and refused to adhere to the erroneous precedent. The candor with which Mr. White admitted the error made a lasting impression upon the Bar of the West.

Kindly, considerate, genial, the Chief Justice was able with great success to preside over a court in which there were at times sharp and wide differences of opinion. Because of his skill and vigor in administration he established a record as Chief Justice which does not appear in the published reports. One of his greatest achievements was the persistence with which he speeded up the work of the court and reduced the list of pending cases. In America we are too much inclined to associate delay and procrastination with the judiciary. Somehow we feel that these qualities are innate in the law. The Supreme Court of the United States is always overburdened with litigation. Some of it, like the allotment of rights among the Indians, and accident cases under the Federal Compensation Act, are not of great importance. The great bulk of the litigation, however, involves principles of law and statesmanship of the most far-reaching influence. With the court divided on important cases, delay seems difficult to overcome. Yet Chief Justice White has been successful in so speeding up the work of the court that litigation, after it comes to the Supreme Court, is decided in an impressively short time. The court has set a most admirable example for the judiciary of the entire country to

emulate. Aside from written opinions, this influence of Chief Justice White on the administrative work of his office is one of his genuine claims to distinct eminence among our Chief Justices.

III

The work of a Justice of the Supreme Court in the writing of opinions is in reality the erection of a perpetual monument to his memory. Appellate judges well feel that they slowly erect in their decisions, which lay down principles of law and conduct for the generations to come after, an abiding, well-nigh imperishable memorial. And in the case of a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, where so much of the work involves statesmanship and the adjustment of conflicting, political tendencies and instincts, the achievement a judge leaves behind in his decisions is more profound and significant than the public appreciates.

For our judiciary must lead a cloistered and sequestered life. Since they are supposed to hold with passionless hands the scales of justice and read the result with eyes unafraid and uninfluenced by the tumult below, they must keep themselves aloof and apart from their fellow citizens. They must move, as it were, upon Olympian Heights. Their only contact with the public is their written opinions which are announced in the language of technical scholarship. Thus their work is not appreciated by the public, but is grasped in its full import only by lawyers and those in public life.

In the twenty-seven years that Mr. Justice White sat upon the Supreme Court—a Chief Justice has no greater influence outside of administrative matters than an Associate Justice—he wrote about nine hundred opinions. The reports of the Supreme Court are contained in two hundred and fifty-four printed volumes which go back to 1790. Of course the number of these opinions has increased greatly in recent years. In the first year of the existence of the court all of the members together wrote only twelve opinions. Mr. Chief Justice White's first opinion appeared in 1894 in Volume 153 of the reports; his last opinion does not yet appear in the bound volumes—the dissent in the Newberry case, delivered on May 2, 1921. Thus his name and his influence extends through over one-third of the printed reports. When it is borne in mind that most of the important decisions in these reports have been decided by a divided court it is clear how great an influence in this long span of years



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THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AS CONSTITUTED AT THE TIME OF MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE'S DEATH

(Seated, from left to right, are: William R. Day, Joseph McKenna, Edward D. White [Chief Justice], Oliver W. Holmes, and Willis Van Devanter. Standing, from left to right, are: Louis D. Brandeis, Mahlon Pitney, James C. McReynolds, and John H. Clarke)

Mr. White has had upon our American life. To be sure, his influence was no greater than that of any other Justice who like Mr. White might have turned the majority in a different direction many a time. But his tenure of service was long and the force of his personality great.

Chief Justice White's Decisions

The noteworthy decisions which Mr. White wrote are legion. His first important opinions were two dissents in the great income-tax cases of *Pollack v. Farmer and Loan Company* (157 United States 429 and 158 United States 601), wherein the Supreme Court held that without the Sixteenth Amendment Congress had no power to impose an income tax. This case is one of the outstanding, though confused, decisions of the Supreme Court, and covers 225 pages. Mr. White wrote a strong dissenting opinion (almost as long as his famous opinion in the *Standard Oil* case) in which he stanchly upheld the power of Congress to impose an income tax.

In the *Insular Cases* (*Downes v. Bedwell*, 182 United States 244), holding that the flag followed the Constitution, which created a great deal of discussion twenty years ago, but have since proved to be of

little importance because the star of empire has set in the United States, Mr. Justice White wrote a concurring opinion which occasioned, because of the vigorous insistence upon federal powers, considerable discussion.

The opinions in the *Income Tax Case*, written during Mr. White's first year on the bench, show how cogently he favored strong federal powers and that he was willing to infer those powers from a general purpose of the Constitution and not to limit the national government to those powers expressly given. Twenty-five years ago this issue of implied or extended powers, as against express and carefully limited powers, in the Federal Government, was a paramount consideration in questions of constitutional law. Members of the Supreme Court were noted for their adherence to either one or the other view. Some people still are inclined to feel that this question remains of paramount importance to-day. They fail to realize that the dominating question in the last twenty-five years has not been whether the States or the Federal Government shall be supreme, because State power has well-nigh collapsed, but the extent to which government, particularly Federal Government, may go in controlling the habits, the destinies, and the rights of the individual. To-day

the conflict is between individual and nation, not between State and nation. In child-labor legislation, in limitations of hours of employment, in workingmen's compensation problems, in the regulation of private property (such as limiting of rents to be charged by landlords), and in the control of public utilities, the underlying question is how far may government go in the control of those property owners who are reluctant to submit to control. Must the employer and the employee submit to labor legislation despite the individuals' right to freedom of contract? Must our public utilities, our property owners, submit to limitation of their property rights by the majority?

Exponent of Moderate Views

In all these questions Mr. Justice White was inclined to take the middle of the road, to adhere to a moderate, balanced view. Indeed, the historian of the future must be struck by the common-sense, poised attitude of mind which the late Chief Justice manifested in these problems. He was willing to recognize the rights of the community, but on the other hand he held no rigid views as to the subordination of the individual. He was ever in search of the golden mean. One can fairly say that of the members of the Supreme Court, Mr. White markedly stood between those Justices who favored a limitation upon governmental activities for the protection of individual rights and those who were inclined to feel that the welfare of the community was paramount. Thus, his influence was in many cases decisive, and many of the decisions of the Supreme Court swung as his mind and that of one or two of his colleagues moved. In addition to this instinct for the middle course, there was one outstanding quality manifest in his decisions. He was a sound business man and his decisions affecting business, whether it be trading in cotton futures, or in interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, showed a common-sense, cautious business point of view, hostile to bare theory and to rigid rules, and have been singularly upheld and vindicated by the course of time.

If the career of Mr. Taft makes possible a prophecy as to his judicial attitude, does it not seem clear that he is likely to manifest somewhat the same qualities? Mr. Taft has always shown a sound comprehension of business necessity and the need of accepting the practical. And he has tended to keep to the middle of the road. As President he was held by many to be a conservative and

standpatter, yet time has shown that he was cautious more than reactionary and moderate rather than conservative. The liberal who seeks the golden mean will always be assailed from both sides. In internal affairs the radicals called Mr. Taft reactionary and overcautious; in foreign affairs, particularly concerning the League of Nations, he has been accused of being impractical, radical, visionary.

In Chief Justice White's last opinion, his dissent in the *Newberry* case, he wrote a careful protest against the holding of the majority, not because he felt that a new trial should not be granted—indeed, he pointed out that there had been salient and grave errors committed by the lower court—but because he could not accept the views of the majority to the effect that the Federal Government had no right to control State primaries for the election of Senators. Here he clearly favored federal power.

Upholder of Federal Power

In two of his less noted opinions, and yet among his most significant decisions (*Guinn v. United States*, 238 United States 347; *Myers v. Anderson*, 238 United States 368), he held that the "Grandfather Clause" in the constitution of Oklahoma and a similar Maryland statute were in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. By the Grandfather Clause ingenious Southern lawyers had provided that literacy should be a qualification as to the right to vote, and then attempted to make the test apply to negroes only, by providing that an exception should be made of those descended from ancestors holding the voting power in 1866. Mr. Justice White disliked the Fifteenth Amendment, as a Southerner would, yet calmly wrote an opinion which established for all time the impossibility of avoiding the constitutional guarantee of equal rights for the negro. It is indeed a tribute to those who fought in the Civil War that a Southern soldier could accept the new order of things so gracefully as did Chief Justice White. And here again, he upheld the Federal power. So, too, in his powerful decision upholding the Selective Draft Law (245 United States 366) he routed those who felt that the Federal Government did not have the power to create an army.

In the *National Bank* case (244 United States 416), Chief Justice White extended to a remarkable degree the early holding of John Marshall that the Federal Government had implied banking powers, by decid-

ing that not only did the Federal Government have power to create banking corporations but that the Federal Government could also empower such corporations to act as trustees and executors. In the *National Prohibition Cases* (253 United States 350), the late Chief Justice thought that the Supreme Court should not announce merely its conclusions, but also its reasons for those conclusions, and upheld vigorously the power of the Federal Government to control intoxicating liquors.

So, too, in the case of corporations doing an interstate business, the opinions written by Mr. Chief Justice White emphatically deny the States a right to prevent corporations from access to the Federal Courts or to deprive such corporations from the right of immunity from State oppression (*Mo. Pac. Ry. Co. v. Larrabee*, 234 United States 459; *Harrison v. S. F. R. R.*, 232 United States 318). In the case involving the portion of the debt of Virginia to be assumed by West Virginia (*Va. v. W. Va.*, 234 United States 118), Mr. Chief Justice White wrote a monumental opinion, establishing the relationship between the States and the rights of the Federal Government over the individual States. So, too, in considering the power of Congress to take over complete control of the telephones and railroads of the country, Chief Justice White wrote two vital opinions which left no question as to the necessity of State officials accepting to the fullest extent the high powers of Congress (*No. Pac. Ry. Co. v. No. Dakota*, 250 United States 135; *Dakota Cen. Tel. Co. v. So. Dakota*, 250 United States 163).

In various decisions construing the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Chief Justice White clearly upheld and extended the power of Congress over Interstate Commerce, and did much to define the powers of the Commission under existing statutes. His opinion in the *Intermountain Rate Case* (234 United States 476) definitely established the outer lines of conflict in the much vexed question of the short and long haul. Indeed, in giving Congress complete power over Interstate Commerce in the decision of *Wilson v. New* (243 United States 332), the late Chief Justice effectively limited—some may say, destroyed—the powers of the individual.

Unquestionably, the opinion on *Wilson v. New* by the late Chief Justice is the most important opinion that he wrote in his judicial career, as it is probably the most important decision by the Supreme Court in the

last three decades. In that case the Supreme Court held that Congress had power to regulate the hours of labor for railroad employees, although the form of the statute effectively stipulated an increased rate in pay as a result of the limitation. It was generally felt that the Adamson Act was so violent an encroachment upon the rights of the railroads as property-owners that it would be held in violation of the Fifth Amendment, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. The decision of the court was remarkably close; four judges dissenting vigorously, four judges, including Mr. Chief Justice White, upholding the act for the reasons stated in the court's opinion, and one Justice writing a concurring opinion upholding the Act, which turned the scales.

Yet when it came to the case of *Hirsch v. Block* (not yet in the published volumes); and the court went still further and held that a State and the Federal Government had a right to fix the rents to be charged for the most private of private property—residential buildings—Mr. Chief Justice White was one of the four judges urgently dissenting. It is thus apparent how his mind tended to move in the center of the channel. He could accept complete control of the Government over railroads, yet he was unwilling to go so far as to give the Federal Government the same power over private property in which the public has no right of use.

When it came to the conflict of individual and State, the late Chief Justice likewise avoided extreme views. He was circumspect, and though his attitude at times may seem inconsistent, that was the inevitable result of attempting to attain a balanced position.

In the famous *Adair Case* (208 United States 161) and the *Coppage Case* (236 United States 1), the late Chief Justice concurred in the decision of the court, holding statutes unconstitutional which forbid employers to discharge employees because of membership in labor unions. In the famous *Hatters' case* (208 United States 274), Mr. Chief Justice White joined with the majority in holding that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act applied to labor unions attempting to force manufacturers to unionize their shops under penalty of a boycott.

Yet on the question of hours of employment and workmen's compensation, the Chief Justice tended the other way. In the famous *Lochner Case* (198 United States 45) holding unconstitutional a law prohibiting more than ten hours of work in

bakeries, the late Chief Justice joined in Justice Harlan's vigorous dissenting opinion, which was one of the earliest attempts to set forth health considerations as found in economic and medical reports. But in *Bunting v. Oregon* (243 United States 426), Mr. Chief Justice White dissented from the ruling upholding the Oregon Ten-Hour Law, because of the provision for overtime payment, which he viewed not as a health law but as a regulation of pay. He concurred with the majority in the *New York Central Railroad Case* (243 United States 188) which upheld the New York Compensation Act, thereby taking a view opposite that of the New York Court of Appeals. Yet he dissented from the ruling upholding the *Washington Compensation Law* (*Mountain Timber Co. v. Washington*, 243 United States 219), because of the requirement that all employers must contribute to a compensation fund.

The late Chief Justice, perhaps, is most famous for his decisions construing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Here his influence has been of transcendent, immediate importance. He has greatly altered the course of industry. He, more than any one man of his generation, has been instrumental in limiting the interference and checking of business by the Government. He wrote a noteworthy dissent in the *Northern Securities Case* (193 United States 197), holding that the court could not prevent Hill and Harriman from getting control of competing railroads by the device of a holding company. Mr. Chief Justice White's views on trust questions have been justified by the passage of time, and to-day in the *Transportation Act of 1920*, the Federal Government is not only favoring, but is literally requiring a merger of railroads under a policy which the Supreme Court held against the public interest in the *Northern Securities Case*. In the *Standard Oil* (221 United States 1) and *Tobacco Cases* (221 United States 106), Chief Justice White wrote two opinions, soon after he became Chief Justice, wherein he departed from rigid theories, and held that the rule of reason must apply in determining what combinations are illegal. Business was, he stated, too vast and uncertain a world to be confined within the limits of a simple rule. These views he vigorously adhered to. The Chief Justice's opinions on questions of business were remarkably sound and by his interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act he has done much to stabilize business conditions.

IV

So numerous are the significant and memorable opinions written by the late Chief Justice that it is difficult indeed to select the outstanding ones. Yet throughout Mr. White's entire judicial career and in all his decisions, certain dominating qualities reveal themselves. An unfailing and unflagging sense of logic, not angular and rigid, but molded and shaped by common sense and a felicitous sense of the practical, a sure and mobile instinct for the realities of business life which refused to convert an Anti-Trust Statute into a fatal noose about the throat of enterprise and national economy and growth; a genial democratic reliance upon the wisdom of seeking the middle of the road and accepting all conclusions with moderating caution in the hope of reconciling and adjusting conflict rather than stifling it—these were the qualities of a great judge and a great statesman, and showed the kindly breadth of vision and high intellectual power of the late Chief Justice. A Lord Mansfield in business law, a John Marshall in statesmanship and constitutional problems, a capable administrator, and a patriot before all else—his fame is secure!

What of the future? Perilous seas lie ahead. New, urgent problems press for determination. The headlong growth of the nation presses ever on. The new Chief Justice surely has proved his right to the respect due a patriot, a genial, broad-minded lawyer, and a vigorous, hard-thinking student. He gives every proof of displaying the same feeling for the realities of business and the same sense of moderation and desire for the golden mean and the middle course that are the outstanding qualities of his predecessor. The nation has been highly fortunate in the past in the Chief Justices who have presided over its highest court—for, once appointed, death only can remove—and that good fortune gives every assurance of continuing without lapse or abatement.

In a democracy, particularly in our democracy, the ideal of justice is of transcendent, vital influence. Let justice fail and our government will collapse. Of both the late and the present Chief Justices it can well be said, in the words of Mr. Justice McKenna, that the dominating ideal of both will be remembered as "a high and earnest sense of duty. . . . Duty to a judge has a special incentive; its object is justice, and justice to the fullness of its definition, 'the constant and perpetual wish to render to every man his rights.'"

REMAKING THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

BY HARLEAN JAMES

THE tariff and the tax are not the only important domestic problems of government pressing for solution. Three related measures are squarely before Congress: a reorganization of the federal administration, a federal budget system, and a reclassification of the federal employees.

The results which have been promised for reorganization have been many and varied. There are those who hold out glittering dreams of fabulous financial savings to be secured by the adoption of a new blue print which will eliminate all duplication and waste. Others promise a degree of efficiency greater than that achieved by any large private corporation in existence. Discussion has brought forth suggestions and ideas in abundance. In Washington everybody has a fugitive plan, based on personal experience, which ought by all means to be incorporated.

In the meantime bureau chiefs and their assistants are working under the shadow of impending change and in fear that the future will be worse than the past. For, after all—however perfect or imperfect the organization chart—the Government's work is carried on by human beings. And human beings have a distinct preference for stability of employment as a basis for single-minded devotion to duty. It is a bit difficult for a government employee to keep on working enthusiastically and intelligently, building for the future, when rumor has it that the work may be discontinued or assigned to unsympathetic successors. Thus reorganization is like a necessary operation for chronic appendicitis, which may be performed this year or next year, but without which the patient can never be well in body and before which the patient can never be easy in his mind. Since the operation must be performed, the sooner a neat job can be made of it the better.

But just what are the elements of a neat job? What is the present muscular and nervous system of our present executive government and how may it be made into a healthy organism whose members coördinate in dynamic action?

The Present Organization

Starting with the more or less obvious functions of a national government which were recognized at the end of the eighteenth century, the President's cabinet in the first few years of the republic became a group of advisers who represented the minimum essentials of national defense, foreign affairs, fiscal records, and legal advice. The functions of these advisers as executive heads of administrative departments were related to, but not identical with, their seats in the cabinet. It was not until 1870 that the Department of Justice was created, although the Attorney General sat in the President's cabinet from the first; and it was not until 1872 that the General Post Office, temporarily continued from year to year after 1775 and definitely set up in 1794, was legally established as an executive department, although the Postmaster General from 1829, by invitation of the President, sat in the Cabinet.

It was argued that all government being a bad thing, the less we had of it the better. Consequently we had no home department until 1849, when the Department of the Interior was created and there were transferred to it certain activities which had been placed under one or another of the departments for want of a suitable connection.

Pioneer conditions fostered the belief in unhampered individual initiative in industry, and the political heritage of the local self-government principle led to a minimum of federal interference in the States. But the basic and precarious industry of agriculture needed help which the States could not command, and in 1862 the post of Commissioner of Agriculture was created to carry on research in agriculture. The activities fostered by that official expanded in 1889 into the Department of Agriculture, with a secretary in the President's cabinet; and since that date has developed the really great agricultural service which the United States gives its farmer population. In the meantime the shift of the population from urban to town

and city dwellers created a demand for a federal trade service, and in 1903 there was established a Department of Commerce and Labor which ten years later was separated into two executive departments.

Thus in 132 years we have established ten executive departments with ten "secretaries" sitting in the President's cabinet, with over 700,000 civil employees stationed in various parts of the United States, who report to nearly 200 bureaus and divisions. In addition, there are more than forty independent boards and commissions reporting directly to the President or to Congress, employing nearly 20,000 persons. None of these commissioners sits in the President's cabinet. In many cases the terms of office are not coincident with the change of administrations, and on some boards there is express provision for minority party representation. In nearly all commissions consecutive service is made sure by arrangement of terms of office. The compensation of some of these officials is greater than that of a cabinet secretary.

Pending Bills

There are pending bills to create new departments of education, public health, federal highways, aeronautics, land and natural resources, conservation, mines, public works and public lands, and public welfare. The McCormick bill providing for a comprehensive regrouping of bureaus—including conversion of the Department of the Interior into a Department of Public Works and the creation of a Department of Public Welfare—was pending at the close of the last session of Congress. The Smith-Towner bill of last session, to create a Department of Education, was discussed in the February REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Since then it has been redrafted to meet some of the objections of its opponents.

Senator Kenyon reintroduced at this session his bill to create a Department of Social Welfare. Meanwhile Brigadier-General Sawyer, at the President's request, has made an informal survey of the services which might be grouped in a new Department of Public Welfare. He incorporated into his plans most of the recommendations of the Dawes committee of eleven appointed by the President to recommend the best means for serving the veterans. During hearings on the Kenyon bill, General Sawyer presented to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor the plans he had drawn with the

approval of the President; and Senator Kenyon redrafted his bill to conform to the President's desires; but the objections advanced to the bill by the health and education groups who desired separate departments have, apparently, prevented the bill from being reported out of committee.

Agencies at Work

There are various agencies at work to bring about reorganization. A number of public-spirited committees have contributed valuable research. The United States Bureau of Efficiency has already made a complete chart of existing departments with suggested new alignments. The McCormick bill of last session followed this arrangement very closely.

Congress last session created a Joint Committee on Reorganization, consisting of Senators Smoot, Wadsworth and Harrison and Representatives Reavis, Temple and Moore. It may be recalled that Senator Smoot has long had in mind the reorganization of the executive departments and that he introduced into the Senate a resolution to create the joint committee. On the House side Representatives Reavis and Moore introduced resolutions into the last Congress after preliminary surveys which showed apparent duplications and divided authority. On the authorization of Congress President Harding has since appointed as a representative of the Executive, Mr. Walter F. Brown of Toledo. Mr. Brown has been elected chairman of the committee.

The sagacity and foresight of President Harding in securing from each Secretary a promise of full coöperation in the proposed reorganization of the federal administration at the time he invited these gentlemen to enter his Cabinet now becomes apparent. The appointment of Mr. Brown, with authority to act for the Executive on the joint committee, was only the second step in a fully-thought-out plan to secure effective reorganization. The third step will be the passage by Congress of a bill to enact into law the recommendations of the joint committee.

Although final report of the committee is not required until December of 1922, Mr. Brown has no idea of protracted treatment. He recognized at once the difficulty of securing a true photograph of a going concern. He, therefore, set the camera for an instantaneous X-ray and he desires to perform the operation on the patient before a more complicated affliction develops.

Mr. Brown has announced that he and his committee, profiting by the researches conducted in Congress and the executive departments, will endeavor to regroup the federal bureaus into departments on the principle of major purpose. The application of the principle, however, is far from easy. The Bureau of Fisheries, with its biological functions undeniably related to the major purpose of the Biological Survey in the Department of Agriculture and its marketing functions quite as clearly related to the major purpose of the Bureau of Markets probably destined to the Department of Commerce, presents a perpetual conundrum.

Subject Classification

But while the various agencies wrestle with the problem of reorganization there are many different opinions concerning the basis on which departments should be established. There are those who would see the departments, like a good library catalogue, divided strictly by subjects such as education, health, commerce, transportation, foreign affairs, defense, and fiscal affairs. Thus the present Children's Bureau would break up into children's health work in a new health department and children's school work in an education department—leaving, it would seem, the general welfare of children to take care of itself. The supposition is that human needs which do not classify under subject-head departments would not be cared for by the federal departments. It is perhaps forgotten that until the Children's Bureau focused attention on the child as a unit, the needs of children (indeed their rights) were not recognized, much less met.

These considerations have played their part in creating another school of thought by which human need and human convenience are made the test of federal service. Mr. Herbert Hoover, in his speech before the National Engineer Council in Philadelphia, called attention to the human inconvenience in the present scattered aids to navigation—not [said Mr. Hoover] by any means one of the

principal functions of our Government, but it must be a sore trial to the hardy mariner. He must obtain his domestic charts from the Department of Commerce, his foreign charts from the Navy Department, and his nautical almanacs from the Naval Observatory, and he will in some instances get sailing directions from the Army. In a fog he may get radio signals from both the Navy and Commerce, and listen for fog horns and look for lights and buoys provided by Commerce. If he sinks, his life is saved by the Treasury. He will anchor at the direction of the Army, who rely on the Treasury to enforce their will. His boilers and life boats are inspected by the Department of Commerce; his crew is certificated by one bureau in Commerce, signed off in the presence of another, and inspected at sailing by the Treasury and on arrival by the Department of Labor.

Huge Service Departments

There are those who advocate the placing of all engineering and construction services in a single department. This idea is opposed by others, who claim that a huge construction department—which would build post offices for the Post Office Department, custom houses for the Treasury, bridges for the War Department, docks for the Navy, and schools for the Indians—is no more practicable or justified than a huge stenographic department or an extensive accounting department which would write letters or keep books for all the other departments.

Certain engineers have advocated a Department of Public Works which should include all public works. Others believe that in the new Department of Public Works construction activities should be limited to agencies where the executive authority for their use is also placed squarely in the Department of Public Works. They believe it is entirely within the realm of possibility that if the Government should assemble construction or purchase of supplies into huge service departments, it may have the same experience as the railroads. It is said that the consolidation of railroads proceeded to a point where it was found necessary arbitrarily to divide the roads into operating sections, and before the war it had come to be pretty generally recognized that about



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MR. WALTER F. BROWN,
OF OHIO

(Representing the President on the Congressional Committee on Reorganization, and chosen chairman of the committee)

seven thousand miles of road were all that could be economically handled as a unit.

So if it should transpire that the Government's construction activities or supply purchases exceeded in volume an economic working unit it might well be that functional divisions rather than arbitrary groupings should be observed. There are some who go further and say, especially as regards construction, that it is bad administration for construction engineers to report to one cabinet secretary when the technical users of the finished product report to another. They point to construction for national defense as a case in view. These predict a circumlocution system of delay which might easily rival the famous case of *Jarndyce vs. Jarndyce*.

The answer seems to be that as yet we have not discovered the point up to which consolidation of Government services will prove useful.

New Subject Departments

Organized educators and many medical men follow the example of some engineers and advocate separate departments of education and public health. Certainly the two subjects are of paramount importance, and if creating separate departments will serve the people in these lines the departments ought to be created. Some physicians and some educators believe that better results will be achieved if public health and education are united with social service into a single department of public welfare. They contend that, in general, public health, education, and social service are not dispensed to the people by the federal government directly but rather through State, county, and city government. For this reason, and because there seem to be certain advantages in providing for professional heads of these technical services who will hold over from one administration to another, many believe that the interests of the people will be better conserved by establishing professional standards of leadership in each subject, under a single cabinet secretary who, in the nature of our government by parties, will change with the administration.

Independent Agencies

Then there is the problem of what independent agencies should be absorbed into the regular government departments. It has been suggested that because the Federal Trade Commission deals with commerce it should be absorbed by the Department of Commerce. Not so, say others. The Depart-

ment of Commerce is a service department to promote and foster trade. The Federal Trade Commission is to investigate and recommend legislation that trade may conform to the general welfare. The responsibility and inevitable criticism inherent in investigations should be borne by a board, and should not be placed on a single cabinet officer who at the same time is trying to establish helpful relations with trade and who must administer certain trade services.

It seems that the principle that regulatory functions should be administered by a board or commission is fairly well recognized. For this reason the Civil Service Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Federal Reserve Board will probably remain independent agencies reporting directly to the President.

Alleged Duplication

There is doubtless a degree of duplication of activities in the federal government; but this is many times more apparent than real. It is probably true, as Congressman Reavis stated on the floor of the House, that there are nineteen different commissions and bureaus engaged in the building of good roads and twenty-one scattered through the Government engaged in mapping and surveying; yet it is not supposed that they were all building the same roads or mapping and surveying the same land with the same types of maps. Consequently, even if these road-building and map-making activities were all combined, as perhaps they should be, it might turn out that there was no money saving, that the reduction in overhead would be more than offset by the lost motion of a large service bureau arbitrarily subdivided to meet the nineteen or twenty special needs which the present bureaus were created to meet.

It may also be that there are many instances in the government service such as that quoted by Mr. Good—where 2 ten-thousand-dollar leather-testing machines were purchased by the government, one by the Bureau of Standards and one by the Department of Agriculture, for a combined use of hardly one-twentieth of the time. But it is conceivable that some of the duplications of equipment are warranted by the service they give.

At any rate, the moral of this discussion is that we may confidently expect a more convenient and a more efficient alignment of services than we have now, but that it is a fallacy to expect that any system of regroup-

ing the services will accomplish the benefits of all the different systems combined. Money saved by central purchase may be spent in distribution, as in the case of an army construction engineer on the Mexican border who found it necessary to travel two hundred miles in one direction to find the steam shovel which was stored as "buckets—steam shovel" with "buckets—water," and three hundred miles in another direction to discover the cable which was stored as rope, before he could assemble a steam-shovel.

Mr. Walter F. Brown as Reorganizer

The principle of major purpose, it may be seen, does not furnish a slide-rule answer to every problem; and Mr. Brown and his committee would experience many difficulties in finding the proper place for every service even if they were free from the pressure of public and private opinion. As the committee settled down to work it seemed for a time—a very short time—that the plan for reorganization might founder on the rocks that have wrecked previous efforts. President Harding had secured the co-operation of department heads, but great activity developed among some of the bureau chiefs to influence members of Congress to oppose recommendations concerning their bureaus. In this emergency, President Harding, at a Cabinet meeting on June 14, asked the heads of departments to notify bureau chiefs in their respective departments that "any effort on the part of those in Government service to influence Congress in connection with the prospective reorganization of the Government administration would result in dismissal of the offending officials."

Mr. Brown has called attention to the fact that there is a perfectly acceptable procedure for bureau chiefs to pursue regarding the status of their bureaus. They may present their causes before the Secretary of the department and, with the Secretary's approval, before the committee, setting forth reasons. Mr. Brown desires that fullest information be placed before the committee.

It is recognized that by a fairly direct route the people of the United States have made Mr. Brown and the joint committee responsible for devising a definite plan of reorganization. No scheme will satisfy everybody or include all points of view. But if the benefits of reorganization are to be secured it will be necessary to agree on some plan. Mr. Brown has explained that bureaus will not be arbitrarily shifted about. Think-

ing beyond the first test of major purpose, when knotty questions presented themselves, it has been the endeavor of the committee to find a principle of distinction which was sound and then to apply that principle to the assignment of bureaus or parts of bureaus.

A Department of National Defense

It seems most probable that the War and Navy Departments, as suggested by the President, will be united into a Department of National Defense, though it is quite improbable that the Air Service will be set up as a separate division at the present time. The new Department of National Defense will undoubtedly be divested of the civil functions now performed by the War or Navy Departments. The Department of the Interior will probably be divided into two main divisions—Public Domain and Public Works. A Bureau of Insular Affairs which will take over the administration of the Virgin Islands, Samoa, and Guam from the Navy, that of the Philippines and Porto Rico from the War Department, and retain the administration of Hawaii, will probably be organized under the Public Domain in the Department of the Interior, though there are some arguments for placing it in the Department of State. Alaska will probably be administered by a separate bureau under Public Domain. The Department of Commerce will probably inherit the life-saving stations from the Coast Guard, now in the Treasury, the Patent Office, from the Department of the Interior, Rivers and Harbors and Canals from the War Department, and the marketing activities now performed in the Department of Agriculture.

The Treasury would probably lose the Secret Service and Prohibition Enforcement to Justice, the Public Health and War Risk to Public Welfare, the Coast Guard to Commerce, and the Navy, and Public Buildings to Public Works. Indian Affairs may be assigned to Public Welfare, from Interior. Immigration and Naturalization may go to Public Welfare, from Labor; but there is a definite plan to strengthen the Department of Labor in the industrial field by a bureau of investigation and public information.

A Department of Public Welfare

The proposed Department of Public Welfare is perhaps the most distinct innovation. Its plan is not unlike the suggestion made in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for February, 1919, for a new Department of Civic

Economy. It would be composed of four distinct services, each under an assistant secretary. These would be education, public health, social service, and veteran service administration.

It should be realized, however, that of \$526,000,000 appropriated for 1922 for bureaus which may be included in the new Department of Public Welfare, 98 per cent. would go for soldier relief, thirty-eight one-hundredths of 1 per cent. for civilian health, 1.7 per cent. for civil education and five one-hundredths of 1 per cent. for social service. This alignment might conceivably smother the civil welfare which it was to promote.

A welfare department should have great possibilities if the secretary has the qualities which will inspire coöperation, resist special influence, and provide driving-force to set the divisions fairly on their feet. A specialist in any one of the subjects is likely to be looked upon with suspicion by the other services. President Harding suggested during the campaign that a woman might well fill the new Department of Public Welfare. If the right woman can be found there would develop a great opportunity for putting into government administration the standards which progressive women have advocated for years.

In general the Joint Committee on Reorganization has held that its function was to redistribute the *present* bureaus and not to recommend the creation of new activities. One departure may be made from this guiding principle. It has been recognized for some years that the burdens placed upon the President have increased out of all proportion to the assistance which has been provided for him. It is more than probable that the post of executive secretary or assistant to the President will be created, such official to be furnished with a suitable staff. This position, of course, would develop into a most important one, if properly handled, and would probably command a salary in excess of that of Cabinet officers.

The Possibility of Money-Saving

Will the great good promised by reorganization reduce appropriations of money required for the government? Since only about 20 per cent. of the total appropriations go into the civil service, the possibilities of money-saving in the civil departments are limited to amounts within that 20 per cent. It is in the consolidation of the War and Navy Departments, which receive 23 per

cent. of this year's appropriations, that the advocates of reorganization hope to make the most substantial savings. Those who face the problem squarely have grave doubts whether any enormous sums will be saved by reorganization, though they believe in it for its own sake, and they concede that the making of the budget will be greatly simplified because of reorganization.

But even a better government service will not be secured by a reorganization plan which makes concessions to vested and entrenched interests. No government employee, great or humble, has any inherent or acquired right to a government job. If the best interests of the people as a whole are conserved by retiring a large number of government employees to private life there is only one course to pursue. The Civil Service Commission, which operates in ordinary times to minimize political turnover, will be handicapped when it comes to retiring government employees. It will only be by the exercise of the utmost fairness and courage that executive heads can hold for the government the most efficient employees during the process of consolidation of bureaus.

On the other hand, if the Joint Committee on Reorganization maintains an impartial and judicial attitude, avails itself of trained assistants, arrives at its conclusions after careful deliberation and makes its recommendations entirely on the basis of disinterested judgment, it has the opportunity in spite of honest mistakes, to render a lasting service to the people of the United States and earn a fame which will outlive any temporary storms of protest stirred up by interested partisans.

There is a very distinct demand for reorganization of the executive departments. It is generally recognized that before we can have an efficient administration of Government we must have a Government which *can* be administered efficiently. With this end in view, there is every indication that the recommendations of the Joint Committee will be based on scientific principles, impartially applied. There is every indication that the Cabinet members will accept the proposed changes in good spirit; the whole fate of reorganization will soon depend on Congress. Since the recommendations will be made by a committee composed of an executive member and Congressional members from both houses and both parties, there is excellent reason to expect speedy action on the part of Congress.

FROM NEW YORK TO IDAHO

A FARM COLONY OF CITY FOLK, AND THEIR MODERN CARAVAN

BY ALBERT SHAW

GREAT movements that are destined to have a transforming influence must have their experimental beginnings. The practical object-lessons, in which are embodied the general aims and fundamental principles of such a movement, convince thousands of people who cannot be reached by theoretical arguments. When the first Croton aqueduct was built to carry drinking water to New York for distribution and common use, there were very few systems of water supply in this country or anywhere else. Almost no towns at that time had sewers. Gradually, all cities and towns adopted the principles, sanitary and economic, that called for a variety of common services and activities. The individual town dweller at length became, in the true sense, a member of a community. He was under restrictions as regards the uses he made of his property, and he was the gainer in every way by reason of what he surrendered of private initiative to the associated activities of the neighborhood. Under this tremendous movement for the improvement of conditions in town life through united effort, either municipal or corporate, the towns and cities have become so attractive, and their opportunities for education and enjoyment have become so superior, that they have exercised an irresistible magnetism and have grown in population with undue rapidity. It has become increasingly difficult to house the people who insist upon clinging to the urban communities; and in times of business depression it has also become a growingly difficult problem to find employment for them and to supply them with food.

Meanwhile, there has been an obvious tendency toward the social disintegration of the better types of small rural communities not only in the old States east of the Alleghanies, but also in the great commonwealths as far west as the Mississippi River.

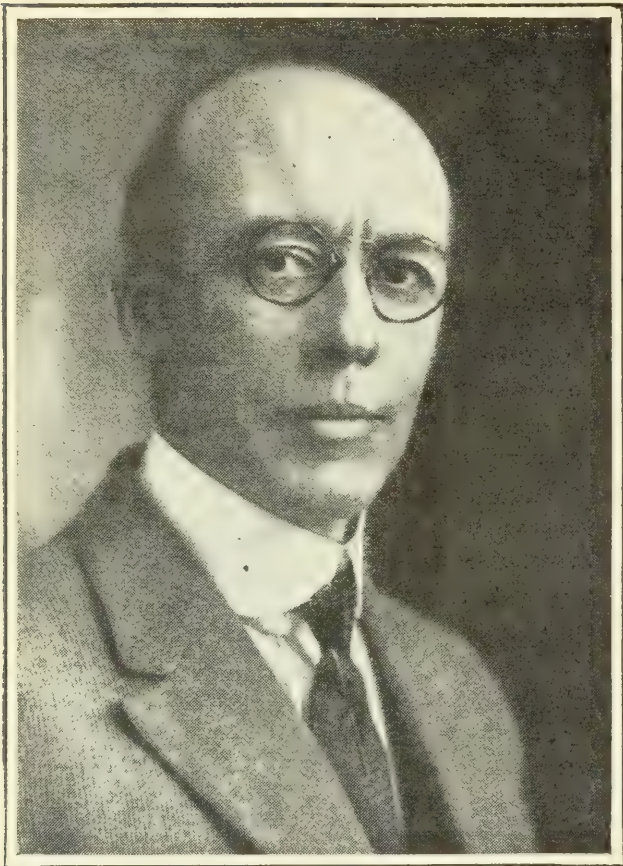
It is a transitional condition, and not a permanent one, to which the relative decline of country villages and farming districts should be attributed. It is *combined* effort, under municipal policy, that is reconstruct-

ing our towns and improving them in almost every aspect. In like manner, the reconstruction of country life, so that it may attain certain desirable new standards, must, to a great extent, be brought about by public policies and by associated efforts, analogous in many respects to the methods by which life has been made wholesome and agreeable for town dwellers.

Restoring the Balance Between Town and Country

Although the pioneering epoch is long since passed in our older States, many of the characteristics of that time when our forefathers were subduing the wilderness have lingered on. The leaders of agricultural life throughout the country are fully aware that the average farmer's independence and isolation are now a matter of disadvantage, although in the pioneer times there was little chance for the farmer whose self-reliance was lacking, and who was unequal to the ordeal of solitude and remoteness. Everywhere the spokesmen for farm interests and country life are now working to build up the local community, in its moral and intellectual aspects as well as in its economic structure. Good roads, consolidated schools, neighborhood specialization in products, coöperation in marketing, renewed interest in such features of neighborhood life as the country church, the establishment of local libraries, cultivation of neighborhood music—all these and many other phases of community life are beginning to assume the form of a nationwide movement to redress the balance between town and country.

The principal task, when one analyzes this movement for restoring to the children of the country the relative advantages that were theirs in earlier generations, is found to lie in the reconstruction and improvement of old communities, rather than in the creation of new ones. Nevertheless, there is not only a clear need for many new communities of a model type as examples and object-lessons, but there is almost unlimited opportunity throughout the country.



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MR. W. D. SCOTT, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

(Leader of a migration of families from New York to create a farm colony in Idaho)

In the Mississippi Valley, where land has become high-priced, there are hundreds of thousands of farmers who have grown comparatively wealthy either through the successful farming of new and fertile soils, or through the rise in the market value of their acres. Many of these have retired to the nearest villages and towns, and to a considerable extent their lands are farmed by tenants "on the shares." The sons of these farmers, taking some capital with them, have, to a considerable extent, gone farther west to develop cheaper lands, while scores of thousands of them have crossed the border to satisfy their land hunger in the Canadian Northwest. The extent to which tenant farming has grown in Illinois and other middle western States has been pointed out by many writers, who have regarded it as an alarming symptom. There is, however, no real ground for these unfavorable conclusions. The tenants are farming on a prosperous basis, are acquiring experience and some capital, and will in due time become owners of land if ownership is what they desire.

The thing that must be worked out in these middle western regions is the best plan upon which to secure the transition from the modes of pioneer farming to the perma-

nent kind of agriculture of the modern farm neighborhood. There must be less reliance upon distant markets, better specialization of farm industry, and coöperation for various purposes. Above all, these new farm conditions require capital—not merely to finance the purchase of land, but more especially to provide the best working facilities, whether in buildings, machinery and live stock, or in drainage, market roads, neighborhood creameries, canneries, elevators, or other establishments. Town and city improvements are created on the basis of long-time bonds with gradual repayment. The transition from pioneer farming to highly-developed permanent rural industry requires ample capital to be repaid through long periods.

California Farm-Colony Experiments

It is highly advantageous, as a part of all this process of reviving and modernizing country life, to create here and there a new community which can be started upon the plans and principles of to-day, and which is not handicapped by the outworn methods and traditions of the past. It is for this reason that we have attached so much importance to the plans of the State of California under the leadership of Dr. Elwood Mead. The State finds a tract of land; uses its own experts to lay it out and subdivide it; projects the neighborhood facilities; decides upon the most available kinds of crops; aids in the construction of houses and farm buildings as well as in the provision of roads, schoolhouses and so on; and then carefully selects the colonists.

The community organizes under a board of directors, although each farm family is in full ownership of its own farm. With a very small amount of capital of his own, the colonist makes his beginning, but he has the benefit of the immediate use of all the capital invested in his farm and its improvements, besides the benefit of expert advice and community facilities. He has an amply long period of years in which to pay increments of the principal along with his regular payments of interest.

California would have rendered a great service to the nation, even if it had definitely limited its official activities in this field to the organizing of only two or three of these new farm communities. The value of the thing lies in the fact that, from beginning to end, these projects are the crystallization of the best available experience and knowledge. Great land owners in California now see that instead of marketing their lands in a

speculative spirit, haphazard, to any purchaser who happens to come along, they can (to far better advantage for themselves as well as for the country) lay out the lands before marketing them, with reference to creating an organized community. They find available for their purposes all the experience of Dr. Mead and the State authorities in selecting and locating colonists. They see the advantages of adopting the policy of capitalizing improvements for the settlers, on the plan of long-time credits.

A Modern Migration of Families

A great deal of attention has been given by the newspapers of the country to the picturesque and romantic aspects of a migration of families from the metropolitan district of New York, to create a new farm colony three thousand miles away in the State of Idaho. The leader of the movement is Mr. W. D. Scott, of Brooklyn, New York, a practical business man who has been a sales-manager for many years, and who came to New York originally from Minneapolis. He has demonstrated his gifts of leadership and organization, and he has shown a very proper sense of the uses and value of publicity. Beginning with the impulse to leave city life and take up some rural pursuit, he studied the West, consulted several Governors and other authorities on western lands and conditions, and—being a man of the modern type thoroughly familiar with the kind of business success that comes through the grouped efforts of many people—he found himself inevitably moving in the direction of a belief in the necessity of *organized* rural life.

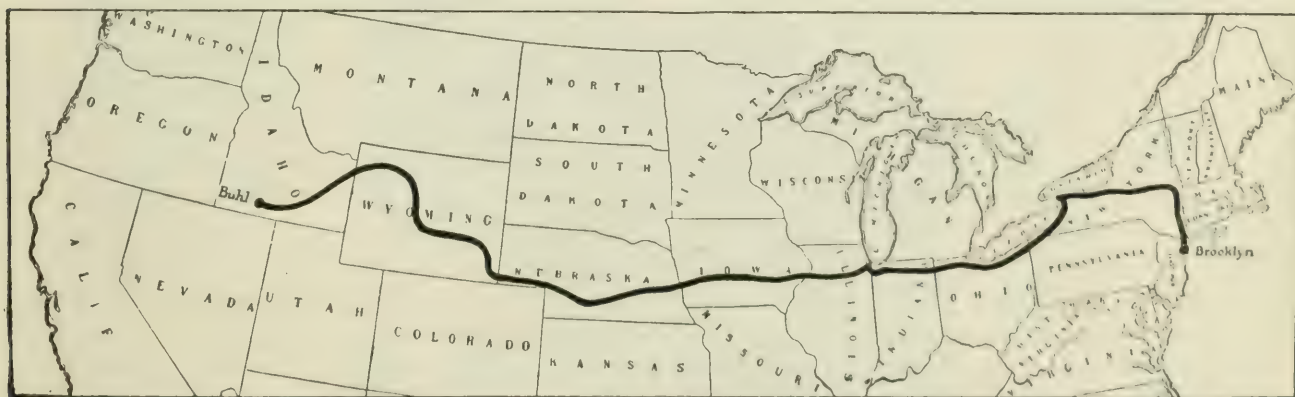
A man of very large capital might develop an immense ranch or farm, and apply to it the methods that succeed in other kinds of business; but a modern business manager of limited capital seizes upon the colonization plans and principles that have been worked

out by men like Dr. Elwood Mead, and that were so eloquently urged upon Congress and upon the country by the late Secretary of the Interior, our lamented friend, Franklin K. Lane.

Fortunately, Mr. Scott found exactly the right advisers and helpers. Foremost was Mr. E. T. Meredith, who, as Secretary of Agriculture and Mr. Lane's colleague in the Wilson Cabinet, has been and is to-day a great authority upon all phases of farming and land development. In addition to being the head of a famous farm periodical, Mr. Meredith is associated with his brother in the Idaho Farms Development Company. This organization was prepared to finance for Mr. Scott the improvement of a tract of some five thousand acres of irrigated land in southern Idaho.

It was the immediate interest and co-operation of Governor D. W. Davis of the State of Idaho that brought Mr. Scott into relationship with Mr. Meredith, and attracted him to the new irrigation project that was redeeming the sagebrush lands of the Snake River Valley. Governor Davis sent Idaho's Reclamation Land Commissioner to Washington to meet Mr. Scott under the auspices of the United States Reclamation Service, where pictures, plans, and expert information as to climate and crops were placed at the disposal of the colony leader in a way to inspire the fullest confidence. Thus, although Congress did not pass Secretary Lane's famous land measure, which was so repeatedly commended in the pages of this REVIEW, the new Idaho colony will have had some very direct relationship to the interest of the Government at Washington in helping to bring about the right kind of colonization of the lands that are redeemable by irrigation through the joint efforts of national and State governments.

Mr. Scott has had many applications



THE ROUTE OF THE MODERN CARAVAN OF FARM COLONISTS, GOING WESTWARD BY AUTOMOBILE

from Eastern families desiring to join his colony, and he has been wise enough to select his associates with great care. It would be not merely quixotic but extremely foolish to launch such an enterprise on the plan of throwing it open to any applicant regardless of his suitability. Mr. Scott has accepted those only who had demonstrated their ability to succeed in the thing that they were already doing, and who can command a little capital, a minimum of about three thousand dollars being regarded as necessary.

A Caravan of Automobiles

The picturesque aspects of the "Modern Caravan," which was to leave Borough Hall in Brooklyn on July 28 and to reach its destination in Idaho on about the 9th day of September, have naturally had so much preliminary publicity that the more solid and significant aspects of this migration might be overlooked. The method of the migration is, indeed, a matter of very proper interest. The tract of land that has been purchased will accommodate 128 families, each having a holding of forty acres of irrigated land. The new community will comprise, therefore, about 600 people. The vanguard will include perhaps only a third of the total community, and the remaining two-thirds will await the further clearing and preparation of land and the construction of buildings. The "Caravan" consists of automobiles, to each of which is attached a trailer. This trailer is so constructed that it opens up to form a canvas-covered bungalow for encampment on the way. The American Automobile Association has helped Mr. Scott work out the route and will furnish many local pilots, while towns through which the Caravan will pass have made numerous advance offers of hospitality. New York will be traversed by way of Albany, Utica, Buffalo and Niagara Falls; the extreme western tip of Pennsylvania will be crossed; after which about 250 miles will be traversed through northern Ohio, followed by a run across Indiana and Illinois to Chicago or its immediate vicinity; thence the colonists will proceed to Clinton, Iowa, and by way of Cedar Rapids and Ames to Omaha, Nebraska. About 500 miles of travel in Nebraska will bring the Caravan to Wyoming, and there will be more than 600 miles of travel in that mountain State.

About 300 miles run in Idaho will bring the colonists to the thriving young city of Buhl. The people of Buhl have had the

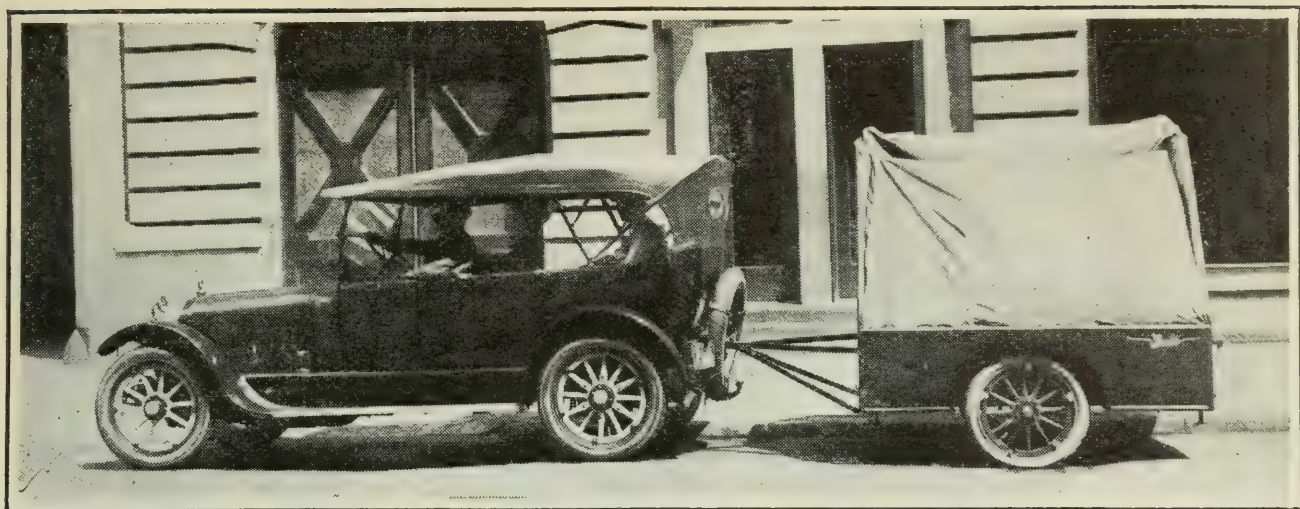
wisdom and the energy to lend most effective aid to Mr. Scott in his project, with the consequence that the new farm colony will from the start be identified in many ways with the progress of a thoroughly up-to-date young city only ten or twelve miles away.

There are many cynical persons who lack imagination and to whom the sneer of disparagement comes readily when some ardent soul attempts a new thing; and these will ask why so much fuss should be made over the movement of a few city families from the East to a tract of land in Idaho, in view of the obvious fact that many millions of people have in times past distributed themselves across the face of this country and have built up a series of proud commonwealths, without thinking of their migration as a matter of public interest.

The best answers to such cavilers would be given in every case by those of largest experience and widest information. We have reached a time when the old-fashioned way of settling the prairies under the Homestead acts is a matter of history. There are people who remember the white canvas-covered "prairie schooners," the long trails of wagons and horses that made their way from East to West. And there are many people comparatively young who remember the crowded immigrant trains that carried homesteaders and settlers to Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and other Western States and Territories. Victor Murdock, in his new book "Folks," gives us a graphic sketch or two of the pell-mell rush of people to take up claims when the reservations were opened in Oklahoma.

Idaho Sets an Example

There will still be many instances of the individual family migrating to the West on its own resources, to make its way on ranch or farm. But the great westward rush of the earlier period is a thing of the definite past. Mr. Scott's Idaho movement is a well-conceived and carefully-executed instance of the new kind of land settlement that must lead the way toward a general advance in the methods and standards of American rural life. The solid basis for public interest in this migration, therefore, does not lie in the westward movement of a group of families in automobiles with bungalow trailers, although these phases also are well deserving of the sympathetic interest they have aroused. The importance of the movement lies in the Idaho end of it,



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THE FARM COLONIST'S OUTFIT, WHICH MAKES HIM INDEPENDENT OF RAILROAD AND HOTEL WHILE MIGRATING 3000 MILES TO IDAHO

rather than in the Brooklyn end. We are emphasizing this matter in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, not merely because we think certain city people ought to find their way "back to the land," and ought to be led by capable men like Mr. Scott, but chiefly because we believe that every State in the Union—following the example of California and inspired by the intelligent activity of Governor Davis of Idaho—should create for itself a new and aggressive policy for the reconstruction of rural industry and country life.

All experts connected with the United States Government's Western irrigation projects now realize that the original reclamation policy was lacking on the side of its plans for the colonization of the reclaimed lands. Under the leadership of Governor Davis, Idaho is grasping the principle that our Western States from this time forth should be developed by groups and communities as well as by individuals. Some things can best be done by the individual capitalist, but other things can be done only by combined effort on the coöperative plan.

The development of the Snake River Valley has been proceeding not directly under the Reclamation Service, but at the hands of a commercial corporation organized under the Carey act, and authorized to redeem a considerable tract of public lands through

a costly irrigation project. The activity of Governor Davis and various State experts and local authorities has been voluntary rather than in pursuance of any particular law, like that under which California colonies have been formed. But it is possible to evolve a public policy in such matters, even in advance of legislation; and Idaho in this instance is showing how the thing can be done. That this interest on the part of the State of Idaho is more than perfunctory, or a mere expression of goodwill, is well shown by a letter to the editor of this periodical received early in June from Mr. Frank W. Brown, Secretary to Governor Davis. After referring to the manner in which Mr. Scott of Brooklyn had communicated with numerous Western Governors and commercial organizations, asking their advice in the matter of his finding a location for an agricultural colony, Mr. Brown's letter proceeds as follows:

We answered Mr. Scott's communication by wire because of the fact that Idaho has large undeveloped agricultural resources, and all of our officials have been giving the thought of colonization considerable study. We wished to test out Mr. Scott's plan and asked that he come West to investigate certain lands now developed to the extent that they must have permanent residents. Mr. Scott came, and his negotiations were successful. He closed an option with E. T. Meredith, former Secretary of Agriculture under



THE "TRAILER" AS A SLEEPING ROOM

President Wilson's second term, by which he secured the rights to slightly more than 5000 acres of land under Mr. Meredith's management.

The land has been segregated and the reservoir and works built under the Carey act, the State of Idaho setting the price at which the land may be sold.

State Aid for the Farm Colonists

Going back over the failures of those who came from Eastern cities to the irrigated lands of the West, we found the primary cause to be that the immigrants had very little capital, and over-invested in lands on which the water was yet to be put. In other words, they could not begin soon enough to get an income.

In assisting Mr. Scott this was kept in mind; and the two necessary things for success, outside of the personal habits and characteristics of the immigrant himself, have been arranged for. The water is on the land now in plenty. Every family must have capital sufficient to carry them to the point where they will commence to get a little from their land.

Briefly, the State is coöperating by advice and activity to assure: Completed irrigation works; good land; employment of experts to teach settlers how to farm; employment of experts to teach housewives farm housekeeping; sufficient capital; plans for houses, a small comfortable unit to be built at once, completed house in three years from earnings; community use of machinery; providing vegetable gardens of sufficient amount of vegetables so they may be canned for use of immigrant families during the winter; clearing of land; storehouses for furniture until first unit of house is built; good transportation facilities to railroad; establishment of small inland town on tract; advice on finance; enlargement of present country-school system to meet requirements, and many other helpful things.

While the climate in the particular section of Idaho to which this Caravan is going is quite mild in winter, yet the preliminary efforts of the State and of Mr. Meredith will save much time for the settlers, which is peculiarly necessary because of the fact that they will not arrive here before September 1.

It would be difficult for me to express the depth of the kindly coöperative spirit of Mr. Meredith in his anxiety to see that every man, woman and child becomes a happy, contented, healthy citizen of Idaho. The State is also indulging in a great experiment, but with all of the mistakes of the past quarter of a century heeded and reckoned with.

The possibilities of doing a great constructive work in colonization and in the betterment of living conditions are great. Not long ago I went through the Minidoka irrigated tract in this State. Fourteen years ago this was a dreary sagebrush desert. To-day 17,000 people live on it. I asked ten farmers on the tract something about their former living conditions and found that only one of these had ever before paid taxes. One man proudly told me that he was worth \$40,000 and that he had been a laborer on the railroad right-of-way of the branch line across the Minidoka tract when the irrigation works were being built, and that the sum total of his assets when he landed there was "a thin four-bit piece."

If we can make happy home-owners out of a big percentage of those whom we can bring West from the cities, we will have a better brand of American citizenship every time we make a reclaimed home possible, for no one can argue but that home building is the true genius of the American people.

This letter, coming from the office of Governor Davis, makes quite clear the nature of the aid that the State of Idaho is proposing to render in the case of desirable colonization enterprises. These irrigated lands in Idaho will yield a great variety of products which will provide the community with its own vegetable and animal food, while special crops of very high value in proportion to bulk, such as alfalfa seed and onion seed, will yield an assured cash income. These particular lands yield among other things enormous crops of potatoes.

It is not our object, however, in this article to deal technically with the agricultural system of the Scott colony, but rather to use the opportunity that the settlement affords for making a fresh appeal to our readers to encourage the revival of rural life, on new principles which involve the larger use of capital and far-reaching methods of co-operation. For farm colonies of this new kind there is almost as favorable an opportunity in Eastern States like New York or Virginia as upon irrigated lands in the Far Western valleys.

The so-called Lane measure, devised especially for the benefit of demobilized service men, included a comprehensive plan by means of which the national and State governments would coöperate in creating farm communities on the same principles as those which Mr. Meredith is employing in his public-spirited movement for the settlement of his irrigated tracts in Idaho. In every one of the forty-eight States tracts of land could be prepared, of suitable extent and quality and at fair prices, for the successful creation of such coöperative country-life neighborhoods. Let us hope that the Lane plan may yet be revived, and that the country-life movement may be accelerated under the provisions of a federal law. But meanwhile, there are various ways of demonstrating the statesmanship of the plan, in advance of its adoption by Congress; and the particular value for the nation at large of Mr. Scott's colony is the advertising it gives to such a wise and salutary movement, as the Caravan makes it picturesque pilgrimage along three thousand miles of automobile highway.



GENERAL CUSTER'S THREE SCOUTS IN THE CEMETERY NEAR HARDIN, MONT., WHERE THE SLAIN SOLDIERS LIE BURIED AS THEY FELL, FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO
(Only one of these Crow scouts is living to-day)

CUSTER MEMORIAL HIGHWAY

A NATIONAL ROAD, FIFTEEN HUNDRED MILES IN LENGTH,
TRAVERSING FOUR STATES

BY NORA B. KINSLEY

WHILE the North and South were engrossed in the settlement of the slavery question, the stage was set and a drama of huge proportion was being enacted in the West.

In the late fifties and early sixties the vast region tributary to the Missouri and Platte Rivers was still a sealed book to the rest of the world. With the exception of a few adventurous spirits—whose tales on their return East were discredited as the work of overwrought imaginations, due to long sojourn and hardships in the vast unknown "wilderness"—no one went far beyond the borders of the streams that were then the main avenues of travel. Practically nothing was recorded of this region and of this period other than the meager army records of the few frontier posts—and some of these have since been lost or discredited.

Of this vast area, the small section to-day known as the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana was a constant "bone of contention" between the Sioux and Crow Indians. For

many years a chronic "state of war" existed between these two tribes. The Sioux were an aggressive, powerful people; and when augmented by the Cheyennes and Blackfeet (which was frequently the case) the small band of Crows was at a decided disadvantage. The Crows were less inclined to warfare and more prone to friendship with the white man than the other tribes of this region. The territory now known as Wyoming was, by rights, the Crows'; but the Sioux held the attitude that "might makes right" and constantly trespassed on the Crows' game preserve; and many "battles royal" were fought.

Paths of the Pioneers

When the discovery of gold in Montana Territory attracted the attention of the East, and emigrants began to drift westward in increasingly large numbers, it was found that the old Overland and the Oregon Trails were too circuitous; and the route to the Montana gold-fields lay through the hotly contested game preserve of the Crows.



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GENERAL GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER

(This is a Civil War portrait of the famous cavalry leader who in 1876, with his entire command of 270 men, fell victim to an overwhelming force of Indians in Montana. Custer was born in Ohio in 1839, and was graduated from West Point in 1861. Participating at Bull Run as a lieutenant, his energy and gallantry through four years brought him promotion to the rank of Major General at the age of twenty-five)

In the spring of 1863 John Bozeman and J. M. Jacobs, of Montana, selected a route for a wagon road from the Red Buttes on the Platte River to the three forks of the Missouri. This became a well-established road and is known in history as "the Bozeman Trail." General Henry B. Carrington was sent out by the federal Government to build a chain of forts—Fort Reno and Fort Phil Kearny in what is now northern Wyoming, and Fort C. F. Smith in southern Montana—to guard this new road and protect the emigrants. At this time Red Cloud's band of Sioux was the most formidable enemy.

During the next decade, immediately following the discovery of gold in the Black Hills of Dakota Territory

(1874), the consequent rush of miners into the Indian Reservation in "The Hills" resulted in a powerful confederation of Indians defying the federal Government. The Black Hills and Big Horn Mountains had been the mecca of these Northern Indians for centuries; and their determination to guard their ancestral game preserve would do credit to any nation of the present century.

General Custer's Ill-Fated Maneuver on the Little Big Horn

To subdue these hostiles, the federal Government sent out three military expeditions—from Fort Fetterman, under General George Crook, in Wyoming Territory; from Fort Ellis, under General John Gibbon, in Montana Territory; and from Fort Lincoln, Dakota Territory, under General Alfred A. Terry. These were to converge on the upper waters of the Yellowstone, where Sitting Bull, a cunning and powerful "medicine-man"—not a warrior—of the Sioux, had his camp in the valley of the Little Big Horn River. There was no means of estimating the number and fighting strength of the hostiles, nor the exact location of their camp. Even with the best skill and wisest military tactics available, the whole campaign was doomed to be "a gamble."

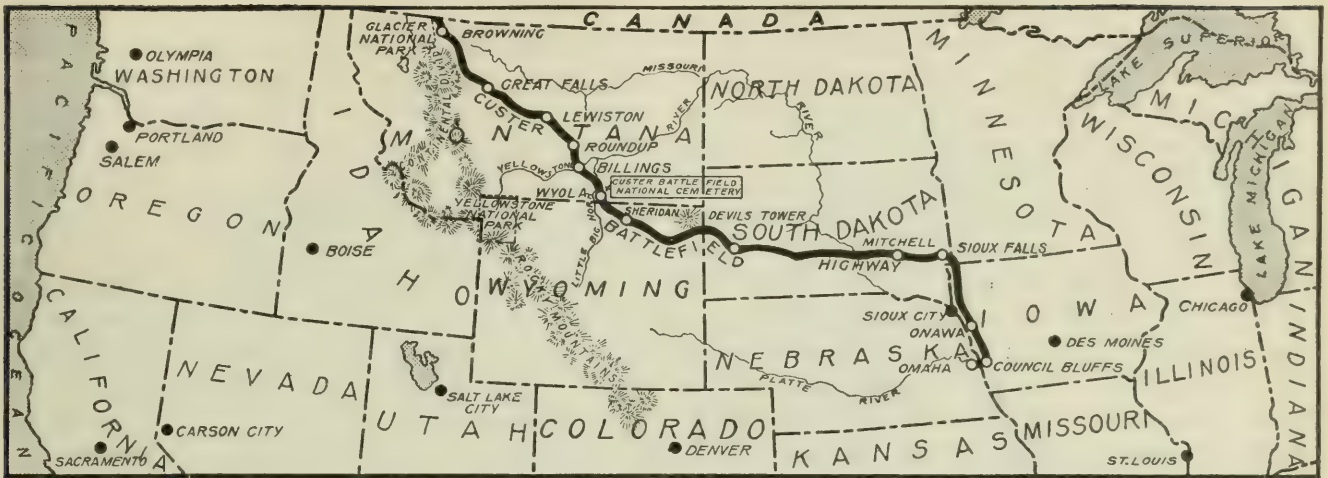
Crook was forced back; Gibbon brought to a halt; Terry came last on the scene with no information concerning the fate of the Crook and Gibbon forces.

In Terry's command was the famous Seventh Cavalry with General George A. Custer in command. In ignorance of the vast number of Indians in Sitting Bull's camp, General Custer was sent on a detour



THE OLD SCOUT AND THE NEW

(Col. R. E. Gardner, scout for Custer and other cavalry officers in the Indian campaigns from 1870 to 1877, is met on the plains by W. D. Fisher, originator of the Custer Highway, during a road-marking trip in Montana)



THE CUSTER BATTLEFIELD HIGHWAY: OPENING UP TO THE AUTOMOBILE TOURIST NEW REGIONS OF HISTORIC AND SCENIC INTEREST

(The highway is 1500 miles in length, traversing four States and following largely the route of Custer in his last campaign against the hostile Sioux in 1876. Omaha constitutes the terminal at one end, while the Glacier National Park, at the Canadian border, is the other. This is its second season as a national highway)

to attack the camp from the rear. In doing so on June 25, 1876, he rode into a death-trap; and in less than twenty merciless minutes General Custer and 270 of the famous Fighting Seventh Cavalry lay scattered about the ridge and knoll where to-day the white markers tell their mute story of a hopeless fight against odds.

An old Cheyenne, when asked how they did it, broke a twig into a dozen pieces and carefully stuck them into the ground. When he had the bits of broken twig placed to suit him, he spread his hands, brought them together quickly upon the bits of broken twig; rolled and ground them to pieces between his palms; dropped the fragments to the ground; filled his pipe and lighted it. His story of the disaster was told.

The Indians' version of the Battle of the Little Big Horn—frequently but erroneously called "Custer's Massacre"—is the only complete, detailed version left us.

A National Road as a Memorial

To commemorate this long campaign, of which the Battle of the Little Big Horn was the climax, W. D. Fisher, of Sheridan, Wyo., originated the idea of a national highway, to be called "the Custer Battlefield Highway." With Omaha, Neb., and Glacier National Park in Montana as the terminals, this historic road follows—in the main—the trail covered by General Custer in his last campaign. And although scarcely

more than a year old as a federal and State highway, it has near a hundred free Tourist Camp Grounds, and is generally conceded to be the best marked road of all the national highways.

The camp registers of the first season's



A BIT OF SCENERY IN THE BIG HORN MOUNTAINS
(One of the Seven Brothers Lakes, in northern Wyoming, with Mather Peak in the background)

travel show that the guests represent thirty States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf to the Great Lakes, and also Canada, England, Cuba and Mexico. A large percentage of these were en route to the National Parks. Whether the vacationist is "headed for" the Parks, or just out for "a regular trip, any old where" (as one tourist registered at camp), he finds the historic and scenic Custer Battlefield Highway a constant source of surprise and pleasure. It passes through a section that has never been exploited or advertised as a playground; yet vacationists have found their way to this region for more than a quarter of a century.

The communities along the way have not grown as summer resorts. The people have simply united their fortunes with the scenery. They have their homes. They were built for farmers, miners and business men in the natural course of development of the coun-

try. They have learned to love the charms of the sparkling, turbulent trout streams and mountain lakes fed by ice-cold springs; the blue skies not surpassed by Italy's blue; the fragrance of the pines; the wonderful mountain-flower gardens, acres and acres in extent; the ozone laden air; and the unsurpassed moonlight and sunsets.

These people have built good roads for their own needs; and are building more as rapidly as funds and labor conditions permit. They have built good hotels, too, for their own needs.

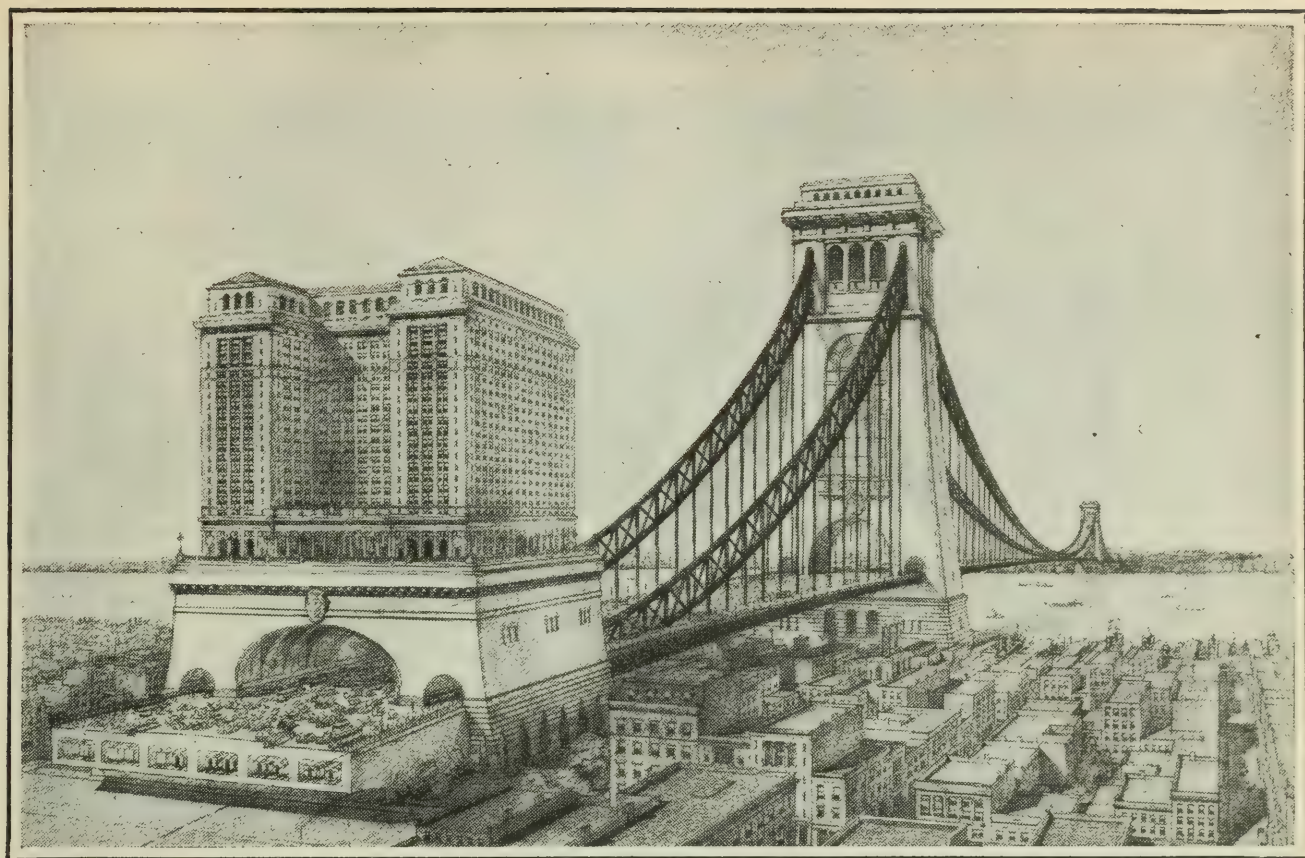
It's all just a part of the day's work.

And, now that "auto-gypsying" has become the fad, they are glad to welcome with true Western hospitality the friends from outside this land of enchantment; and with characteristic Western enthusiasm are adding for the vacationists' comfort free camping grounds with many or all the conveniences of a modern home.



ONE OF EIGHTY FREE TOURIST CAMPING GROUNDS ALONG THE ROUTE OF THE CUSTER HIGHWAY

(This bungalow is in Pioneer Park, at Sheridan, Wyoming. It furnishes for the automobile tourist: bath, laundry, kitchen and rest-room accommodations. Around about there is overnight parking space for a hundred cars. All the privileges of this city park are offered free to the tourist)



THE PROPOSED BRIDGE ACROSS THE HUDSON RIVER—FROM THE ARCHITECT'S DRAWING

THE WORLD'S GREATEST BRIDGE

A 3240-FOOT SUSPENSION BRIDGE PROPOSED TO SPAN THE HUDSON RIVER BETWEEN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

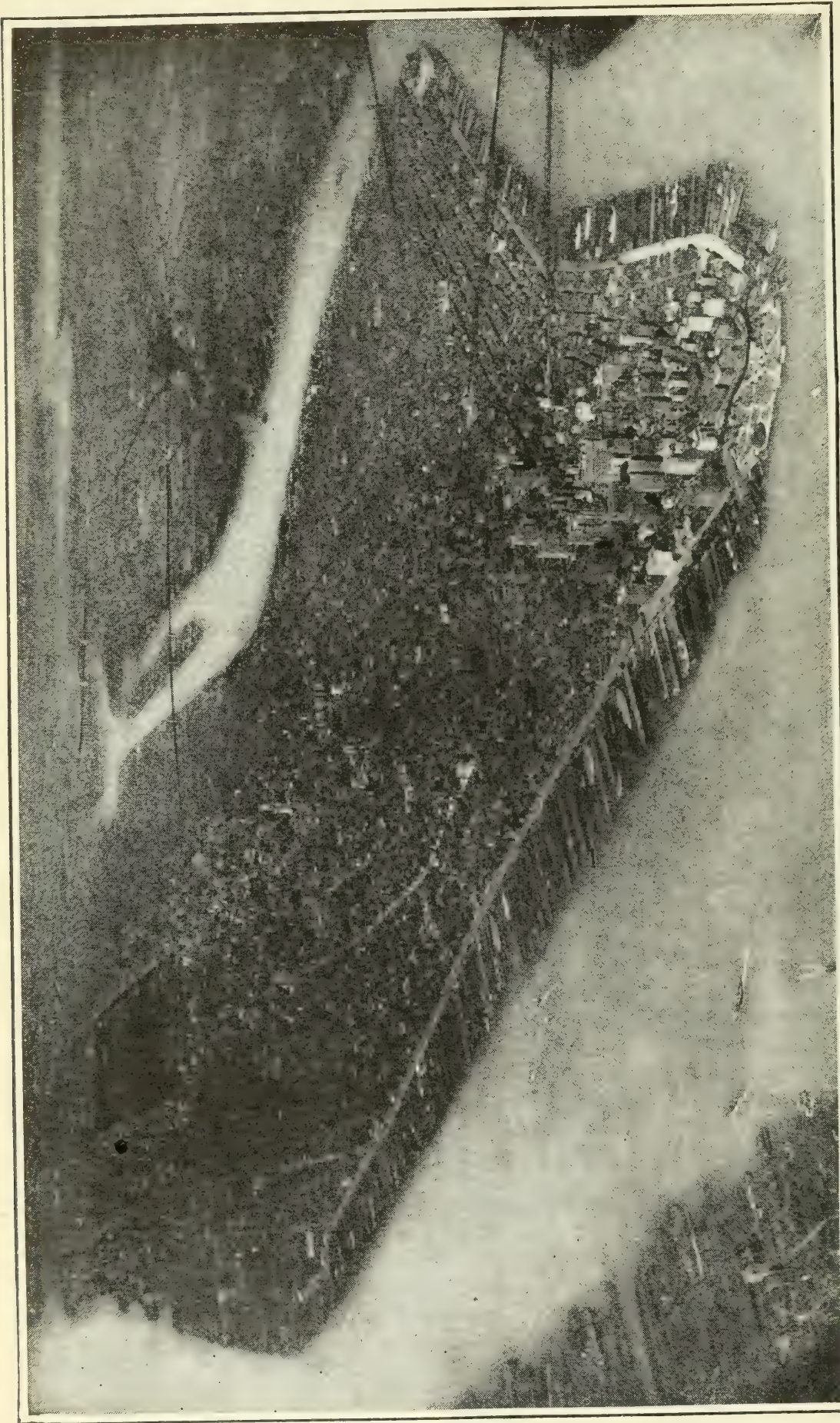
BY HERBERT T. WADE

AT the port of New York, situated as it is at the mouth of the Hudson River and connecting with Long Island Sound by the East River, with the Island of Manhattan between, has grown up one of the world's largest and most important commercial centers. This insular location, with broad bodies of navigable water on either side, has brought its own problems. With an ever-growing population and the great increase and development in commerce coming to the city and port—and especially to the Island of Manhattan—there exists today a serious lack of facilities for the prompt, efficient, and economical handling of freight and passengers across the intervening bodies of water to the west and south, whence is derived the bulk of the inland freight entering the port zone.

In a large sense, though differing in degree and nature, this condition also holds for other important American maritime cities,

and a general survey would show that the discussion of engineering projects for tunnels and bridges to cross navigable bodies of water is not confined to New York.

Philadelphia has its somewhat similar problem in a crossing to Camden, which the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey are seeking to solve, and only as recently as June 23 a commission approved the design and location of a highway suspension bridge across the Delaware River, 135 feet above mean high water and with a span of 1750 feet, the estimated cost being \$29,000,000. At Detroit, in addition to the tunnel, plans have been under consideration for the construction across the Detroit River of a bridge adequate for rail as well as motor and other traffic. San Francisco also has under consideration various bridge and tunnel schemes to cross the bay, while other cities could be named where engineers have thought of or suggested similar projects.



© Fairchild Aerial Camera Corporation, New York

MANHATTAN ISLAND—THE PRINCIPAL SECTION OF NEW YORK CITY—FROM AN AIRPLANE

(Those who have visited the metropolis, as well as New Yorkers themselves, will be interested in studying this remarkable picture. The Hudson River lies at the left and the East River at the right. The existing bridges, in the order named, and beginning at the lower right of the picture, are: the Brooklyn Bridge [1883], the Manhattan Bridge [1909], the Williamsburg Bridge [1903], the Queensboro Bridge across Blackwell's Island [1909], and the Hell Gate railroad bridge [1917] in the distance. The "skyscrapers" of the financial district may be seen at the lower end of Manhattan Island, and equally discernible is Central Park, five miles to the north. At the extreme left of the picture is the Jersey shore, while at the right are Brooklyn and Long Island City.)

But with special reference to New York, it must be recognized that the problem is unique, for of the twelve great railway systems by which that port is served, only three

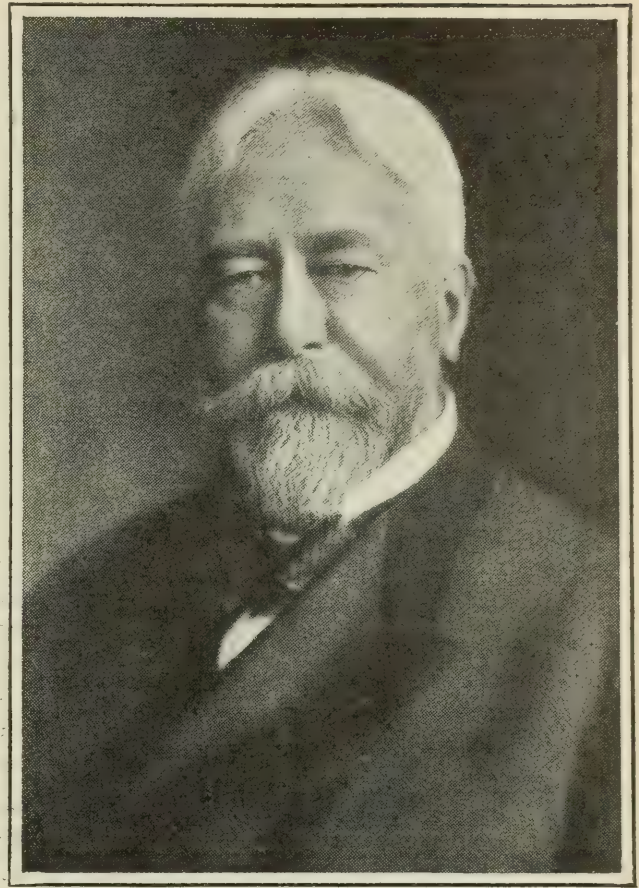
have direct access for freight to Manhattan, where are located many of the docks for ocean shipping as well as important industrial plants, warehouses, and storage build-

ings. For the nine railway systems terminating on the New Jersey shore, loaded cars or their freight must be transferred by water to or from Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, or the Bronx, or to shipping at piers in these boroughs. Fuel, food, and other necessities cannot be brought direct to Manhattan save from the north and east, but must undergo a costly and time-consuming transshipment and handling. Likewise, passengers, except those by the Pennsylvania, are forced to transfer to ferries or special tunnels to reach their destination, while suburban traffic, speaking broadly, begins and ends on the New Jersey shore.

The first step, of course, in the way of improvement is to obtain direct access to New York by either tunnel or bridge for freight as well as passengers, and important as this is, it is but an element in the larger question of port development and efficient freight-handling and distribution.

A Bridge the Solution

To meet this terminal difficulty as well as provide direct access to New Jersey, there has been developed a comprehensive plan which includes the longest span and greatest load-carrying bridge ever designed, or it truthfully may be said ever contemplated. This design, the work of Gustav Lindenthal, one of the greatest of American bridge engineers, involves a stupendous suspension bridge, which not only will afford ample transpor-



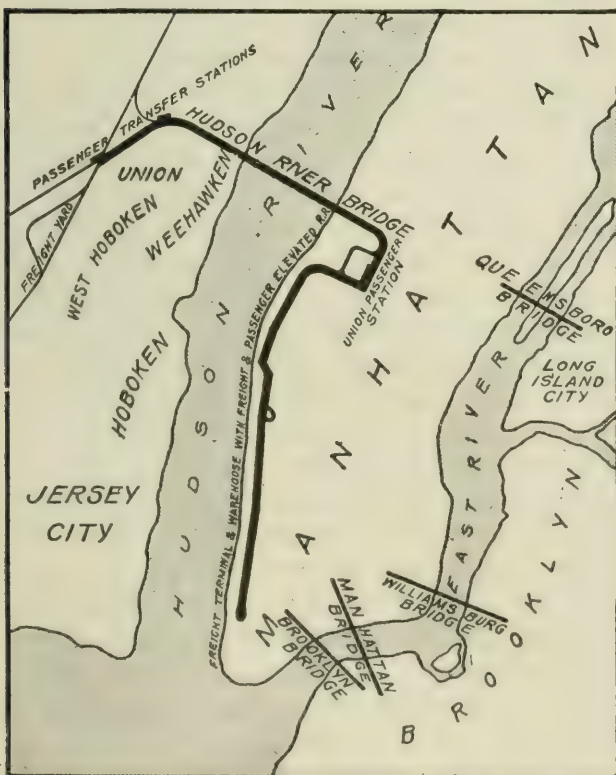
MR. GUSTAV LINDENTHAL, OF NEW YORK
(Who designed the proposed bridge across the Hudson)

tation facilities, but will so concentrate them as to make possible a logical and adequate solution of the New York terminal problem.

Mr. Lindenthal has for many years been active in bridge designing and building throughout the United States, and especially in and about New York, having served as Commissioner of Bridges for that city. He was professionally interested in both the Manhattan and the Williamsburg bridges, and he designed the Queensboro cantilever bridge and also the steel arch railway bridge over Hell Gate. He served in an advisory capacity in connection with the Quebec and other large American bridges. His designs always have proved serviceable and strong, and his advice invariably has been sound, so it was not strange that the railways and others interested in a Hudson River bridge should have early turned to him, especially as for some thirty years he has had the idea under consideration.

Suspension Type Selected

The result was the design of the wonderful Hudson River bridge here illustrated, which to-day stands unrivalled as an engineering conception of extraordinary boldness and dimensions. The progress of bridge



MANHATTAN ISLAND AND ITS BRIDGES

design, construction and erection, the development of stronger materials and more massive foundations, have been such that it is now possible for a responsible engineer to present an acceptable and practicable design where at a single bound the 1000-foot steel arch span at Hell Gate, the 1800-foot cantilever span at Quebec, and the 1600-foot suspension span of the Williamsburg suspension bridge are stretched out to 3240 feet of suspension span, with a live load capacity in excess of what not so long ago would have seemed possible.

In view of location and the various requirements the suspension type of bridge seemed the one best suited to conditions, and the resulting plans have already undergone the most careful scrutiny and approval from professional critics of high engineering reputation. Notwithstanding the immensity of the structure projected and its extraordinary dimensions, the design is regarded in every way as feasible; and, large as is the structure, there exist in the United States adequate manufacturing facilities for turning out promptly the qualities and quantities of steel involved.

Design of the Bridge

The present approved designs provide for a suspension bridge, 6540 feet anchorage to anchorage, having a river span of 3240 feet and 155 feet at the center above mean high water and approach spans on either side of 1650 feet. This great length and the capacity sought—for it is obvious that the great expense involved in building such a bridge is only justified if adequate and revenue-bringing capacity is secured—introduce important engineering questions. The floorway must be ample, and there must be adequate lateral stiffness and vertical rigidity as well as strength in the supporting members. To obtain the desired capacity the floorway, which is 160 feet wide between the points of suspension and 235 feet overall, will be built with two decks. The upper deck will have a width of roadway of 155 feet, or two and a half times that of such a city street as Fifth Avenue in New York City, and two outside roadways for trolley cars and buses, permitting eighteen lines of vehicular traffic, two rapid-transit tracks and two fifteen-foot promenades. The lower deck will carry twelve standard-gauge railway tracks and conduits for cables and pipe lines.

In this design the dead weight of the bridge, 350,000 tons, is so great and the strength secured so ample that the live load,

that is, the traffic, while of importance and estimated at the not inconsiderable maximum of 150,000 tons, is of far less importance than in smaller structures.

The Cables

To those familiar with such suspension bridges as the Brooklyn Bridge, with its wire cables and 1595-foot span, the Williamsburg Bridge of 1600 feet, and the Manhattan Bridge of 1470 feet, the fundamental conditions here will appear very different, and in dealing with the greater dimensions and capacity involved, a different solution has been reached. In the Hudson River Bridge there are a pair of suspension trusses or inverted arches spaced 160 feet apart center to center, each truss consisting of two cables from 60 to 80 feet apart vertically, with vertical panels and diagonal bracing between to supply the stiffening under passing loads. From the two suspension trusses vertical eyebar chains are suspended and carry the double-deck floorway. Each of the four cables consists of three chains whose links are enormous eyebars, or steel bars with a hole or eye at either end through which connecting pins of steel pass. Each chain is composed of from twenty to thirty of such eyebars, each from 60 to 70 feet in length and 16 inches wide, arranged side by side and all pin-connected to form a continuous length. Each chord is made up of three chains or banks of eyebars, eighty in all, so that the weight of the suspended floorway is carried by twelve chains.

On the proper strength, functioning, and permanence of the chains depends the integrity of the bridge. Each eyebar is separated several inches from the adjacent bar, so that it can be inspected at any and all times. Each cable is enclosed in a covering or gallery of bronze for protection and to permit of inspection, so that once the eyebars are painted they will be well protected from the elements. The chord thus assembled is eleven feet in thickness, as compared with fifteen inches for the wire cable of the Brooklyn Bridge, and with the enclosing covering is fifteen feet in external diameter. This little matter of protection figures in maintenance economy and is indeed vital, for it is expected to reduce the cost of painting, which if the entire surface of the steel structure were exposed might easily amount to \$500,000 annually. As it is, only about 15 per cent. of the structure is exposed to the weather, and the charge for painting will thus be reduced to a minimum.

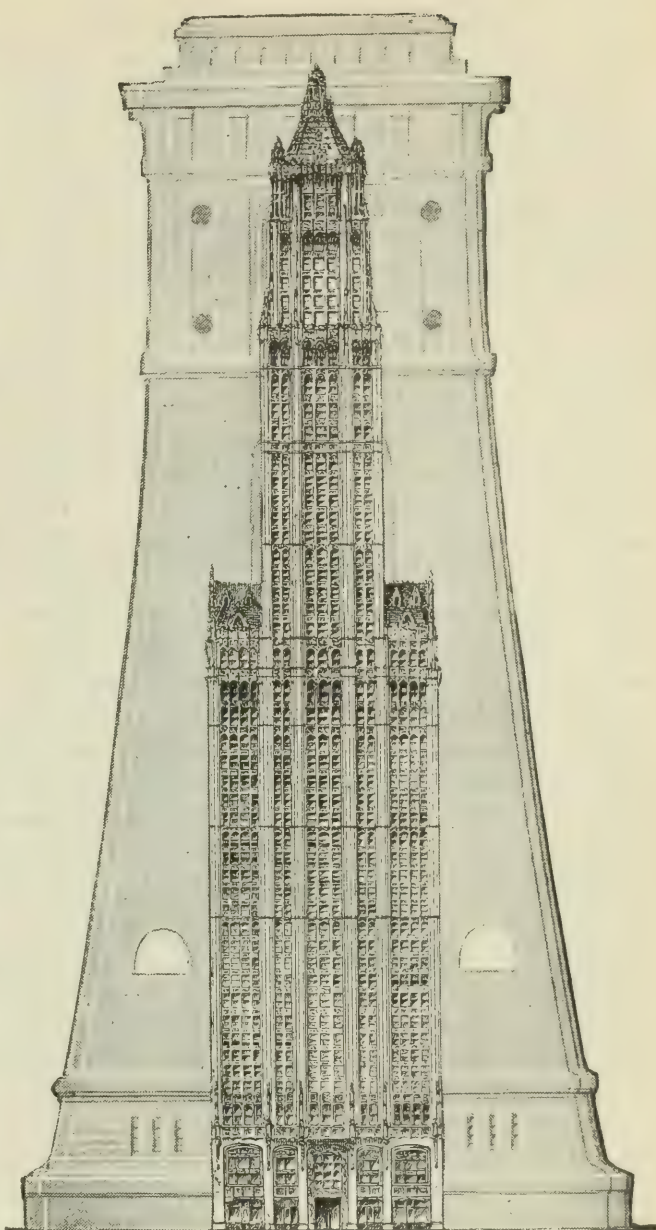
It will be realized that much of the increased length of span and capacity secured by the modern bridge designer is only possible from the efforts of the metallurgist, for with increased strength of the steel the engineer is able to keep down weights of the various parts. While the development of steel of great tensile strength is not as important in its novelty as it was a decade or more ago, yet it is a most serious matter. The steel for the Hudson Bridge eyebars will have a tensile strength about twice that of ordinary steel, but it will not run higher than that of the best alloy steels used to-day in construction.

The floor system, suspended from the trusses, to which reference has been made, is somewhat unique in bridge design. It consists of a series of great transverse plate girders spaced sixty feet apart and carried by the eyebar suspenders. Each floor beam is 225 feet long by 34 feet deep, stiffened and connected to the adjoining floor beams by heavy plate girders or stringers. The floor beams are pierced to make the spaces for the twelve tracks, while on them is laid the upper deck of steel plates covered with concrete. Here, as elsewhere, every effort is made to secure ample waterproofing and weatherproofing for the steel work. This matter is regarded as supremely important.

The Towers

The towers which support the chords are as important architecturally as they are structurally. Their height depends upon the length of the span and the nature of the truss, or rather the sag or catenary which conditions of weight and load impose. They will rise to a height of 825 feet above high water level, and their bases will be 200 by 400 feet in plan, tapering to 100 feet in length by 200 feet in breadth at the summit. The foundations will go down to rock, at a distance of 165 feet below the water level, which is by no means a record depth for foundation work.

The towers will rise from a masonry foundation and will be of steel, each aggregating 35,000 tons in weight, but for protection and architectural appearance the metal structure is enclosed in light gray granite as shown in our illustration. The upper roadway will pass through the towers by three arched openings at a distance of 170 feet above the ground, the center portal being 155 feet in width and rising to a height of 100 feet, while on either side there will be openings each 30 feet in width. The



From the *Scientific American*

ONE OF THE TWO TOWERS WHICH WILL SUPPORT THE BRIDGE—825 FEET HIGH—COMPARED WITH THE FAMOUS WOOLWORTH BUILDING

interior of the towers will be lighted by ornamental windows filled with wire-glass.

The Anchorages

Of equal importance with the towers are the massive anchorages, whose function is to resist the horizontal pull of the chords. This strain in the Hudson River Bridge has been computed at about 260,000 tons and is to be taken up by a huge block of masonry 400 feet long in the axis of the bridge, 355 feet wide, and 240 feet in height from the street. This structure, through the center of which the traffic will pass, has been treated architecturally with as much care as the towers, and it will form the base for a large office building, 250 feet wide, 325 feet long, and 280 feet high, or rising to a total height of about 500 feet.

The Manhattan Terminal Facilities

The Hudson River Bridge presents a full and comprehensive solution of the problem of transferring passengers and freight efficiently from New Jersey to New York. Over the twelve standard-gauge railway tracks of the new bridge will be brought through trains from all the New Jersey lines to a union station in New York City. Furthermore, freight cars will be brought across the bridge from large freight classification yards in New Jersey, where freight from all lines would be classified as regards its destination and then consolidated for distribution to its proper destination. This would be accomplished by switching freight trains from the bridge to a double-deck elevated system on the west side of Manhattan with a loop at Cortlandt Street and suitable switches to distributing points along the route. Such distributing points might be freight stations, warehouses, storage buildings, or industrial plants, which would be in or adjacent to a strip 200 feet wide extending over private right of way from the bridge approach south to Cortlandt Street. In addition a marginal elevated structure with five tracks available for through passenger, suburban, and freight service, with intensive use of its tracks by both freight and passenger trains at their respective rush hours, is proposed along West Street, which fortunately would not be the same. Surmounting the freight tracks proper there would be a continuous line of buildings, which, above the first and second floors, devoted to tracks, switches and elevators, could provide ample warehouse and storage or manufacturing facilities, where elevators could carry cars or freight to any particular floor. From the tracks connections could be made directly to the piers on the west or river front, and to other warehouses or distributing centers to the east in the great West Side district. Distribution points strategically located would reduce trucking to a minimum.

Railway Economics

Great as all these conveniences will prove to the commercial interests of New York through increased economy and diminished delay and other troubles incident to transshipment and handling, the most substantial benefits will accrue to the railways, which utilizing facilities thus provided, at a far lower cost can deliver their freight direct to destination without breaking bulk. It has been said with authority that the terminal

charge involved in the delivery of freight entering the Metropolitan zone is greater than the cost of transporting it from Buffalo to Jersey City, or in other words to move freight from New Jersey yards to New York costs more than to haul it by rail over 500 miles.

Naturally, therefore, the various railways restricted in capital and with large operating costs have expressed themselves as only too glad to embrace any means or opportunity for cutting down this great terminal expense.

Estimated Cost of the Project

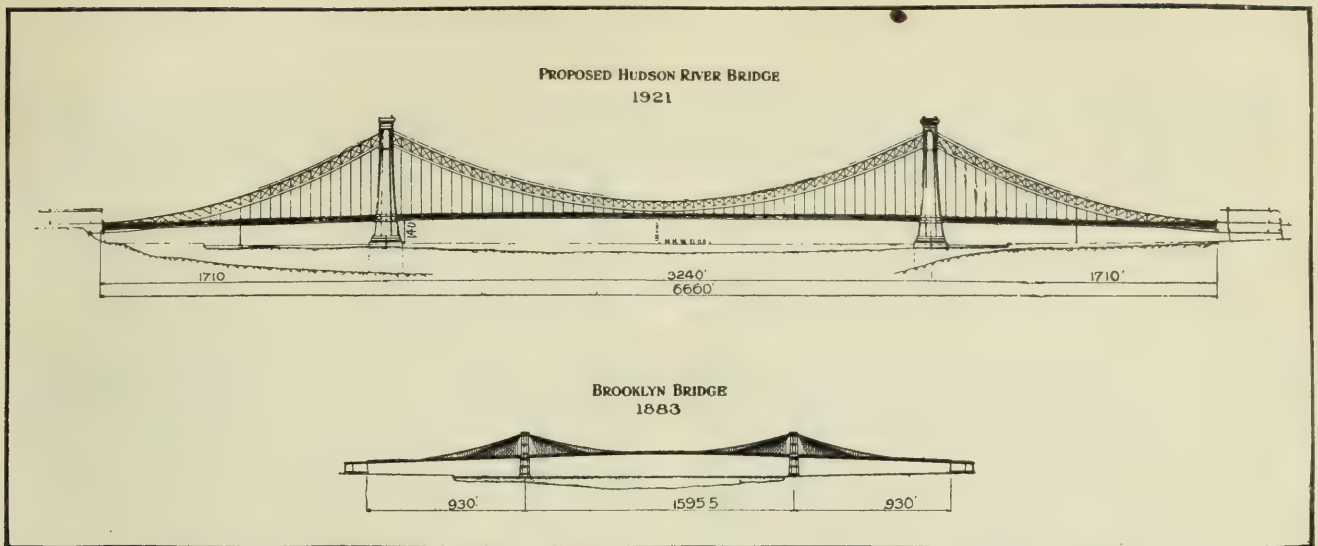
A very natural question is what would be the probable outlay involved in such an enormous enterprise comparable as it is with the Panama Canal, yet the very immensity of which even in this Twentieth Century taxes the imagination. The estimated cost of the bridge proper has been placed at \$100,000,000, with a tentative estimate of \$115,000,000 additional for the terminal facilities on both sides of the river. In the latter are included a freight and classification yard in New Jersey to cost \$25,000,000, the union passenger station in New York to cost \$30,000,000, the double-deck electric elevated railway along the west side of New York on private right of way, to cost also \$30,000,000, and general outlay for electrification and equipment amounting to \$30,000,000. This would make a total estimated cost for the entire work of \$215,000,000. This money will be raised by one or more private corporations, not by the State or Federal Governments.

Probable Use and Revenue

The new Hudson River Bridge as designed will have a daily capacity of a million passengers, and will provide for 40,000 tons of freight per hour by rail and motor truck. In fact, from the traffic available in the first year of operation a gross revenue from passengers, vehicles and railroad freight has been estimated at \$45,000,000, which in ten years should grow to over \$60,000,000 per annum. For it must be remembered that never have increased traffic facilities been provided for New York but they were not instantly utilized to capacity and usually have been found inadequate almost as soon as completed.

A Bridge as Compared with a Tunnel System

It is inevitable that such a bridge should be compared with a tunnel or tunnel sys-



A SIDE VIEW OF THE HUDSON RIVER BRIDGE COMPARED WITH THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE

(The span of the new structure will be 3240 feet, almost twice the length of the Brooklyn span. From one anchorage to the other the new bridge will measure 6660 feet, or nearly a mile and a quarter)

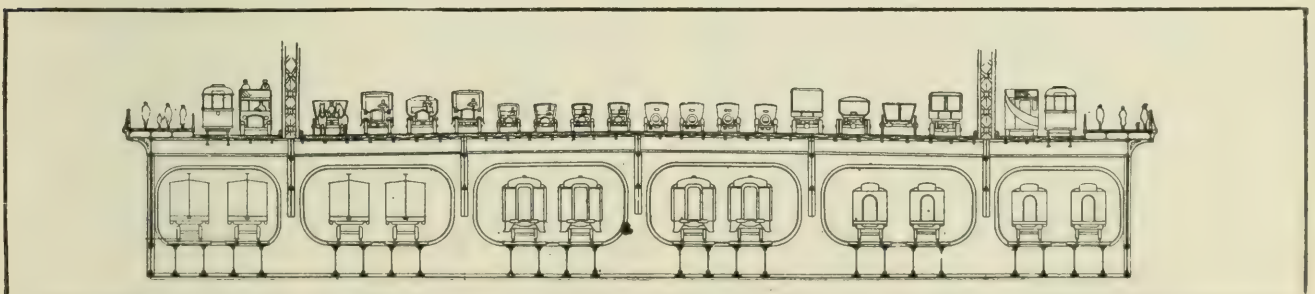
tems. The bridge as planned would have the same capacity as eighteen tunnels, and taking the estimates for the Canal Street vehicular tunnel now under construction, of \$15,000,000, it would appear that twice the capacity can be attained at the cost of nine tunnels. Furthermore, there would be no complicated and expensive ventilating apparatus to maintain, or danger of a complete shutdown on account of a minor accident, while the bridge could be constructed in less time than would be required for a group of tunnels of the same or less capacity.

Naturally the terminal facilities would be independent of whether a bridge or tunnel was built, with the important exception, however, that a tunnel system would divide the traffic, while a bridge would con-

centrate it and enable the entire question to be solved on the largest possible lines on both sides of the river in harmony with the modern engineering doctrine of the concentration of effort.

The chief advantages claimed for the bridge over a tunnel system are as follows:

1. Carload delivery of freight without breaking bulk to steamers' side, or to warehouse, storage, or delivery at or near the center of the city.
2. Express trains to Union Passenger Station in Manhattan.
3. Suburban passengers taken direct to Manhattan.
4. Motor truck traffic direct from New Jersey to New York, an amount estimated at 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 motor vehicles per annum, in which would be included a daily freight capacity by motor truck of 200,000 tons as compared with 50,000 tons for a twin tube tunnel with two vehicle tracks in each tube.



CROSS-SECTION OF THE PROPOSED HUDSON RIVER BRIDGE, AT THE CENTER OF THE SPAN

(The central roadway, between the suspension cables, will be 155 feet wide, capable of accommodating sixteen lines of vehicular traffic. At each side, also, there will be room for trolley, bus, and pedestrians. Below that roadway will be provision for twelve railroad tracks for passenger and freight trains. The extreme width of the bridge at the center of the span is 235 feet. In contrast, it may be mentioned that the Brooklyn Bridge accommodates only two rapid-transit railroad tracks, two trolley tracks, two lines of vehicles, and one roadway for pedestrians)

WHY HAVE PRICES DROPPED?

BY BENJAMIN M. ANDERSON, JR., PH.D.

(Economist of the Chase National Bank of New York)

THE outbreak of war in 1914 found industry in the United States in a slack condition, and the crisis which the war precipitated led to an acute business stagnation. In the fall of 1914 and the spring of 1915 there came a great increase in demand from Europe for goods imperatively needed for the conduct of the war, and the first effect was a marked quickening of American industry. Our output expanded rapidly, and war-time "prosperity" began. Throughout the whole of 1915, however, we met rather easily the drain upon our commodity markets which this European demand involved. We simply increased the output of existing plant and equipment and took on idle laborers. There was some shortening of supplies for domestic consumption in particular lines, but on the whole we bore the strain easily. It was not until the middle of 1916 that the increasing demands from Europe led us to approach the maximum utilization of our productive resources. The average of commodity prices increased only 5 per cent. in 1915 over 1914. By the middle of 1916 commodity prices at wholesale had risen about 16 per cent. over pre-war prices. Beginning with the middle of 1916 every additional shipment of goods to Europe began to mean an almost proportional reduction in goods available for domestic consumption. Europe was obliged to bid higher and higher prices in order to draw the goods away from us, while we, on the other hand, bid higher and higher prices to retain them at home. The tension increased steadily. Between the middle of 1916 and the middle of 1917 prices rose from about 116 per cent. of pre-war prices to 185 per cent. of pre-war prices, the sharpest increase of the whole war period.

With the entrance of the United States into the war, with the organization of buying by the allied governments under the sanction of our own Government, with price-fixing and large voluntary and involuntary economies on the part of the people of the United States, the rate of price increase was

slowed down very greatly. One important index number shows an actual decline of commodity prices from July of 1917 to December of 1917 of something like 2 per cent. Prices were held lower during the period of the war than unchecked economic forces would ordinarily have brought about. There was a further increase in the middle of 1918, very definitely connected with the increase in freight rates which came in the middle of that summer. The peak of war-time prices preceding the armistice was about 206 per cent. of 1913 prices.

The Rubber Band Snaps

We may symbolize the relations between Europe and the United States from the outbreak of the war to the present as they have affected prices by the following figure:

Imagine a rubber band, one end held by the United States and the other held by Europe. Let the tension in the elastic represent prices. The rubber band is slack and the tension is slight in August of 1914. There is no heavy pull from either side of the water. With increasing European demand, however, the elastic band begins to stretch. But elasticity is high, and a good deal of stretching is possible without much increase in tension. The limits of elasticity are approached, however, by the middle of the summer of 1916; and from that time on every slight increase in the length of the band in the stretching process means an enormous increase in the tension, manifesting itself in rising prices. Finally—to anticipate a later part of our story—in 1920 Europe releases her end of the rubber band! The export balance was drastically cut, the tension was relaxed, and prices dropped violently.

Obviously, it is impossible in a simple figure to tell the whole story. There are many complications and many vital elements left out. But the figure of the elastic rubber band, first stretched to the limit and then suddenly released, gives the basic outline of the story of American prices during the past seven years.

Wholesale Prices Forestall Events

Of course the gigantic activity of the American Government during the war, withdrawing four or five million men from peacetime pursuits to war activities and absorbing the activity of many more millions in supplying goods for war-time use, contributed very greatly to the rise in prices. It is significant that the period of the actual participation of the American Government in these war-time activities was not a period of rapidly rising prices. The heavy spending program of the Government, and the heavy mobilization of Army, Navy, and industry, were not well under way until about the middle of the summer of 1917, by which time prices had risen to about 185 per cent. of pre-war prices; and when the war ended in November of 1918 prices had risen only moderately above this to 206 per cent. of pre-war prices. But in anticipation of these war-time activities of the American Government there came an exceedingly rapid speculative rise in prices. The rise from March of 1917 (when prices stood at 160 per cent. of pre-war levels) to June of 1917 (when prices stood at 185 per cent. of pre-war levels) was the sharpest increase in a short space of time during the whole war period. It is to be attributed to our own Government's war activities, even though it preceded them. Wholesale prices usually forecast impending events, rather than wait for them to happen.

When Forecasters Fail

At the time of the armistice there was a very general expectation that we should have a drastic fall of commodity prices. The reasoning was simple. It was expected that Europe would turn from conditions of war to conditions of peace. It was expected that the many millions of men in the armies would return to industry, and that the wasteful blowing up on the battlefields of the products of the industry of many millions of men would cease. The destruction of shipping by submarines was at an end. Europe, which had been drawing its food and sustenance in so large a measure from the outside world on credit through the period of the war, would become self-supporting once more. There would be an immense increase throughout the world in goods available for civilian consumption, and with the great increase in supplies in the markets prices would break drastically.

The present writer shared this belief, and

in a booklet issued at the time, "When Prices Drop," gave expression to it. The reasoning involved was sound. The premises on which the reasoning rested turned out to be misapprehensions.

In the period immediately following the armistice there was a sharp decline in commodity prices in the United States. On Bradstreet's "index number" of wholesale prices, average prices declined about 10 per cent. On Dun's, average prices declined something like 8 per cent. It is to be noted that a decline of 8 per cent. or 10 per cent. from the war-time levels would cancel an advance of 16 per cent. to 20 per cent. measured upward from pre-war levels. Ten per cent. of 206 is something more than 20 per cent. of 100. But this decline, though substantial, in no way equaled the expectation of those who predicted a drastic fall in commodity prices following the armistice.

The "Quantity Theory"

Why were expectations of a price decline following the armistice disappointed? There was one school of thought which maintained that prices could not fall from their war-time levels because of the immense increase in the volume of money and bank credit in the United States. This school maintained that we were on a permanently higher price-level and that prices would remain at approximately war-time levels. Taking this doctrine as a starting point, one of the leading organizations concerned with business forecasting suggested that price variations in the future might be as much as 5 per cent. or 6 per cent. above or 5 per cent. or 6 per cent. below this war-time level as normal business cycles in the future developed. In the period that has followed this prediction, Bradstreet's average of wholesale prices rose something like 15 per cent. and then dropped something like 49 per cent!

Whatever the reasons for the continued high prices of 1919 and 1920, it is certain that they were not the reasons alleged by this Quantity Theory School of Thought. Prices did not stay up merely because there was an immense volume of money and bank credit afloat. During the period of drastic decline in prices, which began early in 1920, the volume of money and bank credit combined continued to increase steadily, the peak of bank expansion being reached apparently in October of 1920, at which time prices had fallen very drastically indeed from their high point of earlier in the year.

As a general proposition, under conditions of sound banking and sound money, when the gold standard is maintained and when bank loans are based on sound credits, the volume of money and bank credit afloat in the country is much more the effect than it is the cause of prices. The volume of elastic bank notes and bank deposits expands with rising prices and active business, and declines as prices fall and as business activity diminishes.

Confusing Cause and Effect

Thus, with the moderate price decline which followed the armistice, there came pouring into the great banks of New York an enormous volume of small currency, one-dollar, two-dollar, and five-dollar bills, and bills of larger denomination. Payrolls over the country were falling off, hand-to-hand cash was less needed and piled up in country banks, and country banks sent it in to their New York correspondents because they could get interest for it there. The New York banks, and banks generally throughout the country, promptly turned over superfluous cash to the Federal Reserve Banks and used the proceeds to pay off their rediscounts. Liquidation moved rapidly. The volume of Federal Reserve Notes declined something like 10 per cent. in a three-weeks' period. A liquidation process started which would have gone far had it not been checked and reversed by a continuance of the abnormal conditions of the war and the introduction of new abnormalities.

New borrowing for purposes of non-productive expenditure will raise prices, and does raise prices. But the mere existence of a large volume of bank credit, growing out of old borrowing for unproductive purposes, will not sustain prices when that unproductive expenditure ceases, and when new borrowing to continue it ceases.

Irredeemable paper money in Europe is responsible for much of the price disturbance there, but our sound gold dollars in the United States are not the cause of our price troubles.

Real Causes of the Post-War Boom

The real causes of the rising prices and the wild boom which started in April and May of 1919 are not to be found primarily in the field of American banking policy. American banks could have done more than they did to mitigate the boom. Higher rediscount rates at the Federal Reserve Banks

following May of 1919 would have helped. But a dangerous boom and rapidly rising prices we should have had in any case.

The fundamental explanation is to be found in four main factors:

(1) Europe did not go back to work. Europe did not cease to draw her current living from the outside world. On the contrary, Europe increased enormously her purchases from the outside world, and especially from the United States, as the submarine menace was removed and greater shipping facilities became available. I shall elaborate this point below.

(2) The American Government did not cease its gigantic expenditures. Since the armistice our Government has spent practically as much money as it spent during the war itself. In the first three or four months following the armistice the Government spent something like two billion dollars a month—an amount each month equal to the First Liberty Loan. Government shipbuilding after the armistice, diverting labor and resources from necessary production, continued on a gigantic scale and shortened productive resources for other purposes.

(3) The return of four million soldiers and sailors to peace time pursuits did not lead to an increase in physical volume of production in the United States. On the contrary we produced less in physical units (bushels, yards, tons, and the like) in 1919 than we did in 1918, while the war itself was going on. My own computations would place the decline in physical production for 1919 as compared with 1918 at something over 7 per cent. Professor E. E. Day's figures show a decline of something like 5.5 per cent. Professor Walter Stewart would place the decline at something like 4 per cent. Whatever the figure, it is clear that there was a decline at the very time when an increase would be expected, as approximately four millions of vigorous young men returned from war to activities of peace.

(4) Economical to an unexpected degree during the war, our people became extravagant to an unexpected degree following the armistice, and particularly so after our post-war boom developed.

The combination of these four factors (a) increased export drain; (b) continued Government consumption; (c) diminished domestic production; and (d) increased domestic civilian consumption, led to a progressive shortening of supplies in our domestic markets during 1919, so that shortages

of goods for ordinary civilian consumption were actually greater in 1919 than they were in 1918. Add to this, speculative withholding of goods from the markets in anticipation of still higher prices, and the rapidly rising prices of 1919 and early 1920 are fully explained.

The World's Hand-to-Mouth Habit

In normal times the world lives from hand to mouth. Britain had on hand normally before the war something like a six weeks' food supply. With all our accumulation of wealth, we are never far removed from famine or from shortages of consumption goods. The stored-up wealth of the world—railroads and bridges, buildings, factories, machinery, farm improvements, household furnishings, museums and art galleries, and the like—is not available for direct consumption; and with the stoppage of the current flow of goods from farms and factories, fisheries, and mines, the world is speedily placed on short rations. It is probable that in ordinary times before the war, the United States, the richest country in the whole world, did not have on hand more than a three months' supply of goods ready for current consumption, and that the cessation of industry for three months (quite apart from the financial disturbances involved) would bring us to direst famine and want. The tremendous waste of a great war, therefore, with fifty million men in the armies and many more men behind the lines withdrawn from normal production, with shipping interrupted and demoralized, makes enormous inroads into the slender current stocks and raises their values enormously. On the other hand, a sudden decline in consumption, with continued production, will cause the reservoirs to fill up quickly: and precisely this thing began to happen early in 1920—in the case of some commodities in the latter part of 1919, so far as the United States are concerned.

It is difficult to compress a complicated story into a short article. The writer would refer to his article, "The Return to Normal," in the *Chase Economic Bulletin*¹ of February 28, 1921, for a more detailed analysis of the factors involved. For the rest, it will suffice to analyze more intensively our export and import relations with Europe and with the world as a whole in the period which followed the armistice. Our average export

balance for the ten months preceding the armistice was \$248,000,000 a month. In January of 1919 this rose to \$409,000,000. This figure, be it noted, is not the figure for our exports, but rather for our export *balance*, the excess of our exports over our imports. The figure rose to \$442,000,000 in April of 1919 and to \$625,000,000 in June of 1919. Our exports in the single month of June amounted to nearly a billion dollars, and the export balance to \$625,000,000.

Four Billions Owed Us by Europeans

In the period following the armistice to the middle of May, 1919, our export balance to Europe was financed by advances from the United States Government to the Governments of our Allies. Advances for this purpose practically ceased in May; and those of us who were watching the situation most closely anticipated at that time that there would speedily come a collapse in the European exchange rates which would check European buying, throw back on our domestic markets some four hundred million dollars worth of goods a month which they had not been absorbing, and speedily break prices in the domestic markets. Exchange rates did break toward the end of June, 1919, pretty sharply. But to our bewilderment the terrific volume of exports went on. In December of 1919 we began to understand this. When the United States Government withdrew its support from the Continental exchanges, London interposed her vast strength to take up the burden. France, Italy, and other Continental countries, needing dollars to pay for purchases in the United States were able to obtain them in London, while London's credit, in turn, was so strong in the United States that London could borrow the dollars needed or obtain them in other ways from us.¹ Goods continued to go to Europe on a gigantic scale, and an enormous unfunded or floating debt of Europe to private creditors in the United States was created. I estimated this as of September 15, 1920, at three and one-half billion dollars (see *Chase Economic Bulletin*, Volume 1, Number 1, October 5, 1920). Taking into account the accumulated export balance reported by the Government since that date, and other factors on both sides of the balance sheet, it is probable that the unfunded debt

¹ This is an over-simple statement of what took place. A fuller analysis appears in the *Chase Economic Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1.

¹ Issued by the Chase National Bank of New York.

of Europe to private creditors in the United States at the present time is far in excess of four billion dollars. This, be it noted, is in addition to the debts due by the Allied Governments to the United States Government and is in addition to amounts due American investors who hold European bonds.

Obviously, the limit of such selling on credit had to be reached. The United States had been for six years in the position of a retail merchant in a factory town where everybody is on a strike. Such a merchant can do an enormous business at very high prices so long as he will sell on credit. But the time comes when his limit is reached, when his working capital is tied up in credits extended to his customers, and when he prefers to sell for cash even at greatly reduced prices. We reached this point in the latter part of 1920. (The published figures for our exports and imports show an enormous export balance extending into the earlier months of 1921, but Mr. Hoover has made it clear that this was due chiefly to the failure of the overworked clerks of the Custom House to enter the export and import figures on time. The abundance of idle shipping of November and December of 1920, and the sharp decline in banking transactions connected with exports, made it clear that the export balance had largely disappeared before the end of 1920.)

Europe No Longer the Center

The analysis of our export and import figures in gross, however, does not complete the picture. Most significant of all is the fact that our exports consisted chiefly of foods and finished manufactures ready for consumption, whereas before the war they had included a much higher percentage of raw materials. Our imports, on the other hand, included a much higher percentage of raw materials than before the war, and a much lower percentage of finished manufactures. The significance of this is that Europe had ceased to be the great manufacturing center of the world, and consequently had ceased to be the world's great market for raw materials. Economic revival in Europe has been more pronounced in agriculture than in any other direction, and in 1920 Europe drew much less in the way of foods from us than she had done in 1919. She increased her purchases, however, of finished manufactures. Meanwhile there came pouring in upon us from the non-European world in the latter part of 1919 and through the

first eight months of 1920 an unprecedented volume of raw materials. Our manufacturing capacity, greatly expanded though it had been by the war, was inadequate to absorb this immense volume of raw materials, and manufacturing costs, in the condition of overstrain, increased so rapidly that the prices of finished manufactures rose dramatically high. Raw materials and foods, overcrowding the markets, broke violently in price. The buying power of the producers of food and raw materials throughout the world, consequently was cut heavily. As a consequence, the producers of foods and raw materials throughout the world were unable to absorb at prevailing prices even the comparatively scant manufacturing output of the world. Then the prices of manufactures broke, and a general business crisis came.

Industrial Equilibrium the Only Cure

The fundamental difficulty, then, is a disturbance of the industrial equilibrium of the world. Things go smoothly in economic life when goods are produced in right proportions. The trouble is neither overproduction nor underconsumption, but rather maladjustment in production due to the great underproduction in Europe. Europe's withdrawal from her normal place as the world's manufacturing center has broken the world's economic equilibrium. The restoration of Europe's productive activity is the most pressing problem that the world has to face, not merely for Europe's sake but for the sake of producers and consumers throughout the length and breadth of the earth.

Meanwhile, in the United States, we are completing a price readjustment which will make possible, not really good business, but still much better business than we now have. Really good business in the United States must await improvement in Europe. But much better business than we now have can come when we complete our price and cost readjustment. Finished manufactures have lagged behind raw materials in the price decline. They must go lower. Wages, retail prices, prices of building materials, railroad rates on bulky articles, and prices of steel and its products, are all in process of readjustment, and readjustment in many cases must go much further. It is not improbable that certain raw materials will rise above present levels as we reach equilibrium. Business revival, however, is dependent upon the restoration in the United States of a price and cost equilibrium.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

"The information you give of orders having been issued by the British Government to increase its naval force on the lakes is confirmed by intelligence from that quarter of measures having been actually adopted for the purpose. It is evident, if each party augments its force there with a view to obtaining the ascendancy over the other, that vast expense will be incurred, and the danger of collision augmented in like degree. The President is sincerely desirous to prevent an evil which it is presumed is equally to be deprecated by both Governments. He therefore authorizes you to propose to the British Government such an arrangement respecting the naval force to be kept on the lakes by both Governments as will demonstrate their pacific policy and secure their peace. He is willing to confine it on each side to a certain moderate number of armed vessels and the smaller the number the more agreeable to him; or to abstain altogether from an armed force beyond that used for the revenue. You will bring this subject under the consideration of the British Government immediately after the receipt of this letter."

THESE words were written by James Monroe, then Secretary of State, in November, 1815, in a letter addressed to John Quincy Adams, who at that time was our Minister to England. The negotiations suggested in the letter were initiated by Adams and resulted in what became known as the Rush-Bagot Agreement, signed at Washington in April, 1817. This agreement provided that the naval forces thereafter to be maintained upon the Great Lakes by the two Governments should henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side:

On Lake Ontario to one Vessel not exceeding one hundred Tons burthen and armed with one eighteen pound cannon.

On the Upper Lakes to two Vessels not exceeding like burthen each and armed with like force.

On the waters of Lake Champlain to one Vessel not exceeding like burthen and armed with like force.

And his Royal Highness agrees, that all other armed Vessels on these Lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and that no other Vessels of War shall be there built or armed.

For more than a century both Governments have adhered to the letter and spirit

of this statesmanlike treaty. It was probably the first significant instance in history of a limitation of armaments by international agreement. Only a few days before President Harding made known his plans for calling a conference of the Powers on the subject of armament this Rush-Bagot Agreement was cited by the *Scientific American* in a plea for Presidential action in the present juncture of affairs as regards naval construction by Great Britain, Japan and the United States. In commenting on what it termed "a noble Presidential precedent" the editor said:

You may search all the records of diplomacy as far back as diplomacy has existed and find no single act that displays broader wisdom or greater moral courage, or that has been more prolific of beneficial results. Judged as an act of statesmanship it has been pronounced the highest achievement of the English-speaking races. That this pacific move, made by the President of the United States immediately at the close of a bitterly-contested war, has been fruitful in the way that he suggested it would be, is proved by the fact that the two greatest powers of the world, the United States and the British Empire, have lived in peace for over 100 years, although their adjacent territories, for a sheer stretch of 4000 miles, have not a fort or a cannon or a soldier to guard their frontier on either side.

To-day, at the close of another great war, in which the two nations have fought, not against each other, but as stanch allies against a common foe, a similar overture has been made, this time by the government to which Secretary Monroe addressed his letter of 1815. The overture has come, it is true, not in the form of a diplomatic letter, but rather as an open declaration of attitude or policy made in Parliament by the British Premier.

VIEWS OF PUBLIC MEN

The current number of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia) contains several articles on the possibility of disarmament by international agreement. United States Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, in his appeal for the assembling of a world conference on disarmament, says:

The world's troubles would dissipate like the mist before the morning sun if it could only get rid of armies and navies maintained for international war, the expense of which appreciates constantly and alarmingly with the development of science. The horrors which characterized the last great war but feebly foreshadow those which will attend the next if in the Providence of God and the wilfulness of man there should be another world war. Despite all that was said of the inhumanity of the innovations made by Germany in her effort to conquer the world, every military nation accepts them as certain to be features of the next war. They are all building submarines to prey upon unarmed commercial vessels; they are all perfecting their so-called chemical warfare service; and they are all developing, with fiendish ingenuity, aerial torpedoes and other like devices that, loosening their load of explosives and deadly gases, will annihilate the civilian population of unfortified cities.

Representative John Jacob Rogers, of Massachusetts, while favoring the reduction of armaments, takes the ground that until agreement is reached by the principal nations of the world, our own navy should be second to none. As to land armaments, he says:

Any recommendations of such a conference, however broad its scope, will probably concern themselves with naval rather than with military curtailment. Theoretically, the two stand on the same footing and are substantially equal in importance. However, at this moment, at least, there is a vast practical difference. There are only five—it might even be said only three—great naval powers, but every nation in the world has in its degree, its land forces. Conditions in Europe are far from tranquil and we have no assurances of early improvement. France still wonders whether the menace of Germany may not be resumed. The new states in east central Europe apprehend almost daily an invasion from Russia. Whatever the basis for the fear and

whatever the theoretically sound solution may be, the practical fact remains that in the near future land armaments of the European countries will not be reduced. And, as I have sought to make clear, disarmament is a futile thing, and worse, unless accepted generally by the major powers everywhere.

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

In a special "American number" of the *London Times*, issued on July 4, Dr. Albert Shaw, writing on the foreign policy of the United States, said on the subject of naval competition:

It is earnestly desired in the United States that there should be security for the commerce of all nations without so heavy a naval burden as now rests upon a very few countries. The most profoundly important step that could be taken for permanent world peace would be achieved if the United States and the British Empire would adopt naval policies based upon an understanding as complete as that which has prevailed along the border-line between the United States and Canada for more than a hundred years.

Under the *Entente* between Great Britain and France, there was secured a joint naval policy that should now by all means be extended to include the United States, Italy and Japan. There should be an agreement looking to the abolition of naval warfare, and to the policing of the seas by one or another of several alternative plans for coöperation. Instead of a mere cheese-paring plan of limiting new warship construction, while maintaining relative naval strength, there should be a total abandonment of the principle of naval competition. The time has come for considering some plan for maritime security based upon coöperation and minimum naval budgets. The United States is pledged to some sort of an association of nations, for practical disarmament.

JAPAN'S ATTITUDE

Mr. F. A. McKenzie, writing in the current number of the *Asiatic Review* (London) on "The Imperial Aspects of the Far Eastern Problem," discusses political conditions in Japan with special reference to the strength of the Militarist group. He says:

The fact that even under a Liberal régime the Militarists really prevail is strikingly shown by the Japanese increase of military and naval expenditure. Japan to-day is spending 32 per cent. of her national income, 490,000,000 yen, on her Navy, and when the present naval program is complete, the extraordinary expenditure will come to 800,000,000 yen. Fifteen years ago, when Japan's fleet was strong enough to defeat Russia, the annual naval expenditure was under 48,000,000 yen. The increase of military expenditure is going along on the same lines as that of the Navy.

It is even said that this avowed naval expenditure does not cover all. Months ago detailed stories of the building of a secret submarine fleet in Japan were reported in England. To-day the same stories are being openly printed in Japan.



THE INVITATION—From the *World* (New York)

How far they are true, or if they are true at all, I have no means of knowing. But the very fact that tales such as these can be circulated illustrates the fevered atmosphere that prevails.

Japan, naturally a poor country despite her temporary accession of wealth because of the Great War, is arming to the teeth. History has shown that excessive expenditure on armaments inevitably leads in the end to war. It is to the interest of the world to devise a means by which the suspicions and uneasiness of Japan will be placated and her military campaigns moderated. Otherwise one of two things will happen: the Military party will bring about a war of conquest on the mainland of Asia, or the working classes, finding the burden of their taxation intolerable, will rise in revolt.

A Japanese writer, Yotaro Sugimura, contributes to the *Asian Review* (Tokio) an article on the problem of armament reduction in which he discusses practical difficulties in the way of such a plan, and even suggests that the reduction, when actually effected, cannot minimize occasions for war.

A nation may reduce its 10,000,000 soldiers to 500,000, and yet it need not hesitate on this account to war against others for a cause, if all the nations reduce their army at an equal rate. Such a possibility will be better appreciated when one remembers that Napoleon I swept Europe with only 300,000 soldiers.

BRITAIN'S NAVAL POLICY

As to what has been actually accomplished in furtherance of Great Britain's naval policy during the past two or three years, this summary is given by Archibald Hurd in the *Fortnightly Review* (London):

(1) No capital ship has been laid down for five years, and no cruiser, destroyer, or submarine since the armistice.

(2) When the armistice came, the contracts for 617 vessels, then in course of construction, were cancelled, and the material which had been prepared was destroyed in the cause of economy.

(3) Upwards of 200 obsolescent or obsolete ships of war of various types were disposed of.

(4) The number of officers and men, which stood at 151,000 in 1914, will by the end of the present financial year have been reduced to 121,700.

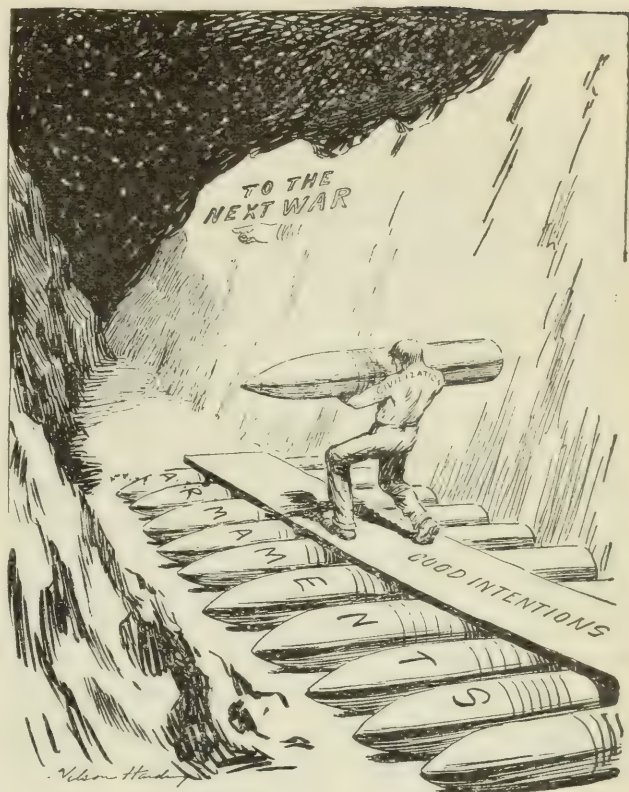
(5) Whereas in 1914 this country had thirty-eight capital ships in full commission, the number has now been reduced to sixteen.

(6) The squadron in South American waters has been withdrawn, and cruisers have been recalled from the North Atlantic and South African Squadrons.

(7) One of the destroyer flotillas of the Atlantic Fleet has been placed in reserve.

(8) Two of the Royal Dockyards—Pembroke and Haulbowline—are being closed; and, lastly—

(9) Eight more capital ships are now being disposed of, reducing the number from thirty-eight to thirty (the intention being to keep fourteen of the older ones in reserve), and only



TIRED OF PAVING THE WAY
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

four of the discarded vessels are to be replaced by new construction.

The problem of naval defense, as it presents itself to the United Kingdom and the Dominions at the present moment, is thus stated by Mr. Hurd:

The British Empire lives on and by the sea; its frontiers are sea frontiers; its lines of communication for commercial, industrial, and social purposes are maritime. Under normal conditions, which are those of peace, the highways of the British Empire are free from peril; but when war comes the command of the sea must be secured as the first essential to the salvation of the British peoples. In the conditions which now exist, with the Great War as the event of the past, the solution of the naval problem of the Empire has become a matter of more immediate concern to the people of the Dominions than to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, because the center of gravity has shifted from European waters to the Pacific. If all the navies of Europe were to combine against the British fleet, there is an assurance that it would triumph, so great is the margin of strength. So far as the people of the United Kingdom are concerned, the naval menace which confronted them at their doors for so many years has been laid; the pathway of the Atlantic, as well as the great imperial route eastward through the Suez Canal, suggests no dangers to them. The scale of their naval preparations, though relatively smaller than ever before, is more than adequate, if the responsibilities of Empire be ignored. As a result of the war, the fleets of the Continental powers have practically ceased to exist, and the only force of

the first class in the Western hemisphere is that under the white ensign.

JOHN BULL TO UNCLE SAM

The most advanced section of British opinion on the subject of naval disarmament is voiced by the London journalist, Mr. Herbert Sidebotham, in an article which he contributes to the *Atlantic Monthly* for July. He shows how the American naval program has an automatic effect on that of Great Britain, which ceased building capital ships in 1917, and has only one ship, the *Hood*, which can be said to embody the lessons of Jutland. In this year's program four such ships are sanctioned, but they will not be begun until 1922, and probably not finished until 1924. In order to attain an equality with Japan in these new ships in 1925, England would have to lay down six ships next year, and equality with the United States can only be attained by a greater effort next year than ever was made in one year during the competition with Germany.

Thus, with the best good-will in the world and many protestations of mutual regard, we are drifting helplessly into a meaningless rivalry, which could not be worse in its effects on the welfare of the people if our two countries were enemies. And worse even than its effects on material prosperity would be the by-products of this rivalry in political discord, and even, it might be, in active enmity. The government, in introducing its naval estimates, had to face a great deal of criticism because its shipbuilding estimate was so small; and this came, not from political mischief-makers, but from many moderate men.

Whatever part may be taken by Japan in the conferences looking to reduction of armament, Mr. Sidebotham is convinced that full agreement between Great Britain and the United States is an essential preliminary to any accomplishment whatever in that direction. He says: "If Britain and America cannot agree, neither can any larger conference; if, on the other hand, we can and do agree, we can play a tune to which all the rest of the world will dance."

It may be that the Anglo-American conference, when it meets, might think it desirable to limit its discussions to what is called the problem of the Pacific; and that the general conference, which should be summoned later to discuss its draft proposals and probably to ratify them, should be restricted to the powers that border on the Pacific—the United States, England, Canada, and Australia, Japan, China, and Siam, Russia, France, and the Pacific States of South America. If so restricted, the problem would be more manageable and the ratification of any

agreement that Great Britain and America might reach would be much easier. This, at any rate, one is convinced, should be the first step to disarmament.

The writer admits that this naval agreement would probably have to be supplemented by one of a political character. He thinks, for example, that it might be necessary for Great Britain and the United States, after discussing all the aspects of the Pacific problem, to agree to guarantee the political *status quo* of the border States of the Pacific, and to make common cause against anyone who attacked it. This, however, is no more than the Anglo-Japanese alliance does, so far as China is concerned.

EXISTING NAVIES

Statistics of the world's navies, recently compiled by the French Government, are published in *Le Correspondant* (Paris) for June 10. This article states that the French Minister of Marine has authorized during the current year the construction of 3 cruisers, 6 torpedo boat destroyers, 12 torpedo boats and 12 submarines. This is regarded in France as a modest program, compared with those of the United States, England, Italy and Japan. French finances do not warrant a larger expenditure for naval armaments, and France is no longer beguiled by thoughts of "imperialism." The present status of the navies of France, England, America, Italy and Japan is represented by the following tabulation:

CRUISERS (LATER THAN 1910)

England	60
America	10
Italy	4
France	0
Japan	14

LARGE TORPEDO BOATS (MORE THAN 1500 TONS)

England	24
America	0
Italy	10
France	0
Japan	0

TORPEDO BOATS (700-1500 TONS, LESS THAN TEN YEARS OLD)

England	350
America	280
Italy	52
France	31
Japan	67

SUBMARINES (LESS THAN TEN YEARS OLD)

England	106
America	139
Italy	68
France	24
Japan	29

THE POLITICS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

A PROPOS of the Imperial Conference at London, to which Mr. Simonds in his article this month gives special attention, a glance at some of the standard English reviews and weekly journals may help to indicate how public opinion in the United Kingdom and the Dominions is focussing upon the great issues now under discussion throughout the Empire. In the *Round Table* (London) which styles itself "a quarterly review of the politics of the British Commonwealth," and which is known to reflect very accurately the opinions held in Government circles, more than twenty pages are devoted to this meeting of the Premiers and the problems coming before it. Here, as in other responsible organs of British opinion, the new national status of the Dominions, acquired during and since the war, is clearly set forth:

The sufferings and sacrifices of the Dominions and of India during the great war, and the triumphs which they so largely helped to win, produced alike a new growth of nationalism in them and a determination never again to be placed in the position of being called upon for such sufferings and sacrifices otherwise than through their own deliberate act.

Holding fast to the central doctrine of the unity of the British Empire, the Dominions felt, and the Mother Country freely acknowledged, that they were entitled to be recognized as having achieved a national status equal to that of the United Kingdom itself; that the old status of subordination to the United Kingdom in all but purely local affairs was intolerable, and that in future all questions affecting Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, including the great questions of peace and war, were questions for the people of those countries, just as the corresponding questions for the United Kingdom were questions for its people. A new orthodoxy came to be substituted for the old, and was enshrined in the phrase "equality of national status."

In its forecast of the work of the conference the *Round Table* emphasized the importance of the British policy in regard to the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance as secondary to what it regarded as "the principal object at which the foreign policy of the British Empire should aim in its non-European aspect"—namely, a secure friendship with the United States.

Now as always, and more than ever before, the supreme interest of the British Empire is peace; and just as strife between the two great states of the English-speaking world would be of all international crimes the most horrible, so permanent coöperation between the two offers the

best hope for the permanent tranquillity of the world. The complete attainment of this object may in the present temper of men's minds involve some sacrifice on our part. It is probable, indeed, that it may even be necessary for us to resign the position which we have so long maintained of being the strongest naval power of the world, and to be content with a position, not indeed of inferiority to any other naval power, but of equality with another if that other be the United States.

The wise course would seem to be to endeavor to reach an understanding with the United States, whereby competition in naval construction should be definitely avoided. Great Britain has already officially announced its willingness to accept the principle of equality as between the United States and the British navies. If the United States and the British Empire can each accept a foreign policy in which friendship with the other is the cardinal element, it should not be difficult to work out the implications of that policy in regard to the problems of the Pacific and the Far East; but the task involves, as already stated, the finding of an answer to the question of the renewal of the Japanese Alliance.

The opening article in the *Nineteenth Century* by the Right Hon. Ormsby Gore, M. P., also deals at length with the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and relations between America and the British Empire. He thinks that the Japanese question and the questions raised by the United States in relation to mandates should be approached both by Britain and America "in a more open and comprehending manner." He declares that the tone and the "tu quoques" of Lord Curzon's replies to the American notes regarding oil rights in mandated territories "are hardly such as to remove the uneasiness caused by the similar tone of the American notes. The cause of the trouble is no doubt the secrecy and reticence that has been observed in all questions concerning mandates. There never was a case where open diplomacy had so much to gain and secret diplomacy so much to lose. We have backed the losing horse and backed it heavily."

The altered character of the Empire since the war is emphasized in almost every article on the London Conference that has appeared in England. The *Manchester Guardian*, for example, represents the Dominions as saying to the Imperial Government, in effect:

We have stood by you in this because you are our kin and because you were right, and so shall we always. But in the nature of things we cannot share responsibility for your decisions. We shall keep you informed, as far as conference and communication can, of our views on any

topic you may raise. But our statesmen cannot answer to two electorates. They come to you as delegates responsible to us, as your ministers are to you. And so the convenient fiction of an Imperial Cabinet has vanished with the war which begot it.

An Empire with a central executive has passed forever, in the *Guardian's* opinion.

The *New Statesman* (London) seeks to define the bond that holds together what has been known as the British Empire and would now be more properly described as the British Alliance. It says:

The effective bond is a common tradition and a common political philosophy; and it is a bond

which can be neither weakened nor strengthened to an appreciable extent by anything we can do—save by such measures as will promote a wider popular understanding of its meaning and of its possibilities. The Empire is bound together by the fact that the ordinary citizen of Melbourne or Ottawa is likely to agree with the ordinary citizen of London or Manchester on all the main issues of world politics. We may disagree on a thousand minor questions, but not on the major issues. The men of Melbourne fought in France beside the men of Manchester, not because their economic interests were identical, not because they had common ancestors, not because they owed a common allegiance to King George V, but because they took the same view of the challenge which the Hohenzollerns had thrown down to the world.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

AS indicated by the foregoing article, one of the dominating topics in the British press for several months has been the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The London *Spectator* in its issue of June 25 sums up its editorial objections to the alliance under five heads: (1) The attitude of the United States; (2) the fact that Russia is no longer a menace either to China or to Japan, thus removing the need of any such alliance for Japan's protection; (3) that the alliance does not make for peace, but for trouble and confusion in the Far East and the Pacific; (4) the opposition of the people of the British Dominions; and (5) the tendency of the time to do away with all offensive and defensive alliances with individual foreign nations.

As to the "need of the hour," that is to say, the creation of a complete and permanent understanding between the two branches of the English-speaking race, Great Britain and the United States, the *Spectator* says:

Roughly, two-thirds of those who speak the language of Shakespeare are citizens of the United States. One-third live under the British flag. If the English-speaking kin can, as a whole, be inspired by three resolves the world may become safe for civilization. The first resolve must be that they will never settle quarrels which may arise between them by the arbitrament of the sword, but always by peaceful methods. The second must be the determination to prevent, as far as they can, other nations, however they may indulge in civil tumult within their own boundaries, from preying upon each other. The third resolve must be to prevent the growth of armaments, and to discountenance the application of the sciences and arts to the destruction of human life and of the works of civilization. With these as our inspiration mankind will have obtained something of such practical value that

even so useful an institution *per se* as the League of Nations will dwindle to nothing in comparison. Cromwell declared that he was a constable set to keep order in the parish. If the United States and the united governments of the British Empire join forces they will be constables set to keep peace in the world, both by example and by precept. By such an understanding the whole universe must be affected. Hardly any sacrifice except one of honor would be too great to secure an end so noble and fraught with a destiny so magnificent.

If the world were entirely composed of statesmen, trained diplomats, jurists, and philosophers, or even if the English-speaking world as a whole were as well instructed as, say, the ordinary members of both Houses of Congress, or both Houses of Parliament, it would no doubt be quite easy to prove that the alliance with Japan was doing no harm and could do no harm to the good understanding between the English-speaking kin, but instead was a useful buttress to the peace of the world. But it must be admitted that the mass of mankind in America and in the Dominions, and also in this country, are not capable of looking at the matter in this spirit of detachment and spiritual benevolence. They judge in a much rougher and simpler way.

In America, and this is what concerns us most, the ordinary citizen argues something on these lines: "Right or wrong, the Japanese are not friendly to us. Some day they will want to fight us, if the people of California and the Pacific States generally refuse to let the Japanese come in on the terms allowed to other immigrants. In that case we shall have to defend ourselves. Besides, they mean to rule the Pacific, and so do we, and neither will give way. On which side are the British going to be if this quarrel actually takes place? We can test that pretty well. They have been the allies of Japan for many years, and the time is soon coming in which the alliance must be dropped or renewed. If the British renew it, it means they are going to be on the Japanese side and *against us*, or certainly not *for us*. As long as they are tied to the Japanese all talk about hands across the sea is just nothing. If they believe in it they will leave themselves free to prove that blood is thicker than water."

Comparatively little note has been taken of the Chinese Republic's attitude toward the renewal of the alliance. It cannot be said, however, that China has failed to publish to the world her sentiments regarding the matter. In the *Weekly Review* (Shanghai) for June 18 appears an article by John W. Kingsnorth, dealing with recent developments concerning the alliance. He says:

China, hitherto passive as regarded alliances and agreements affecting her international status, has suddenly awakened to an organized protest. The first request for a discontinuance of the agreement came approximately a month ago from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peking Government. This week there comes a further protest from the business men of the nation, as represented through their General Chamber of Commerce.

The arousing of the business men of China is an indication of the expression of as much of an enlightened public opinion as China possesses. Ordinarily the business men of the nation are quiescent so far as the international policies of their nation are concerned, and often too much so to the Western observer as regards the internal conduct of their government. A measure which will bring from them a protest is one then in which they feel that their own personal as well as national interests will be affected. The position of Japan and the Japanese has become more and more objectionable to the Chinese merchant and the constant encroachments of that nation upon the mainland of China, beginning with Manchuria and the "benevolent protectorate" attitude taken in Fokien province and extending to Shantung and other sections of the country, have brought them to realize that the establishment of Japanese "spheres of influence" mean not only the closing of the Open Door to the other nationals of the world but also to the inhabitants of China.

The following cablegram was sent to the British Cabinet and Parliament:

The relations between the Chinese and British people have always been of the friendliest nature, but since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance that friendship has been growing colder. There is not a single person in the Orient who does not see that the Japanese are trying to dominate the Far East. They are depending upon the alliance for support. If the alliance is renewed in any form whatever our relations will become estranged, for not only will it injure our friendly relations, but it is sure to be detrimental to British Commerce in China. We hope, gentlemen, that you will always bear in mind the Chinese point of view when the matter is considered so that traditional friendship may not be injured. We trust your government will do everything in its power to stop the renewal of the alliance.

The first number of the *China Review*, published in New York, has a discussion of "China and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance,"

by G. Zay Wood, formerly editor of the *Far Eastern Republic*. This writer points out that the vital interests of China are involved in the alliance. He asserts that China objects to its renewal "on the ground that it has often sacrificed her sovereign interests which it is meant to safeguard, that it has frequently infringed upon her integrity which it seeks nominally to protect, and that it has violated the 'Open Door' policy which it professes to be its object to maintain." He proceeds to show certain specific ways in which the interests of China are intimately involved with the alliance:

In 1902, when the alliance was concluded for the first time, the territory in which it was supposed to operate was practically limited to China and Korea. For the second alliance, concluded in 1905, the sphere of operation was extended to India. But the scope of the third alliance is reduced practically to China alone. The exact language used in the treaty is "the regions of Eastern Asia and India." But what is India, and what does Eastern Asia include? If Great Britain desires to have her interests and territorial rights in India safeguarded, it is well and good, and there shall be no one to question her right in doing so, except the Hindus, perhaps. And if Japan seeks to have her interests and territorial rights in Korea protected, it is within her right to do so, and except the Koreans, no one will question it. They begin to encroach upon the rights of China when they arrogate to themselves the well-intentioned but none the less unnecessary task of maintaining and consolidating the general peace in "Eastern Asia," which certainly includes China and excludes India.

That the alliance as it stands to-day has its main interest in China is shown by the language used in its preamble. One of its objects is said to be "the preservation of the common interests of all the powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China." Why the two contracting powers alone have undertaken the task which, in its very nature, ought to fall upon the shoulders of all the powers interested in equal opportunities in China and in her territorial integrity is a question to which there has been yet no answer. Has the alliance ever succeeded in insuring the independence and integrity of China and the open door? China does not ask, and has never asked, any power to insure her independence and integrity. To assume this rôle without reference to the wishes of China is a gratuitous insult of which there should never be another repetition. As to the open door, the alliance has been a cloak under which great violence has been done to the principle. Recall the Hsinmintun-Fakumen Railway dispute, the Cinchow-Aigun Railway dispute, and other international scrambles which have filled the pages of the history of Far Eastern politics of the last twenty years. And then remember the twenty-one demands! The United States filed a protest with the Japanese Government, but Great Britain, her hands being tied by the alliance, had not a word to say.

THE ENGLISH COAL STRIKE

ON the first of July the coal strike in England came to an end after a duration of three months, during which time British industry in general was more or less crippled and seriously threatened. The workmen in other industries, when deprived of employment as a result of the strike, received state allowances, but the miners themselves had no such recourse. Some of them, moreover, failed to get employment, because those mines that were flooded will have to be put in order, and this may take many months.

As a part of the settlement, the Government granted the miners a state subsidy of £10,000,000. This subsidy was offered in April, and was refused. The mine owners pay higher wages than before the war, but the principle of profit-sharing has not been conceded. The *London Spectator* maintains that the miners, having remained idle for three months, have now gained nothing that they might not have had at first if they had been wisely led.

In the *Contemporary Review* (London) for June, the case for the mine owners was stated by Lord Gainford, and that for the men by Mr. R. H. Tawney. Lord Gainford declares that it is impossible for any unbiased critic to point to anything that the owners could have done which they have not done.

They have been falsely accused of making unjust profits; but they have offered, under district settlements, to forego their profits and run all risks of the falling market until the industry can be placed upon a permanent and satisfactory basis. They make this sacrifice in the national interest. The owners have no quarrel with those whom they have employed, and the men recognize that the wages offered them are all that the industry can afford. The differences between the owners and the men's representatives are on the question of a national settlement and a national pool.

It must be realized that a new economic era has opened. England is in danger of losing her supremacy, because foreign nations are not only richer in raw materials and foodstuffs, but because they possess, in addition, more and cheaper coal. Our country will have to make a great effort to recover its trade, and, as compared with pre-war conditions, will be at a considerable disadvantage in this struggle. A durable settlement on sound, economic lines is essential if confidence is to be restored, and the capital found for progressive development. By settlement I do not mean terms imposed on either side by victors upon the vanquished, but the establishment of close and cordial coöperation between the em-

ployers and employed. Speaking for the owners, I wish to say that we are anxious not to win a victory, but to settle amicably the dispute which threatens not merely our commercial existence, but all that for which our sons have fought.

On the other hand, Mr. Tawney, as the representative of the miners, maintains that the proposals of the union, far from being revolutionary, are "studiously moderate." Mr. Tawney proceeds to offer suggestions of his own for the betterment of conditions in the English coal industry as a whole.

The truth is that something much more radical is required than merely the partial unification for the single purpose of equalizing wage movements, which is all that is involved in the "pool." The crucial point is to secure that in future the production and distribution of coal shall be conducted with reasonable economy and efficiency. For the present organization, or disorganization, of the coal industry is not only, as is self-evident, a public nuisance. It is worse; it is a public danger. On a long view, what has turned the United Kingdom from a sparsely populated agricultural society into one which, judged by the standards of the greater part of the human race, is wealthy, has been the existence of abundant coal. But coal is a wasting asset, and the decline of the British, though not of the American, coal age is almost in sight. A policy which looked beyond the next election, therefore, would husband coal as though it were gold. It would cut out every superfluous charge on the industry. It would reorganize production by unifying the interests in each area and thus ending the waste of thousands of millions of tons in barriers between separate properties and in coal which is waterlogged because colliery companies will not combine to drain it. It would save money by buying materials in bulk, by keeping pits working with the greatest possible regularity, and, not least, by placing the representatives of the mine-workers in a position where they could throw their weight on the side of greater production. It would at once initiate the policy of converting coal into power in large power stations, which the Coal Conservation Committee estimated would save £90,000,000 a year, and which is already proceeding in the east of America, our chief competitor. It would end the bad joke of the present system of distribution.

These things are, quite literally, a matter of life and death for the industrial future of this country, because upon them the recovery of foreign markets, not only for coal, but for other manufactured articles, depends. The assumption sedulously fostered by the mine owners and the Government is that, as long as the mine owners are allowed to make what money they can out of the industry, it will be conducted with economy and efficiency. That assumption has an overwhelming mass of evidence against it. They have been too prudent to attempt to answer the evidence, because it is unanswerable; they have sought instead to smother it by directing discussion to other issues.

THE SOLIDARITY OF BRITISH LABOR

AN article by "Politicus" in the *Fortnightly Review* (London) brings out with startling clearness the rapid growth of the trade unions in Great Britain, especially during the last few years. The following figures are taken from the last report of the Trade Union Congress:

	No. of Societies Represented	No. of Members
1869.....	40	250,000
1875.....	109	539,823
1880.....	105	494,222
1885.....	136	580,976
1890.....	211	1,470,191
1895.....	170	1,000,000
1900.....	184	1,250,000
1905.....	205	1,541,000
1910.....	212	1,647,715
1913.....	207	2,232,446
1918.....	262	4,532,085
1920.....	215	6,505,482

Commenting on these statistics, "Politicus" says:

The table given shows that an extraordinary change has taken place in the character of the trade unions. While between 1869 and 1920 the number of trade unions represented at the yearly congresses had increased only fivefold, the number of members has grown more than twenty-fivefold. Between 1905 and 1920, when the number of societies has remained practically stationary, 5,000,000 members have been added. Since the year preceding the war the number of trade unionists has trebled, and during the last two years 2,000,000 new members have joined, almost as large a number as that of all trade unionists represented in the year preceding the struggle.

In former years it was frequently claimed that the trade unions exercised a steadying influence upon labor, that their growth increased the sense of responsibility among those who directed them, that the increase in their membership strengthened their spirit of moderation and of sane conservatism. Unfortunately these views have proved entirely mistaken. Of recent years the great organizations of labor have lost the conservative characteristics which distinguished them in the past and have become more and more strongly inclined toward revolution.

The old trade unions were organized on the model of the medieval secret societies, and they were controlled by a small clique. They attracted at an early date the attention of Continental revolutionaries, who recognized that these organizations might be turned into powerful machines for effecting the overthrow of society. The conversion of a few of the leaders, and the expulsion of those who refused to be converted, would give them the control over the rank and file of the organized workers. Revolutionaries of every shade began to join the labor movement which they wished to control. As labor is ex-

ceedingly gullible, they were only too successful. Very soon the trade unions abroad fell under the influence of Socialists, Communists and anarchists, and in course of time emissaries from the Continent captured in the same manner the British trade unions as well.

While the British public accepts as the leaders of the modern labor movement in England such fair-minded and patriotic men as the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, and the Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, "Politicus" asserts that these are merely the figureheads, and that the movement is really directed and controlled by the advocates of violence. Unquestionably, the great majority of British workingmen are loyal, patriotic and opposed to violence, but the labor movement itself has become revolutionary, for the revolutionists have captured both the trade union machinery and the labor press.

"Politicus" proceeds to cite quotations from the labor press, and the statements of leaders which seem to show that Bolshevism, which in England is commonly called Communism, has recently made serious inroads among the trade unions. He says, in conclusion:

The Bolsheviks at the back of the labor movement endeavor to destroy the trade unions, Parliament, democracy and the state. They have brought the workers almost to desperation by creating widespread unemployment, and they wish to inflict still greater sufferings upon them in order to drive them mad, for Englishmen can be expected to act as the tools of Lenine only when crazed by misery and want. The Government was probably not unaware of the conspiracy which is gradually unfolding itself, and wisely determined to mobilize a force for defense. The danger is by no means past. Both Government and public must remain on the alert. Nothing could be more foolish than to disregard the activities of the revolutionaries and to consider them as of no account. Only a few extracts have been given from a few revolutionary papers. The Bolshevik publications in this country are very numerous, and hundreds of highly-trained Bolshevik speakers and organizers are working strenuously throughout the country. At the time of the Russian Revolution many eminent Russians despised the agitators and sneeringly said that they would be stifled by their own poison gas. Timely energy might have saved Russia, and it may save this country from a fate similar to that of that unfortunate land. Study of the revolutionary movement in this country causes me to believe that an attempt to effect a revolution and to impose upon the nation the dictatorship of the proletariat will probably be made before long. The time for preventive action has arrived.

THE EAST AFRICAN INDIAN PROBLEM

AMONG the many questions arising from race conflicts, with which the British Imperial Government has to deal, few are more interesting at the present moment than the problem of reconciling the interests of Indians and Europeans in British East Africa. An article contributed to the *Asiatic Review* (London) by H. S. L. Polak shows that in East Africa Indians were pioneers:

The historical connection of India with East Africa was long antecedent to the arrival of European settlers in the country or the establishment of British power. The foundations of the prosperity of the territories concerned were laid centuries ago by the enterprise of Indian traders and settlers who have been the chief contributors by their industry and wealth to the development of that prosperity in its present high state. It may not unfairly be claimed that to the resources of India and the enterprise, capacity, industry, and personal sacrifice of Indians the East African territories owe not only their existence, but even their preservation during the late war, as fertile and prosperous provinces under the British Crown. During the long period before the British era, the Indian traders and settlers had, by their efficiency, sympathy, and conduct, gained the confidence of the Arab rulers and the native populations, and had carried their trade along the caravan routes far into the interior; so that, in fact, civilization came to the native peoples of these lands first from Asia and not from Europe.

For at least three centuries there have been trade relations between East Africa and India. Many Indian families now living in East Africa are the descendants in the third and fourth generations of the original settlers. For a century past India has been active in extending British influence in East Africa.

As a matter of fact, the Indians outnumber the European settlers by some four to one. They control by far the greater part of the trade of the country and pay the bulk of the taxes. With slight modifications, the Indian system of law prevails; and until quite recently the local currency was Indian, the rise and fall of the exchange being based on trade and financial relations with India. The clerical staffs of the public services and the railways are manned by Indians, as is the mechanical staff of the railway workshops. The building and allied trades are almost entirely carried on by Indian contractors and skilled artisans. Thus, in population, trade, industry, and commerce the predominance of Indian interests is overwhelming; and it is safe to say that were the Indian element to be suddenly withdrawn, these territories would speedily become derelict and revert to barbarism; for, climatically, they

are far more suited to an Indian than to a European population.

This writer makes the assertion that in the East Africa protectorate, now known as Kenya Colony, preferential treatment of the European population has been the rule. He cites as a flagrant instance the change of currency that was authorized by the Colonial Office last year from the old-established rupee to a British sterling basis. This change resulted in the complete unsettlement of the Indian exchange and serious loss to Indian mercantile firms in East Africa and India. In Kenya, as a result, there is financial chaos.

Perhaps the most flagrant case of inequitable treatment was that meted out to Indians in connection with the soldier settlement scheme. Generals in the field, as well as His Majesty's Government, have paid a tribute to the important and decisive part played by the Indian troops during the East African campaign. But when this scheme came to be formulated, it was learned that it was to be confirmed entirely to European ex-soldiers, for whom 1500 farms, comprising, I understand, over a million acres of the best remaining land in the country, were set aside and have since been taken up. When a request was made that Indian ex-soldiers should be given land, the official reply was that any land available would be given to European applicants, and if there were any residue it would go to the natives of the country. Sir Edward Northey, the Governor, added insult to injury by making the preposterous suggestion that the big Indian landowners on the coast should provide land for the Indian ex-soldiers. No such suggestion had been made, regarding the European ex-soldiers, to the European resident and absentee landowners who have acquired several millions of acres of land in the most fertile parts of the country, which they can never hope to develop, whilst, as the dispatch of the Government of India shows, the Indian land-holding is a very small proportion of the whole.

In order to summarize the political demands of the Indian population in East Africa, the representation made by the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress is recapitulated as follows:

(1) *Legislative Council*.—Common franchise and common register preferably, or, as a step toward it, the same number of elected Indian members as of elected Europeans.

(2) *Executive Council*.—At least two Indian members.

(3) *Municipal Councils*.—Election on the same principle as in the case of the Legislative Council.

(4) Complete reversal of the policy of segre-

gation in every sense, with guarantees against its reintroduction in any form.

(5) No special reservations of land for European development and the throwing open of all non-native lands to development and acquisition by Europeans and Indians alike.

(6) The repeal and reversal of all preferential and differential legislation and methods of administration.

In other words, Indians demand complete equality of status and treatment, and will be satisfied with nothing less. That they are justified in their demand is clear from Lord Chelmsford's claim on their behalf in the Imperial Legislative Council last year. He said: "I do not admit that there is any justification in a Crown Colony or a Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects."

THE SHORTAGE OF STEEL IN THE WORLD

ACCORDING to Sir Robert Hadfield, writing in the *World's Work* (London), the world's demand for steel and iron at the present time approximates 100,000,000 tons a year, but the total output is only about 65,000,000 tons, hence there is an annual shortage of 35,000,000 tons.

Steel is required in large quantities to make good the destruction of the war, and it must be remembered that for five years almost the entire output was devoted to instruments of destruction. The normal wear and tear of those years is also to be made good.

The truth must be told and bluntly—there is not sufficient iron and steel forthcoming, or within sight, to go round. We do not appear to realize that had there been no war the industry, even had it been permitted to pursue its normal course of development, might have been hard put to it to satisfy current requirements. Probably at this date we should have been consuming 100,000,000 tons of iron and steel per year. But owing to the diversion of productive activity the output has been reduced to 65,000,000 tons a year. When the gulf between supply and demand is so yawning, is it surprising that many people must go without and that still more must be content with disturbingly short commons? These are the factors which provoke trouble, create unemployment and stimulate uneasiness and unrest all around.

British exports of steel last year were only 3,300,000 tons, compared with 5,000,000 in 1913. If England is "snowed under" by foreign competition, Sir Robert points out, the price of coal will be responsible.

The cost of coal at the pit mouth in this country has been approximately 36s. per ton, as compared with 12s. per ton in the United States.

It requires approximately $1\frac{3}{4}$ tons of coal to produce one ton of iron. On this basis, therefore, it is costing the American steelmaker 21s. on account of fuel to obtain a ton of metal. On the other hand, it is costing the British manufacturer 63s. to attain a similar end.

A difference of 42s. a ton in regard to one item alone is too pronounced an advantage in favor of our competitor to be disregarded.

It is fortunate for us that the United States manufacturers are too preoccupied in satisfying the needs of their domestic consumers to be able to turn a united front to the foreign trade. Nevertheless, if we cannot modify the unequal state of affairs and reduce the handicap under which we are laboring before America can settle down to the foreign business, we are going to be brought full tilt against an exceedingly depressing situation.

It is not only a case of striving to put back the clock for the period represented by the war, but for a good many years in addition. Great Britain has fallen short of her pre-war export figure by 1,700,000 tons, but the most remarkable decline is that incidental to Germany, which shows a falling off of no fewer than 5,300,000 tons, one twenty-seventh of the pre-war figure, and which approximately accounts for the whole of the deficiency recorded. Even the American increase of 1,550,000 tons is not startling in face of the shortage shown.

In spite of all this, Sir Robert finds the British steel industry optimistic.

The contemporary unsettled state of affairs is the inevitable aftermath of five years of the most strenuous labor and restriction of liberty. With the evaporation of exuberance and the return of a condition of normality a general quieting down will be recorded, accompanied by a revival of sober, steady, and earnest endeavor.

Unostentatiously the steel interests have been putting their houses in order. Extensions and renewals of plant, involving the expenditure of millions sterling, have been pushed forward energetically to enable the industry to meet competition under the most advantageous conditions.

If we allow ourselves to be eliminated from the world's markets because our prices are too high, then we must be prepared to accept a lower standard of living.

The industry (concludes Sir Robert) has no anxieties concerning its ability to handle an adequate share of the world's steel trade so long as labor realizes that it also has a responsibility in this connection.

THE INDIAN MARINE, BRITAIN'S PIONEER NAVY OF THE EAST

AN interesting account of the Indian Marine, founded in 1613, is given by Mr. C. de Thierry in *United Empire*:

From 1688 onwards the headquarters of the service was Bombay; until 1830 it was known as the Bombay Marine. It was then called the Indian Navy. It was maintained at the cost of the East India Company, under whose control it was when Britain was at peace. But when she was at war, and the naval tide swept into the Indian Ocean, the Indian Marine was as much a part of the British Navy as the Royal Australian Navy was between 1914 and 1920.

In proportion to its numbers and resources it achieved more of empire and bestowed greater and more permanent blessings on the world than any other service of its kind in history. By it for nearly a century the company maintained and extended their factories in the East, and made each successive step toward the conquest of India. For they had, when the service was established, not a single Sepoy in their pay, and the British Army had no existence, the first Regular regiment not having been raised until 1660.

One of the claims of the British Navy to pre-

eminence rests on the dangerous and arduous task it performed in surveying, lighting, and charting unknown seas and coasts, clearing them from nests of pirates which infested them, and generally rendering them safe for the trade and commerce of maritime nations. But between Suez and the China Sea, and Madagascar and Australia, this beneficent work was done, not by the officers of the Royal Navy, but of the Indian Marine.

They maintained, too, the postal service in the East, for up to the era of quick communication, service in the company meant expatriation and it was they who laid the telegraph lines to India.

Up to 1856 one of the most important duties of the Indian Marine was the protection of the company's merchantmen from the depredations of pirates, led at one time, by European desperadoes, Kidd, for instance. These, supplied from the West Indies and New York and having no roots in the soil of Asia, were comparatively easy to deal with. But the Joasmi, Cutch, and other bold and fearless pirates were maritime tribes, organized alike on land and sea. They were, east of Suez, what the Barbary pirates were west of it.

THE PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA



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JUAN VICENTE GOMEZ, PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA

AN article on the wealth of Venezuela, contributed to *Le Monde Illustré* (Paris), eulogizes the President of that republic, General Juan Vicente Gomez. Realizing the value of substantial political organization, Gomez, who is a native of the mountain country, brought to the government stability and to the nation as a whole great prosperity. To this leader Venezuela owes a sound national credit, increased means of communication, agricultural development and public schools even in regions remote from the capital. While the budget has risen under his administration, the reserve funds in the treasury have increased. The constitution of Venezuela does not authorize the issue of paper currency. The banks of the country are paying loans and interest with great punctuality, and have passed every recent crisis without serious disturbance.

President Gomez was recently granted dictatorial powers in order to hold his government against revolutionary forces said to be headed by the former President, Cipriano Castro. Thus far the expected "revolution" has not materialized. There is general confidence in the Gomez government.

THE ENGLISH RAILROADS

A STRIKING parallelism between the economic experiences of the great British railroad lines and those of our American transportation companies is brought out in an article contributed by J. A. R. Marriott to the *Fortnightly Review* (London). This writer's purpose is to analyze the relation of the British railways to the state. In his search for a solution of the urgent problem now confronting the British railroads he has defined these alternative courses:

A simple restoration of the pre-war position, nationalization, or a mixture of state control with private ownership and management.

If the state were willing or able to hand back to the companies their undertakings in all respects as they were on August 4, 1914, the companies would be willing and glad to receive them. But in the interval three things have happened: great damage has been done to the property, damage which can be repaired only by degrees and at great cost; wages have been raised to a point which, as things are, renders impossible the payment of any dividends and would render the interest on the prior charges precarious; finally, an attempt has been made by raising passenger fares and charges for the conveyance of goods, etc., to increase the revenue sufficiently to meet the increased charges. Thus far with wholly inadequate results. It is true that in 1920-21 the gross revenue of the controlled companies amounted to £250,847,531, as compared with £193,407,963 in the previous year; but the *net* revenue fell from £7,588,750 to a little over £2,000,000. The last increase in fares began to operate only in August, and the coal strike of 1920 is said to have cost the railways £8,000,000. But, making every allowance for such accidents, the outlook is none too rosy. You cannot raise fares and rates indefinitely, even though Parliament and departments permit it. Economic laws are much more potent than the decrees of legislatures, or even those of bureaucratic depart-

ments. In the case under discussion it is far from certain whether the limit has not been reached or even passed. If the cost of labor (again I emphasize the distinction between this and the rate of wages) could be very substantially reduced—say to 75 or even 100 per cent. above pre-war figures—simple restoration might be a practicable policy; otherwise not.

The second alternative is nationalization. This raises issues too large to be discussed at the fag end of an article; but in bill 53 of the present session—a bill introduced by J. H. Thomas and some of his Labor colleagues, we have in a concrete form the collectivist proposals. In principle, the present proprietors have little to apprehend from these proposals; the terms offered, though not generous, are not confiscatory; but the actual purchase price would no doubt be a matter for adjustment. Were the matter one to be regarded exclusively from the point of view of the investors in railway securities, there might be a good deal to be said for closing with Mr. Thomas's offer. Larger interests are, however, involved. Under a scheme of nationalization it is conceivable that the shareholders might not suffer; it is reasonable to anticipate that the wage-earners would benefit; but, if so, their benefit would be purchased at the expense alike of the public as consumers and of the public as taxpayers. If, in these matters, experience counts for anything, its weight is wholly in the scales opposed to nationalization.

There remains the *sors tertia*—a mongrel compromise between private ownership and bureaucratic control. To this compromise the coalition government is understood to incline. *A priori*, there is everything to be said against it. Lacking the advantages of untrammelled private enterprise, it would involve in addition the disadvantages of nationalization. Imposing obligations and conditions upon the proprietors, it would prevent them from managing—as they have hitherto done with reasonable success—their own business in their own way; at the same time it would do little to conciliate those who are academically opposed to the private ownership of semi-monopolistic services.

THE LEAGUE WITHOUT AMERICA

THE out-and-out declaration by Ambassador Harvey at London that the United States would have nothing to do with the League of Nations, is the occasion of an article in the *London Review of Reviews* by Captain Reginald Berkeley, Secretary of the League of Nations Union. Refusing to accept the conclusion that because the Administration at Washington has repudiated the Covenant, the League of Nations is therefore dead, Captain Berkeley frankly says:

What we need to determine, seeing that America will apparently have none of the

League, is how far the League can go without her. First, what is the policy of America? It is not one of isolation, for in the words of Mr. Harding, "We (the United States) never were, and never will be, able to maintain isolation." Moreover, as he said in his presidential address, "We (America) are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference, for counsel, to seek the expressed views of world opinion." Again, "We must understand that ties of trade bind nations in closest intimacy and none may receive except he gives." These passages are a frank recognition by the head of the American Government that in the highly organized world-society of to-day no nation can stand aside isolated from its fellows.

That being so, it is rather difficult to take

Colonel Harvey's root-and-branch rejection of the League at its full face value. He says that his government "will not have anything whatsoever to do with the League . . . directly or indirectly, openly or furtively." But suppose that in two or three years' time a serious dispute between two great powers threatened the peace of the world—suppose one broke out to-morrow. Suppose that dispute came before the League of Nations, and, whilst it was still in the process of settlement, and in spite of the provisions of the Covenant, one of these great powers suddenly mobilized its forces, thus threatening by implication at any moment to break the Covenant and throw itself upon its opponent: an act of war against the whole League. It is surely inconceivable that in such circumstances the United States would not throw in its weight on the side of the League for the preservation of peace. This does not mean that the United States would then be liable to send its troops to Europe. Now as formerly that would be entirely its own affair. But it does mean that the immense moral forces of America would be ranged, as they have always been ranged, on the side of law and order.

It is Captain Berkeley's belief that the principal opponent of the League in America has been sheer misunderstanding:

Ever since the days of the Lodge reservations, nearly two years ago, the Covenant seems to have been regarded in America as a kind of literary dynamite, whereas we who have studied it more dispassionately are sometimes inclined to fear that it rests too much upon the mere good-will of its signatories.

Thus it comes about that the belief has grown up amongst Republican circles in America that this League of Nations, in some occult and mysterious way, can exercise super-national powers. They talk of it as a super-state. They seem to envisage the Council as a kind of all-powerful

world cabinet, enthroned in glittering splendor in a palace at Geneva, issuing edicts here, setting down there rebellions with a strong hand, overthrowing dynasties, creating new states and generally inflicting upon distressed mankind all the horrors of efficient legislation at which the Imperial German Government is believed to have aimed when it began the war. And to us, who know the Council as it is and have watched the tentative and even sometimes timorous steps that it has taken, such a picture seems the nightmare of a disordered imagination.

Setting aside the possibility of a big international crisis, Captain Berkeley thinks that the League can do a great deal independently of the United States:

Indeed, it is apparently apt to be forgotten that, since its very inception, it has received no assistance at all from America, and that the numerous useful pieces of work which it has initiated and carried out, have been done entirely without official American aid. It has, after all, handled two minor international disputes in a competent manner. The Financial Conference has been productive of what seems to be an extremely workable scheme of International credits. The Barcelona Conference has set on foot a number of admirable methods of ensuring freedom of communications and transit. The International Health Organization has begun its work. The International Labor Office which, although not directly under the League of Nations, is financially responsible to it, has also made a good beginning. The Assembly has proved itself to be a practicable and useful institution—indeed the Assembly has been one of the outstanding successes in the history of international relations. All the plans have been prepared for the institution of a Permanent Court of International Justice. Committees are now working out plans for limiting armaments. Another committee has met to devise means for coördinating preventive measures against the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. Yet another committee is meeting next month to review the situation in regard to the White Slave traffic. There is a commission sitting to consider amendments to the Covenant and make recommendations to the forthcoming Assembly. A Financial Commission has just worked out a practical scheme for rehabilitating Austria. The second Assembly will meet in September. Indeed, it is perhaps not too much to say that the past year's work of the League of Nations has been productive of more serious international endeavor than any previous ten years in history. And all that has been done without America!

Experience, therefore, seems to show that we are justified in believing that the League may continue to be of the greatest service to the world even without America's coöperation. But this is absolutely dependent upon courage. If the governments of the rest of the world lose heart the case will be different. . . . One nation alone, however powerful, cannot kill a league of forty-eight others by abstaining from it, and it is as certain as anything in this world can be said to be, that if the League proves by its deeds its usefulness to mankind, no nation will be able or willing to stand aside from it for long.



THE POWERS TRYING TO ENTICE U. S.
From the Tribune © (Chicago)

CANADA'S GREAT SHIP CANAL— THE NEW WELLAND

WORK on the New Welland Ship Canal between Lakes Erie and Ontario was interrupted by the Great War, and is not even yet proceeding at a satisfactory rate. If the magnitude of the enterprise were better understood in this country, some of the reasons for the delay would be more clearly appreciated. It is probably true that no other engineering work now being prosecuted in the Western Hemisphere equals it in importance. Its cost is estimated at \$100,000,000, and only about one-fifth of this sum has thus far been expended.

Writing in the *Scientific American* for June 25th, Mr. J. F. Springer points out the essential part to be played by the canal as a section of the passageway for sea-going ships from Lake Superior to the Atlantic Ocean. One of the great difficulties in the plans for securing a continuous ship channel from Duluth to the sea board has always been the drop of 326½ feet between Lakes Erie and Ontario. The old Welland Canal, without sufficient depth of water for ocean-going vessels, had twenty-five locks. For



THE NEW WELLAND SHIP CANAL

the new canal, with twenty-five feet of water, the engineers have planned only seven or eight locks. Furthermore, the new canal follows a more direct path than the old waterway did.

The six St. Lawrence River canals between Lake Ontario and Montreal must be enlarged in order to give a twenty-five foot channel. From Montreal to the ocean there is plenty of water, navigable for eight months of the year. After the Welland Canal is completed a comparatively small amount of dredging at various points of the route will at last give through navigation for ocean vessels from Lake Superior to the Atlantic.

THE HIGH COST OF POLITICS

THE last Presidential campaign in this country occasioned the expenditure of \$10,358,509. The spending of so vast a sum for such a purpose has generally been condemned by the public as excessive. Writing in the *Century Magazine* for July, Dr. Talcott Williams expresses the opinion that such condemnation is "just though ignorant." He means by this statement that most of this sum has been expended not in corrupt ways, as the average citizen perhaps supposes, but for such campaign necessities as speakers, halls, and advertising.

A flood of "literature" pours in on the voter as election draws near. He finds advertisements in the newspaper. He receives a stream of appeals, of announcements of meetings, of argument, of contrasted copies of platforms, of ut-

terances of the Presidential candidates. Their pictures are on the boardings, great placards are seen on innumerable advertising spaces. All these cost. Who pays for them? If he remembers the election of 1916, the voter has in his memory the appearance of a big four-sheet colored poster of a happy home in peace and the legend, "He has kept us out of war." He recollects that there was no fence or wall so high priced and no highway or railroad so sequestered that he did not somewhere see a pictorial reminder of this declaration, true in October, 1916, wholly untrue six months later. Some one paid for it. Who? Where did it come from?

To one who has never given the matter much consideration, the number of non-voters at each election in this country seems amazingly large. Taking the figures of 1910 and allowing for growth, Dr. Williams esti-

mates that in 1916 there were in the whole country 52,000,000 possible voters. Yet of this number only 26,469,268 came to the polls, or a little more than one-half. Of the absentees, some were ill, some had lost residence between registration and election, some were excluded as insane, as convicts, as paupers, and some by special laws like those disfranchising the negroes in Southern States; but Dr. Williams concludes that the overwhelming majority of the absentees did not vote because they did not take the trouble to qualify to vote.

It is well understood by workers at elections that every effort made to "get out the vote" fails dismally in its object, and that only by large expenditures of money can even

a small percentage of qualified voters be induced to do their duty.

In the doubtful States and in the country at large the problem of "bringing out the vote" is essentially a "publicity problem." A "slogan" is needed, arguments that will tell on the vast mass, some graphic utterance or picture, and these will round up the uncertain vote; but no "publicity" can possibly win for any article unless the thing itself is worth having on its own account. Advertising cannot sell a poor thing, but a good thing cannot sell without "publicity" and without publicity of the right sort.

Until every one of us is ready to contribute to election expenses, the rich man will keep his pull, because we, the great we in voting, the small we in giving, are not willing to do our duty. Big gifts will have big weight. All of us who do not give are responsible for these evils attendant upon large contributions.

THE STORY OF DJAMBI

THE controversy over Djambi among the oil interests has drawn attention to Sumatra of the Dutch East Indies, the island in which the now famous oil district is located. A publication of the Netherlands Chamber of Commerce in New York, entitled "Holland and Her Colonies," compares Sumatra in area with the State of California. One other point of resemblance is noted, in that both California and Sumatra possess great petroleum resources, developed

and prospective. According to the latest Government statistics the population consists of about 5,000,000 natives, 218,000 foreign Orientals, and 15,000 civilized whites, practically all Europeans. The natives are chiefly Malays and Javanese, having in their veins a large proportion of Hindu blood. Most of the foreign Orientals mentioned are Chinese and Arabs.

The Djambi residency (name of a territorial unit given to certain districts of the Dutch East Indies) covers an area of 18,610 square miles, nearly 5000 square miles larger than the whole of Holland, and has a population of 207,265, of which only 190 are Europeans, 3959 are foreign Orientals and 203,116 are natives, so that there are in all about eleven inhabitants to the square mile.

Agriculture and the gathering of forest products constitute the principal means of sustenance of the Djambi population. Here and there cattle are raised on a small scale, and on the coast many natives support themselves by fishing. Tobacco and coffee are grown rather extensively, while rubber trees and coconut trees produce considerable revenue for their owners. The country is heavily wooded and some of its timber species are in great demand. Among the mineral resources of Djambi one finds gold, copper and indications of tin. Coal may be found in many directions. But it is not Djambi's agriculture or fruit, nor its cattle or rubber or coal or gold or copper that has placed it "on the map." It is petroleum and its



MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE GREAT OIL DISTRICT OF DJAMBI

derivatives or products, "oil" as it is colloquially known, that has made the eyes of the world turn to the quiet, wooded, mountainous spot that glitters in the tropical sun, little aware of the commotion it has stirred up in the stately government cabinets and heavily carpeted committee rooms on the other side of the globe.

The author of "Holland and Her Colonies" cites official documents, and quotes from

newspaper statements and other sources, to show that even before Djambi itself had become a center of controversy, the Government of Holland was strongly committed to the idea of state exploitation of the oil fields. A proposition in 1915 to develop Djambi through an existing company on a royalty basis was defeated.

MR. WELLS ON "HISTORY FOR EVERYBODY"

EVER since the appearance of the "Outline of History," by H. G. Wells, an unusual amount of attention has been devoted to the book in English and American periodicals. Mr. Wells has taken due note of the various criticisms of the work as they have been published, and in the current number of the *Yale Review* he offers what he calls a postscript under the title, "History for Everybody." In this he admits that the "Outline" did not by any means contain "all the history the writer himself would like to know or ought to know, and much less did it profess to condense all history for its readers. It did attempt to sketch a framework which people might have in common, and into which everyone might fit his own particular reading and historical interests. It did try to give all history as one story."

The "Outline" was first issued in England in monthly parts, which were closely scrutinized by numerous readers, and Mr. Wells states that a considerable amount of detail was amended and improved by their suggestions. It was then completely reset and issued in book form, and has been extensively reviewed. Mr. Wells keeps files of all the criticisms and suggestions received, and the text of the book is periodically checked and modified in accordance with these comments. Mr. Wells thinks that within three or four years' time it will be possible to make a fresh issue in parts. He adds:

Naturally, in a copious work of this kind, there are many phrases, loose or weak or indiscreet or unjust, that jar on the writer as he rereads what he has written, and which need to be pruned and altered. Certain clumsinesses of construction will be corrected: the account of the Aryan-speaking peoples comes too early in the present edition for perfect lucidity, and it will be moved to a later chapter; and the account of the rise of the Dutch republic will be put in its proper chronological order before the account of the English commonweal. The chapter upon the changes in the earth's

climate seems to be a little heavy for many readers and may perhaps be taken out; and the work that is now being done by Rivers, Elliot Smith, and their associates upon the opening cultural phases from which the first civilizations arose and the application of the results of psychoanalysis to human history, may soon make it possible to rewrite the account of the stone ages in a much fuller and clearer, more assured and less speculative, fashion. In one or two places a proliferation of controversial footnotes has led to a distortion that calls for reduction: the dispute about the education of Mr. Gladstone, for example. Perhaps, too, the next year or so may supply material that will qualify the account of the negotiations and temporary settlements of the period of the Paris Conference. These are the chief changes probable; the larger part of the "Outline" will stand.

The author admits that some sentences and phrases in the "Outline," "colored by the writer's intense dislike for the extreme nationalism of Sinn Fein," are unjust to Ireland and will need modification. He further says:

The small amount of space given to Abraham Lincoln and to Mazzini and one or two other such figures has also been a matter for criticism. When the time comes to revise the text I think that criticism will have to be considered. Mazzini is probably a better figure than Gladstone as a center for the discussion of nationalism in modern Europe—if indeed that is to be discussed about any particular figure. It is also a valid criticism from a Chinese reader that the history of China is far too brief in comparison with the history of the Western world. The "Outline" contains no account of its philosophies and little of the struggle between the more nomadic North and the more agricultural South which runs so parallel with the European and Western Asiatic story. But, brief as the space devoted to China in the "Outline" is, it is better than nothing.

Mr. Wells replies in detail and at some length to Mr. A. W. Gomme, of Glasgow University, and to Mr. Belloc and Dr. Downey, who have attacked the "Outline" from the Roman Catholic point of view.

RUSSIAN LITERATURE UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKS

IN a recent issue of the *Tvorchestvo*, a monthly published by the Moscow Soviet, Mr. V. M. Fritche, a well-known literary critic, reviews the progress of Russian literature during the years of the Bolshevik régime. To the questions, What picture does that literature present? Has it become enriched with exceptional works? Have new, much-promising talents appeared? the author gives the following answer:

One has to admit that in general the conditions for the development and growth of *Belles-lettres* during the revolutionary years of the proletarian dictatorship were far from favorable. For this, however, the proletariat is not to blame.

Our literature was almost entirely the product of generations of writers and poets who grew in the environment of the then strengthening bourgeois régime. While our first revolution of 1905, a revolution mainly political, "bourgeois," which secured the rule of the capitalists and land-owners, found in the hearts of those generations of writers, as well as in the hearts of the entire *intelligentsia*, an enthusiastic response, enriching their creative faculties with new moods and images, the October revolution, the revolution of the peasants and workmen, the Socialist revolution, threw the majority of writers back under the ruins of the old world. We will not touch here upon the question as to how right they were from their "class" standpoint in their hostile attitude toward the victorious proletariat, nor dwell upon the question as to whether this hostile attitude was the product of the years of Stolypin's reactionary rule . . . , years of wholesale renegacy and the payment of fabulous honorariums to authors. Whatever it may have been, the thunders of the October revolution evoked in most of those who had sung hymns to the proletariat, only anger and hatred. They preferred to suffer exile rather than breathe the air of the proletarian republic. Some of these irreconcilable haters of the working class are no longer among the living. Leonid Andreyeff died in Finland from heart failure. Others are safely settled abroad. We do not know how far the atmosphere of the bourgeois camps proved favorable to their creative work. . . . We only know that Andreyeff died working over "Satan's Diary." Probably something in the line of his malicious attacks in the Paris "Cause Commune."

Others who were prominent in our literature until October, 1917, it is true, have remained within the boundaries of Soviet Russia, but they have not enriched the treasury of our literature with a single contribution. Some of them are following in their hearts those of their colleagues who have emigrated and have assumed an attitude of proud and disdainful silence, awaiting, together with the bourgeoisie, the return of the régime of the knout and the policeman. Some have so completely lost themselves when faced by

the new currents and demands of life that, notwithstanding their desire to create, they do not know what to say. Lastly, there are still others who undoubtedly sympathize with the cause, who have taken up Soviet work and are so engrossed with it, even infatuated, that they have no time for creative effort.

So the generations of writers who until October, 1917, were regarded as the pride and glory of our literature, not only have not contributed anything of value, but have given it nothing at all. Much more activity has been manifested by the futurists. They not only came over to the side of the new government after October, 1917, but having set the strings of their lyre to vibrate in the tune with the new mood, they sang the revolution of the workmen and peasants in dramas and in verse. Taking advantage of the moment when the generally recognized "coriphées" and "leaders" of literature retired or wrapped themselves in silence, the futurists cleverly elbowed themselves to the front and performed the rôle of poet-laureate to the laborer-peasant Russia. Having made a good deal of noise, out of proportion to their work, they grew less and less audible and became considerably reduced.

Special activity was manifested during these three years of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the camp of democracy. The writers and poets of this camp have grouped themselves around the *Proletarian Review*, published by the educational section of the All-Russian Soviet. Usually writers and poets who are in this camp call themselves and are called "proletarian." Of these, however, only a minority came of the working class, and even of the latter not all think and create like proletarians. To the poets and writers of democracy and the proletariat who had made a name for themselves before—such as Gerasimoff or Mashiroff, the novelists Bessalko and Sivatcheff—after October, 1917, were added quite a number of new names either little known or entirely unknown before, as Gasteff, Alexandrovsky, Kazin, Nikolaeff, Arsky, Kirilloff, Malashkin, the peasants Klueff, Oreshin, and many others.

Among the literary products of the above group Mr. Fritche finds two novels which, "although not masterpieces, yet deserve attention." One is an autobiographical novel by a workman-writer, B. Ivanoff, "Memoirs of the Past," which begins with a vivid picture of life in the days of serfdom and concludes with the movement of the Petrograd workmen in 1905; the other is the "Yellow Devil," which portrays a rich peasant-exploiter, with whom even his own sons, under the influence of revolutionary ideas, do not wish to associate.

A similar situation obtains in the realm of the drama. The writer finds only two

plays "quite fit for a workman-peasant theater, in so far as it pursues not only artistic but propaganda aims as well."

But the greatest gain has been made in the line of poetical works. According to Mr. Fritche, some poems in prose by Gasteff, poems by Kirilloff, Gerasimoff, Philipchenko, etc., "will undoubtedly remain forever in the treasury and in the history of our literature."

In conclusion the writer says:

Summing up, we must confess that during the three years of the dictatorship of the proletariat our literary crop has not been very abundant—the quality, too, being far from excellent. But three years is a short time, and the conditions under which literature has to develop—demoralization of the economic life, civil war, the slow dying of the old and the painful birth of the new—have not passed without their effect upon literary creativeness.

Was the literary crop more abundant in the years of the great French Revolution?

The blossoming season of our literature is still ahead.

FUTURE IMMIGRATION

THE new immigration law, limiting the number of immigrants to 3 per cent. of the number reported under the 1910 census, indicates a marked change in the national viewpoint on this subject. In the *North American Review*, for July, Miss Frances Kellor shows how the American attitude has been modified in recent years, and how the national policy in the future is likely to have an economic rather than an idealistic basis.

It is clear that there is now an insistent demand for a drastic restriction of immigration. Americans no longer think of the immigrant as essential to the development of our industries. Furthermore, the American faith in automatic assimilation has given way to apprehension. Yet the census figures for 1920 show that the gain in the past decade from immigration was comparatively slight. Our total population was increased by 2.6 per cent.—an average gain of 30,000 a year. For every two immigrants who entered the country, approximately one returned, giving a turnover in immigration population of 50 per cent.

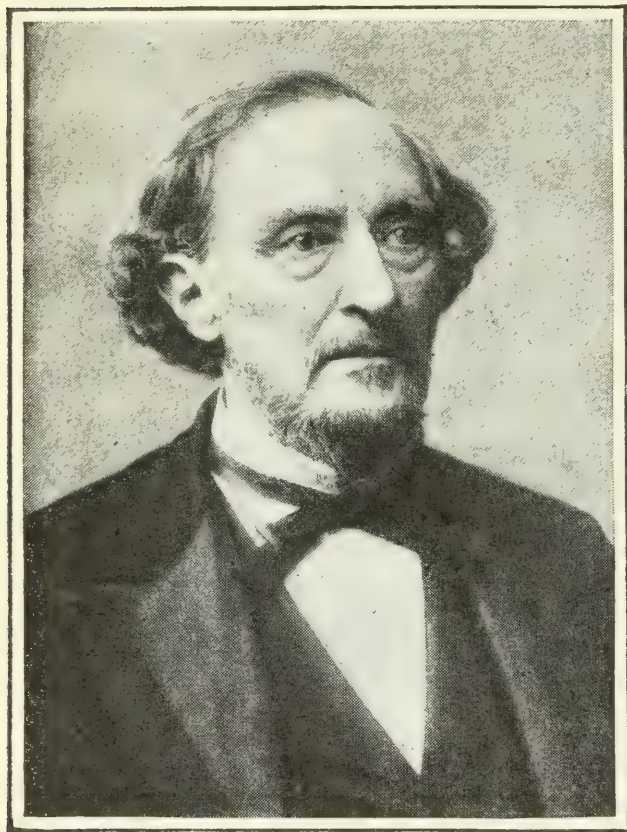
There are signs of a tendency among European nations toward international co-operation. Italy has issued a decree suspending immigration to the United States. Several years ago it took similar action with regard to Brazil when conditions of settlement in that country were unsatisfactory. It is now perfecting negotiations with South American countries and with Mexico to receive Italian immigration. A commercial corporation, indorsed by the government, is being organized to distribute this immigration efficiently. International agreements are now being negotiated in Europe to locate the surplus population of one country in a country that needs labor under conditions that will not prove burdensome to either. Thus the governments of Czechoslovakia and

France mutually agree to grant all administrative facilities to citizens of each country and their families who repair to their countries for labor purposes, as well as for repatriation. It also authorizes the collective registration of workmen.

It provides in general that immigrant workmen, for equal labor, shall receive the same rate of pay as nationals in the same category, and that they will enjoy the same protection accorded to native workmen. It provides for the payment of pensions, indemnities and compensation for injuries upon terms as satisfactory to foreign- as to native-born workmen. Inspectors and correspondents who speak the language of the immigrant workmen are to be employed by the country of domicile to see that these provisions are carried out. No especial authorization is required for nationals either to enter or leave the country of domicile. But they may secure a contract of registration, in which case they will be directed to their destination and may receive free shelter and care *en route*. These centers will also provide employment. If employment is unobtainable the native government will be advised and provision will be made for their return. Under organized registration, the two governments fix by common accord the number and category of workmen who will be the object of registration in a way not to harm either the economical development of the country or of the workmen. A joint commission meets at least once a year to determine the number and kind of immigrants, the transportation, sanitary protection and other measures necessary to their transfer. Registration is effected through the central labor office and careful inquiry is made into conditions in establishments in the country applying for labor in another country, as to strikes and lockouts and labor agitation.

The League of Nations has taken up the subject through the International Emigration Commission of the Labor Office. A questionnaire has been sent out and a correspondent appointed in each country, including the United States. Sooner or later this country will be asked to have a part in these new international agreements.

BARTOLOMÉ MITRE, GRAND OLD MAN OF THE ARGENTINE



FORMER PRESIDENT MITRE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA

ON June 26, 1921, the Republic of Argentina celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Bartolomé Mitre, undoubtedly one of the greatest men yet produced by South America. His long and eventful life centered around the city of his birth, Buenos Aires, where, January 18, 1906, he also died.

Mitre enjoyed the unique distinction of being a successful, many-sided man: soldier, statesman, historian, traveler, editor, poet, writer and translator.

Estudios, a monthly review published by the Academia Literaria del Plata, of Buenos Aires, for its leading June article presents a very interesting and illuminative sketch of the life and work of Mitre. *Estudios* says: "The history of his existence is the history of his country, for he was born shortly after the national birthday; he was born in the days of American liberty, when the cannon of Maipú and Chacabuco still resounded, and died after having seen Argentina develop into a strong country, occupying her place among the modern great nations of the world."

At the age of sixteen Mitre entered the Academia Militar de Montevideo, and two years later (1839) he was to be found on the battlefield, an officer of artillery, fighting under the orders of José Fructuoso Rivera, who was later President of the Republic of Uruguay, against Juan Manuel Ortiz de Rosas, the Argentine dictator.

Three years later he was again with Rivera in his invasion of Entre Rios, fighting in the bloody battle of Arroyo Grande. After this disastrous event he returned to Montevideo and from 1843 to 1846 took a distinguished part in the defense of the city, which was besieged by Manuel Oribe, the victor of Arroyo Grande.

The Rivera revolution of 1846 obliged the Argentinians to retire from Montevideo, and Mitre is next found in Bolivia, where he was named Director of the Colegio Militar, Lieutenant Colonel and Chief of Staff of the army that fought on the fields of Lálava and Vitiche. An uprising in La Paz caused him to be deprived of his military power, and he was given only two hours within which to leave the country.

He went into Peru and from Peru to Chile, where he edited *El Comercio* and *El Progreso* with the same zeal he had previously shown in his editorship of *La Nueva Era* and *El Nacional* in Montevideo, and *La Epoca* in Bolivia. His violent publications against the government caused him to be deported, when he again took refuge in Peru. In 1850 he returned to Chile, and here he learned of the war between Justo José de Urquiza, the Argentine liberator, and Rosas. He immediately returned to Argentina, offering his services to Urquiza, and took part in the memorable battle of Monte Caseros. After this decisive defeat Rosas fled to England and order was temporarily restored in the Republic, Mitre being elected a Deputy from Buenos Aires.

Later the forces of Urquiza overcame the September Revolution, promoted by the Deputies of Buenos Aires, dissolved the Legislature and deported Mitre and many others.

Upon his return to Buenos Aires, Mitre, not wishing to treat with Urquiza, the first President of the Republic of Argentina, lent his support to maintaining the Province of Buenos Aires as a separate entity in so far as the rest of the country was concerned.

Urquiza marched against the city, and in November, 1859, had the pleasure of seeing national unity realized.

Santiago Derqui succeeded Urquiza as President, but was not gifted with his prudence nor magnanimity of sentiment. Mitre at this time occupied the chair as Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires. The events of San Juan (province) and the non-acceptance of the Buenos Aires Deputies on the part of the Paraná (province) government gave cause for another rupture between Buenos Aires and the other provinces. Urquiza was chosen by President Derqui to head the National troops sent against Mitre. They met on the field of Pavón, where Urquiza disbanded his troops and retired, leaving Mitre in full control of the situation. Fortunately for the country, however, after this mock battle, Mitre directed all of his attention to solidifying the unification of the Republic.

The Argentine provinces put the destiny of their country into his hands, and Mitre therefore called a general election for the 25th of May, 1862.

Four months later Mitre was made President of the Republic, serving with great credit to himself and his country from 1862 to 1868. The war with Paraguay interrupted his administration, for he delegated his powers to his Vice-President and again went into battle, finally triumphing over the forces of Paraguay after battles waged by the largest armies that up to the present time have ever been amassed in South America. Peace with Paraguay, however, was not possible during the term of Mitre. It was finally concluded in December, 1869.

Upon his retirement from the Chief Magistracy, Mitre founded *La Nacion*, of Buenos Aires, which is still one of the two leading daily newspapers of the capital, and is still under the management of the Mitre family. He was later elected National Senator, and the Argentine people were so well pleased with his services that they presented him with a home in the Calle San Martín.

In 1873 he was sent upon important diplomatic missions to Brazil and to Paraguay. The following year he was again a candidate for the Presidency, but being defeated he returned to the army and for a time sustained his enviable record as a soldier and citizen.

However, in 1877 he, with patriotic abnegation, adopted the policy of conciliation, which avoided a new civil war; and from 1878 to 1880 he again served as a Deputy for the Province of Buenos Aires in the Congreso Nacional.

During 1890-1891 he made his famous European trip, being received and entertained in all of the principal centers of the Old World. His return to Buenos Aires occasioned a general public celebration. Another great popular demonstration in his favor was made in 1901, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, when practically the entire population of the city passed in review in front of his house, acclaiming the venerable soldier and citizen whom they all held in affection and esteem.

The foregoing treats principally of Mitre's many military exploits, and to the casual reader it would seem that not much time was left for other pursuits. However, he was a man who knew not how to be idle, and for this reason the Spanish-speaking people became greatly indebted to him for his many historical writings, poems, translations, and other works. It was during the siege of Montevideo that he commenced the translation of the odes of Horace, and he had previously translated Dante's "Divine Comedy." Dr. Osvaldo Magnasco, one of the foremost interpreters of Dante, had steadfastly held that his works and those of Homer and Virgil were not susceptible of successful translation into the Castilian tongue, but was free to change his opinion after the publication of the translations by Mitre.

Mitre was an incessant collector of books, especially those relating to American history. At the time of his death it was said his library had grown to such proportions that it was claimed that neither the British Museum, the Congressional Library at Washington, nor any other collection possessed so many rare books relating to American history as the "Biblioteca Mitre," which he left as a bequest to the City of Buenos Aires.

After having rendered a long and useful service to his country, in which he became the idol of his fellow-citizens, on January 18, 1906, Mitre died, and his remains were placed in the "Mausoleo de la Recoleta," Buenos Aires, a veritable shrine of devotion for all Argentinians.



THE NEW BOOKS

SKETCHES, ESSAYS, AND ADDRESSES

Folks. By Victor Murdock. The Macmillan Company. 220 pp.

It was a pleasure last year to praise the book that recorded Victor Murdock's impressions of China as that country appeared to a Kansas editor and politician. We should say that in Kansas, rather more than anywhere else in the

United States, journalism maintains its place as a leading profession, with its proper relationship to public affairs and its kinship to literature. Kansas is without large cities, but it has numerous towns that are prosperous enough to support good papers, and that afford opportunity for the development of men like Henry Allen, Victor Murdock, William Allen White, Senator Capper, and many another.

Victor Murdock's father was the typical Kansas editor in the early period, whose imagination and power helped to create



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VICTOR MURDOCK
(Author of "Folks")

the now flourishing city of Wichita. Victor followed in his father's footsteps and became an influential newspaper man, a brilliant Congressman, and a national character. He is now a member of the Federal Trade Commission at Washington, but he belongs to Kansas, and preëminently to Wichita. The book on China was in the first instance a series of newspaper letters to the homefolk in Kansas. In these days, much of the best American writing is to be found in newspapers and periodicals. Most of the material published in American books is far below the standards of good journalism. Thus the Murdock letters about China formed a better book than nine out of ten of the numerous volumes on the Far East that have appeared within recent years from the pens of book writers.

It is easy to infer (though we are not told) that Mr. Murdock's new volume, called "Folks," has been compiled from articles contributed originally to the Kansas paper. Each contains about 1200 words, and there are just enough of them to run once a week for a year. They are marvelously varied, yet each has its place in a scheme that gives unity to the volume. These sketches, in their portrayal of typical characters, as related to the settlement and progress of a certain portion of the country, have not been sur-

passed by anything in our recent literature. One is reminded of the work of the best Russian writers, in their power to present their characters and to paint impressionistic pictures of life in country and town. Some of Mr. Murdock's "Folks" are well-known individuals like Senator Ingalls, Carrie Nation, and C. Wood Davis; but most of them are obscure persons who are types of frontier life as Victor Murdock knew it forty years ago. The art of this book is such as to give it rank with the foremost examples of the work of contemporary American writers.

The Circus and other Essays and Fugitive Pieces. By Joyce Kilmer. George H. Doran Company. 311 pp.

Although appearing as an independent volume, this collection of somewhat random articles and pieces constitutes the third volume (and presumably the last) in an attractive uniform edition of the writings of the late Joyce Kilmer, the young American journalist and poet who gave his life for the country in July, 1918. The appreciation of Kilmer has grown steadily. He had done his work as best he could, mostly for newspapers, without taking himself too seriously. Nearly everything in the present volume is reprinted from newspaper sketches which in their collected form had some years ago been consistently rejected by every book publisher to whom presented. But, as light essays, they have really a permanent value; and they illustrate again the truth of our observation, in the foregoing notice of Victor Murdock's book, that much of the best American writing nowadays is primarily for the newspapers and periodicals. Many of Kilmer's verses had true merit, and all of his writing had a quality that seems, particularly well, to stand the test of collection in permanent form.

Things That Have Interested Me. By Arnold Bennett. Doran Company. 332 pp.

Mr. Arnold Bennett, besides being a novelist, has always been an essayist and a journalistic commentator. His newest volume, "Things that Have Interested Me," has an immense range of topics, most of them treated within a few hundred words. The longest sketch perhaps is Bennett's well-known report of the Carpentier-Beckett prizefight. The shortest contains only four lines, and tells about the wife of an American official who is delighted at seeing a great munitions factory in England in 1918, and who exclaims: "I can just feel the monarchical principle pulsating through all this effort!" There are numerous comments upon war-time conditions in England, particularly in the years 1917 and 1918. Taken as a whole, this book throws flashlights upon many phases of contemporary British existence, although very casual.

The Senate of the United States and Other Essays and Addresses, Historical and Literary. By Henry Cabot Lodge. Charles Scribner's Sons. 248 pp.

It has been fifty years since Henry Cabot Lodge finished his undergraduate course at Harvard, and forty years since he began his political career by going to the Massachusetts legislature. Through this long period he has borne the reputation of a scholar in politics; and his historical and literary interests and activities have been so well sustained that his harshest political critics would not think of questioning his intellectual accomplishments. From time to time Mr. Lodge collects his current addresses and essays, and thus another volume is added to what are now more than a score of creditable volumes from his fluent pen. His latest book begins with an article on the constitutional position of the United States Senate, and ends with his notable tercentenary address on the Pilgrims of Plymouth. It also contains his obituary address in the Senate on Theodore Roosevelt. The rest of the volume is distinctly of a bookish and literary character, of which the paper best worth mentioning is his address on the value of the classics. Particularly agreeable is the little essay read at a Radcliffe College commencement, called "New Lamps for Old," in which he declares that "Ulysses and Hector, Don Quixote and Hamlet, are more real, are better known to us than any men who lived and walked the earth and whose deeds and words fill the pages of history."

Personal Prejudices. By Mrs. R. Clipston Sturgis. Houghton Mifflin Company. 218 pp.

Mrs. Sturgis, whose previous book, "The Random Reflections of a Grandmother," found many appreciative readers, carries through this new volume of essays her frank and charming garrulity about domestic and social affairs, with all the inherited wisdom of our best New England families and with just enough of humor

and whimsicality to lift the style above the commonplaceness of the subject matter.

Essays on Modern Dramatists. By William Lyon Phelps. Macmillan. 278 pp.

Professor William Lyon Phelps of Yale is a man who has always insisted upon keeping in touch with life as well as letters. He also "writes for the papers," and is in demand as a speaker on all sorts of literary occasions. If he were too closely confined to the professor's study, these six essays about J. M. Barrie, George Bernard Shaw, John Galsworthy, Clyde Fitch, Maurice Maeterlinck and Edmund Rostand would be neither so useful nor so readable. Professor Phelps is himself human and creative, and a critic who is not afraid to like things unreservedly. And so he can help you understand Barrie in all his ways and works, just as Victor Murdock makes you know the pioneer types of Kansas and Oklahoma. Few critics have dealt so justly with George B. Shaw as does Professor Phelps. These six essays about dramatic writers are not merely sane and helpful, but they are most excellent examples of American essay writing. Mr. Phelps is a constructive critic who helps us to understand the present creative period in dramatic literature, which is so well exemplified by the work of the six subjects of these essays.

A New England Group and Others. By Paul Elmer More. Houghton Mifflin. 295 pp.

Mr. Paul Elmer More's latest volume of essays, like that of Professor Phelps, was mainly written originally for the periodical press or for other current purposes. The papers range from early New England poetry to the work of Henry Adams and the philosophy of Henry Holt.

Perhaps the best essay in the first part of the book is the one devoted to Emerson, while in the last part the essay on John Morley is most noteworthy, the volume ending with a discussion of Mrs. Humphry Ward and the Oxford of her period.

THE VERSAILLES TREATY

The Peace of Justice. By Raphael-Georges Levy. George H. Doran Company. 96 pp.

Raphael-Georges Levy, of the French Senate and the Institute of France, is a famous publicist and economist whose authoritative standing needs no argument. He has written a book called "The Peace of Justice," which now appears in an abridged translation prepared under the direction of Mr. Maurice Léon, of New York, who has frequently written for this periodical. The author of this work goes directly at the task of showing the essential justice of the economic provisions of the treaty of June 29, 1919, thereby answering with facts, figures and arguments those writers like Mr. John Maynard Keynes, who have always asserted that the burdens imposed upon Germany were outrageous and impossible to be borne. M. Levy gives an interesting review of Germany's efficiency as a wealth-producer just before the Great War, and undertakes to show

that the Germans, with their extraordinary capacity for production, will in the near future be able to contribute a large enough public revenue to meet interest on the reparation total as agreed upon, together with increments of the principal sum. All reports regarding the present condition of Germany's resumption of work and trade would tend to show that M. Levy's predictions will come true.

In an introduction, written by the former President, Raymond Poincaré, it is declared that "Mr. Raphael-Georges Levy has shown beyond doubt that our claims are not excessive, that they conform not only to the stipulations of the treaty, but also to the precepts of right, and are not of a nature to hinder, in future, a fresh economic development of Germany." He believes that American friends will find in this book ample reason for supporting everything in the treaty that is of vital interest to France, and particularly all that concerns reparation for French losses.

NOTES OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Hail, Columbia! By W. L. George. Harper & Brothers. 243 pp.

The most recent British attempt to appraise the United States is Mr. W. L. George's volume, giving "random impressions of a conservative English radical." Mr. George gave up six months to travel and observation from New England to the Gulf, thence nearly to the Pacific Coast, and back through the Middle West. Unlike many of his predecessors among English literary men who have visited this country with a literary purpose in mind, Mr. George is candid enough to admit that he may not have seen quite everything in the "States" that was worth seeing. On the other hand, he makes it clear that a good many things came under his observation that other travelers have missed, and the grace and wit with which he describes our life and institutions go far to atone for such shortcomings as would naturally be expected in the record of so brief a journey covering so much ground.

Across America with the King of the Belgians. By Pierre Goemaere. Translated by Beatrice Sorchan. E. P. Dutton & Co. 149 pp.

The King of the Belgians was the first sovereign of a European country who had made an official visit to the United States, and the impression that he made everywhere was exceedingly favorable. He seemed to be regarded as a permanent president rather than as a monarch of the traditional kind, for Albert is one of the most modern of rulers and leaders. The present little volume is not primarily for Americans, but it has been translated from the French of a member of the small party of Belgians who accompanied the King, the Queen and Prince Leopold. The writer's impressions of America and Americans, while very casual and superficial, are nevertheless both amusing and agreeable; and they are upon the whole highly complimentary. King Albert's hold upon American admiration and confidence is to some extent an international asset and in more than one way it is of material benefit to his country.

Japanese Impressions. With a Note on Confucius. Translated from the French of Paul-Louis Couchoud by Frances Rumsey. With a preface by Anatole France. John Lane Company. 155 pp.

A sympathetic study of modern Japan by a distinguished French scholar. M. Couchoud conveys his impressions of Japan in three chapters—"The Japanese Quality," "The Lyric Epigrams of Japan," and "Japanese Patriotism." To these he appends a note on Confucius, resulting from the author's visit to the philosopher's native land. It is interesting to note that M. Couchoud's chapter on "Japanese Patriotism" is a digest of notes kept in Japan during the first two months of the war with Russia. The author's sympathies at first were more naturally with Russia, but as he states, "little by little Japan conquered per-

sonal instances of dissimilarity, as she afterward conquered her enemies."

This World of Ours. By J. H. Curle. George H. Doran Company. 313 pp.

Journeys around the world are sometimes described in books, but it is certainly unusual to find in a single volume detailed observations of so many widely separated lands as are here presented by Mr. Curle, a mining engineer, who has entered and explored 500 gold mines in thirty-eight countries, from Siberia to the "Gold Coast"; from Australia to the Klondike; and from Cripple Creek to the Andes. This book sums up the author's impressions of many countries—Australia, Ecuador and Colombia, Canada and Newfoundland, India, China, the South Seas, with a chapter on the more familiar European tour.

Handbook of Yosemite National Park. Compiled and edited by Ansel F. Hall. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 347 pp. Ill.

This summer probably more Americans than ever before are journeying to the different national parks of the Great West by motor car. For those who will visit the Yosemite Park there seemed to be a demand for something more than the ordinary guide books on which tourists commonly rely for their information. The need has been met in the form of a beautifully illustrated handbook, containing a series of articles on the Yosemite region by leading authorities. The history, geology, birds, animals, fishes, insects, trees and flowers of that part of California are adequately described, and there are chapters of practical suggestions on "Camping and Mountaineering," "Motoring" and "Photography." Director Mather of the U. S. National Park Service outlines the ideas and policies of the service, and Superintendent Lewis, of the Yosemite Park, writes on park administration. Prospective visitors to the Park during the present season should by all means provide themselves with this valuable handbook.

The White River Badlands. By Cleophas C. O'Harra. Rapid City, S. D. South Dakota School of Mines. Bulletin No. 13. 181 pp. Ill.

From a geologist's viewpoint one of the most interesting regions in the United States is what is known as the White River Badlands of South Dakota. In this bulletin Dr. O'Harra, of the South Dakota School of Mines, describes these wonderful deposits, not for the benefit of scientists only, but "in order that the intellectually alert, the indifferent thinker, the old and the young, irrespective of educational advantage or technical training, may have opportunity to get a clearer and more comprehensive idea of this wonderful part of Nature's handiwork." The story of animal and vegetable life that is here unfolded will be to most readers, whose attention has not been drawn to it in scientific treatises, a startling revelation.

IN THE WILDS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Taming New Guinea. By Capt. C. A. W. Monckton. John Lane Company. 337 pp.

The British Empire, as a whole and in its parts, is under much discussion in these days of the Imperial Conference; and what there is that holds the thing together is to many minds an insoluble mystery. The truth is that the British Empire is a kind of religion, and is held together by the zeal of its apostles and emissaries. Among the greatest leaders and masters of men in all history have been these builders of the British Empire. There are indirect ways of studying the nature of British supremacy in outlying regions that are more successful than the attempt to understand the empire by seeking to make it conform to a logical or systematic scheme.

One of the latest additions to the British Empire, previous to the acquisitions that the Great War has brought under the thin disguise of "mandates," was a part of the great Island of New Guinea as it faced the colony of Queensland in Australia. The British Protectorate was set up in 1884. In the same year Germany took control of the northeastern part of the island, together with many neighboring islands. The Dutch have the best half of New Guinea, which is the western part. With the outbreak of the Great War, the Australians took possession of German New Guinea, and jurisdiction over what was the British portion has now also passed to the Australian Commonwealth.

For a good many years the author of the present volume, Captain Monckton, was a British resident magistrate in New Guinea, having gone there at the age of twenty-three, where he came under the authority of Sir William

McGregor, the British Governor. McGregor had been a poor Scotch student who graduated brilliantly in medicine and went out to Australia. Monckton's picture of the nobility of character and the extraordinary personality of McGregor gives us a sense of real acquaintance with another of the great figures of British Imperialism. The immense island of New Guinea has not as yet been fully explored, and not much has been known by the world at large about the natives. Captain Monckton gives us a charming narrative of experiences in New Guinea, all the more valuable for its total lack of pretensions.

An African Adventure. By Isaac F. Marcossou. John Lane Company. 288 pp.

Mr. Marcossou is an indefatigable traveler who studies regions, interprets leaders, and writes fascinating articles. His recent journey through Africa was followed by great numbers of readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*. His material well justifies the expended form in which it now appears. Thus the book opens with a sketch of General Smuts, who stands to-day probably the most conspicuous statesman in the world. From Cape Town Mr. Marcossou proceeded to a study of the regions with which the career of Cecil Rhodes was identified. Perhaps the most interesting chapters are those describing the Congo region, in which present conditions are graphically set forth. Chapters that will interest many Americans are those which narrate the story of Thomas F. Ryan's connection with King Leopold of Belgium in exploiting the resources of the Congo country. The volume is timely, in view of the London conference.

SOCIOLOGY: ECONOMICS

The Labor Movement. By Frank Tannenbaum. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 259 pp.

This discussion of the labor movement is unusual and distinctive in more ways than one. As a description of the movement from within, it is remarkable in its dignified abstention from anything like propaganda or proselyting. The author is convinced that the world is being made over by the forces that we designate collectively as the labor movement. He thinks he sees a definite outcome, and he proceeds to set forth in this volume both the process and the outcome. This he does in a straightforward, thoroughly scientific way. The work is further remarkable for its fairmindedness and tolerance in dealing with the conservative influences at work in the world. It is significant that in a note of acknowledgment of assistance the author should make known his indebtedness, first, to a group of I. W. W. members, and second, to a number of well-known members of the Columbia University faculty, including Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Professor Henry R. Seager, and Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes. The book is cordially commended by all these gentlemen.

The Engineers and the Price System. By Thorstein Veblen. B. W. Huebsch. 169 pp.

A series of essays written two years ago to show the increasing relative importance of the "technicians," as compared with the so-called captains of industry. The author is led into an analysis of Russian Bolshevism, and contrasts industrial conditions in Russia with those here. His conclusion is that in this country the vested interests are still secure against the threat of a revolutionary overturn.

The High Cost of Strikes. By Marshall Olds. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 286 pp.

In this volume the author undertakes to show the relation between strikes and the high cost of food, clothing and shelter, and the danger existing in the present practice of adjusting labor questions by means of strikes. The author has had many years of experience as a workingman, and states that he has never been an employer of labor. The author's remedy for the ills of the present situation is practically summed up in the one exhortation: "Make labor obey the law."

American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education. By Paul H. Douglas. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Volume XCV. Columbia University. Longmans, Green & Co. Agents. 348 pp.

This work begins with a historical survey of the development and decay of apprenticeship in America, and proceeds to set forth the present conditions of American children in industry, the educational requirements and the modern substitutes for an apprenticeship. Four concluding chapters consider the subject in its social aspects.

Sociology and Ethics. By Edward Cary Hayes. D. Appleton and Company. 354 pp.

The method pursued in this book is not that of the ordinary writer on ethics. The author begins with the facts of social life and seeks in them solutions for the various problems of ethics. Students and teachers of ethics will find here a fresh viewpoint.

Schooling of the Immigrant. By Frank V. Thompson. Harper & Brothers. 408 pp.

This is the first of a series of studies of Americanization which aims to establish a common viewpoint between the native and immigrant populations in the interest of national unity. Education of the immigrant is a matter that is perhaps too often taken for granted, without full and frank consideration of the facts. We have in this volume detailed accounts of just what has been accomplished—and many will be surprised that it is so little—by way of training the foreign-born for the responsibilities of American citizenship.

Immigrant Health and the Community. By Michael M. Davis, Jr. Harper & Brothers. 482 pp.

This volume of the "Americanization Studies" gives a survey of health conditions confronting the newly arrived immigrant in America, and analyzing those health problems that are peculiar to the immigrant, and describing fully the American agencies and methods of dealing with

those conditions and problems. The volume concludes with the definite program for health promotion.

Modern Finance. By Émile Burns. Oxford University Press. 64 pp.

A Capital Levy and a Levy on War Wealth. By A. C. Pigou. Oxford University Press. 62 pp.

Industrial Ideals. By Victor Gollancz. Oxford University Press. 63 pp.

Why Prices Rise and Fall. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Oxford University Press. 63 pp.

A series of brief, popular expositions, published in London under the title of "The World of To-Day," and intended to serve as guides to the discussion of current problems and events. The series is under the general editorship of Victor Gollancz, and the monographs thus far issued, while non-technical in method of presentation, are all authoritative and scholarly in the true sense.

Business Costs. By DeWitt Carl Eggleston and Frederick B. Robinson. D. Appleton and Company. 587 pp.

This treatise covers all the principles of cost accounting for extractive, manufacturing, and mercantile industries. Several complete cost systems are explained. The literature on the subject has been so thoroughly reviewed by the authors that their own work may be considered to be, as the preface states, "a digest of all available literature on costs in the English language."

Elements of Bond Investment. By A. M. Sakolski. The Ronald Press Company. 158 pp.

The questions that should be asked and answered preliminary to bond investment could hardly be more clearly stated than in this compact little book. Never before were so many Americans interested in the subject of bonds as at the present time. The facts and suggestions set forth so concisely by the author should prove helpful to investors everywhere.

A NEW ATLAS OF A NEW WORLD

Victory Atlas of the World. Prepared under the direction of Alexander Gross, F. R. G. S. Published for the *Daily Telegraph* by *Geographia*, Ltd., 55 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4, and 1463 Broadway, New York. 284 plates.

Although more than two years have elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, the remapping of Europe has hardly yet been completed. From August, 1914, until the present year we were without a world atlas that accurately showed the boundaries and outlying territories of the great European powers. We now have a volume of this kind which embodies the best results of the mapmaker's art and at the same time reproduces accurately the boundaries made

definitive at Versailles, including, of course, those of the new countries of Central Europe which before the war had no existence. There are topographical as well as political maps and also economic inset maps showing the sources of all important raw materials—iron, lead, rubber, wool, silk, etc. These features, together with the ocean charts giving steamship routes and distances, make the atlas exceptionally valuable to the business man, whether interested in import or export trade. For the general student there are many special aids, such as the inset maps showing the various belligerent states before the war, for purposes of comparison. The lettering is unusually large and clear, and the printing quite equal to the best European standards.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

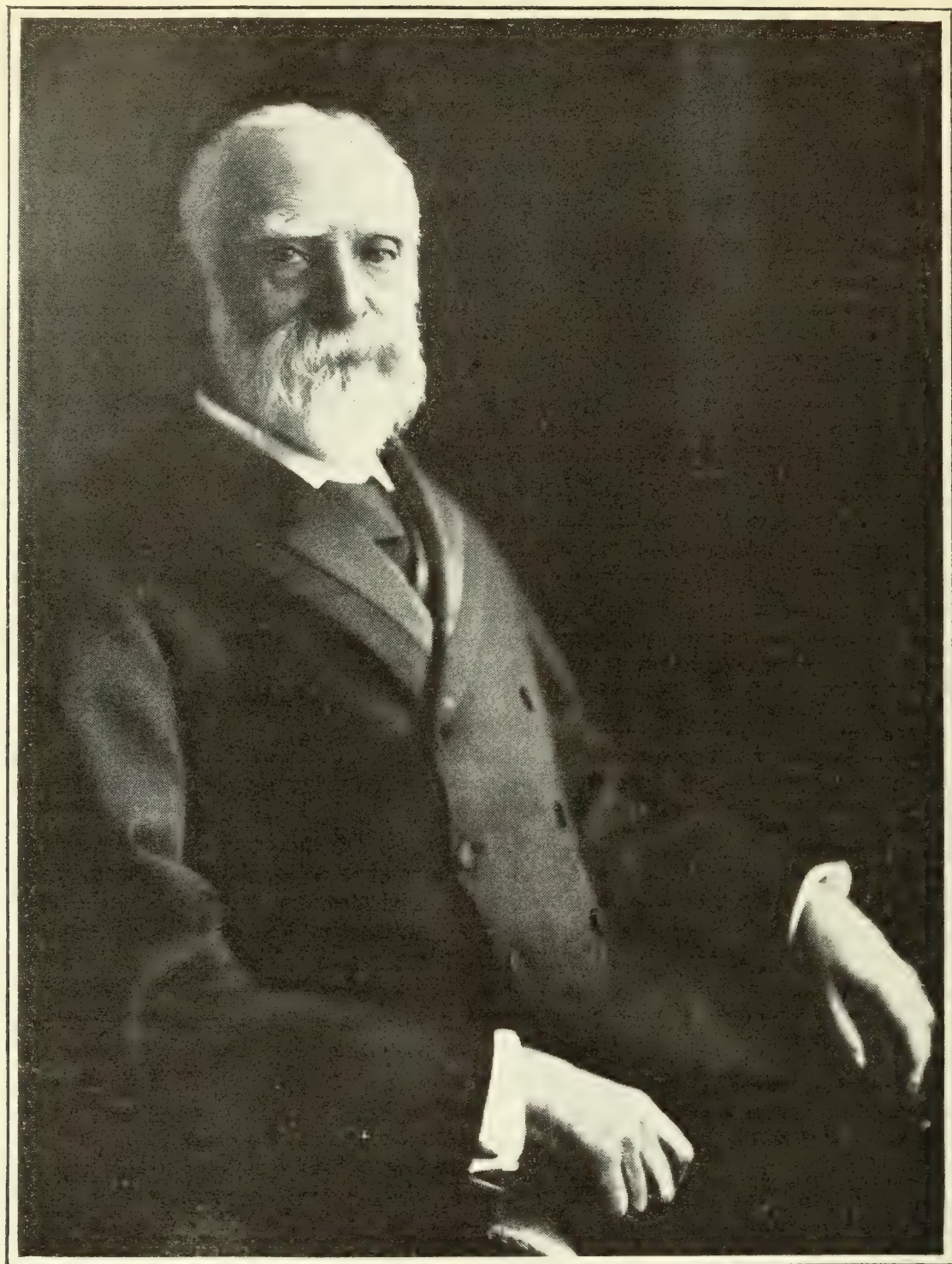
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JAMES BRYCE (VISCOUNT BRYCE SINCE 1914), EMINENT PUBLICIST AND
INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN

Lord Bryce is of all Englishmen the one best known in the United States, and he is also the one who is most thoroughly familiar with our political and social institutions. He has been delivering lectures this summer before the Institute of Politics at Williams College (see page 272); and his sagacious discussion of world problems has been reported in leading newspapers from one coast to the other, and has been commended in hundreds of editorials. Mr. Bryce, as his friends continue to call him from force of habit, was in his earlier career a professor at Oxford for a quarter-century; was for more than that length of time a Member of Parliament, serving also in Cabinet posts; and, leaving the House of Commons in 1907, was for six years Ambassador at Washington, after which he accepted a peerage and took his place in the House of Lords. He has always been a student of history, and for sixty years has kept himself intimately informed regarding international affairs. The most famous of his many books is his "American Commonwealth," while the latest is a comprehensive work on "Modern Democracies" reviewed in this periodical three months ago. At eighty-three, he is doing work that shows no decline in any of the qualities that had made his earlier writing so notable for its contact with realities as well as for its sanity of judgment and its fine humanity.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The
November
Conference*

Plans for the international conference on disarmament and Far Eastern questions have been steadily approaching completion. Informal acceptances having been received from the three European and two Asiatic governments that were approached on the subject by our State Department, there were issued on August 11 the formal invitations addressed to the foreign offices of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and China. The conference is to begin its work on November 11, this being the anniversary of the armistice of 1918, which brought the actual end of the Great War. The conference is to be held at the right time and under the right auspices. The painful period of preliminary attempts at readjustment after the conflict simply had to be lived through; they could not have been avoided by any process short of a radical change in human nature. It will appear when the conference assembles that a great deal has been accomplished in getting particular problems more or less completely solved. There are many hopeful signs that the Washington Conference may be not merely promotive of the spirit of harmony, but notable in marking the forward movement of mankind. Civilization itself is in jeopardy; and the task of this conference is to turn the scale against destructive rivalries and to make permanent and secure the peace that was promised in the declarations of principle upon which the armistice of 1918 was explicitly based.

*American
Ideals and
Policies*

It was the United States that laid down certain doctrines which all the belligerent powers accepted. One of these prescriptions was general disarmament based upon international coöperation. It was America that

supplied the force which turned the scale and ended the war; and it was America which led in proclaiming a new era of peace and good-will based upon right rather than force. Circumstances have shown that America must continue to play a leading part, if this new era of harmony is to be realized without a further ordeal of disaster. American ideals have not changed, and they are not under any exclusive guardianship, but are commonly entertained. So far as we are concerned in this country, there are only two intelligent policies that lie before us as alternatives. One is to secure our own peace by making very formidable and costly preparations to enforce peace whenever discord in any direction seems to threaten us. That is to say, if there is to be such a thing as competitive naval preparedness, we must assert our claim to the first place, not only for our own security but because circumstances make us comparatively disinterested. But the world at large cannot endure the burden of competitive armament; and therefore the second alternative—disarmament by agreement—is the one that must be insisted upon.

*Logic
of Dis-
armament*

This second alternative will not be secured by a mere bargain among naval powers to stop building new ships or to maintain navies of a certain estimated relative strength. We have reached the time when there can be no compromise between the reliance upon sheer force and the reliance upon law and good faith. It has become the fashion—and a most excellent fashion too—for British and American publicists and statesmen to say that there is to be no armament policy in either of these two countries that is based upon a distrust of the sincerity and good-will of the other. If this means anything at all, it

means that the British navy can be no more a menace to the security of Americans than to that of Canadians or Australians. And it also means, on the other hand, that the legitimate interests of the British Empire would be precisely as safe with the American navy foremost as with the British navy leading in power. If public men believe this, now is the time to show it by deeds. A day must surely come when the armed assertion of any country whatsoever on the high seas must be regarded as an international nuisance to be suppressed. Either that day must come, or else wars must go on until there is one imperial aggregation maintained by one victorious navy. It is of the utmost consequence that this question of naval disarmament should be discussed on broad principles and that it should not be unduly influenced by the points of view of technical naval authorities.

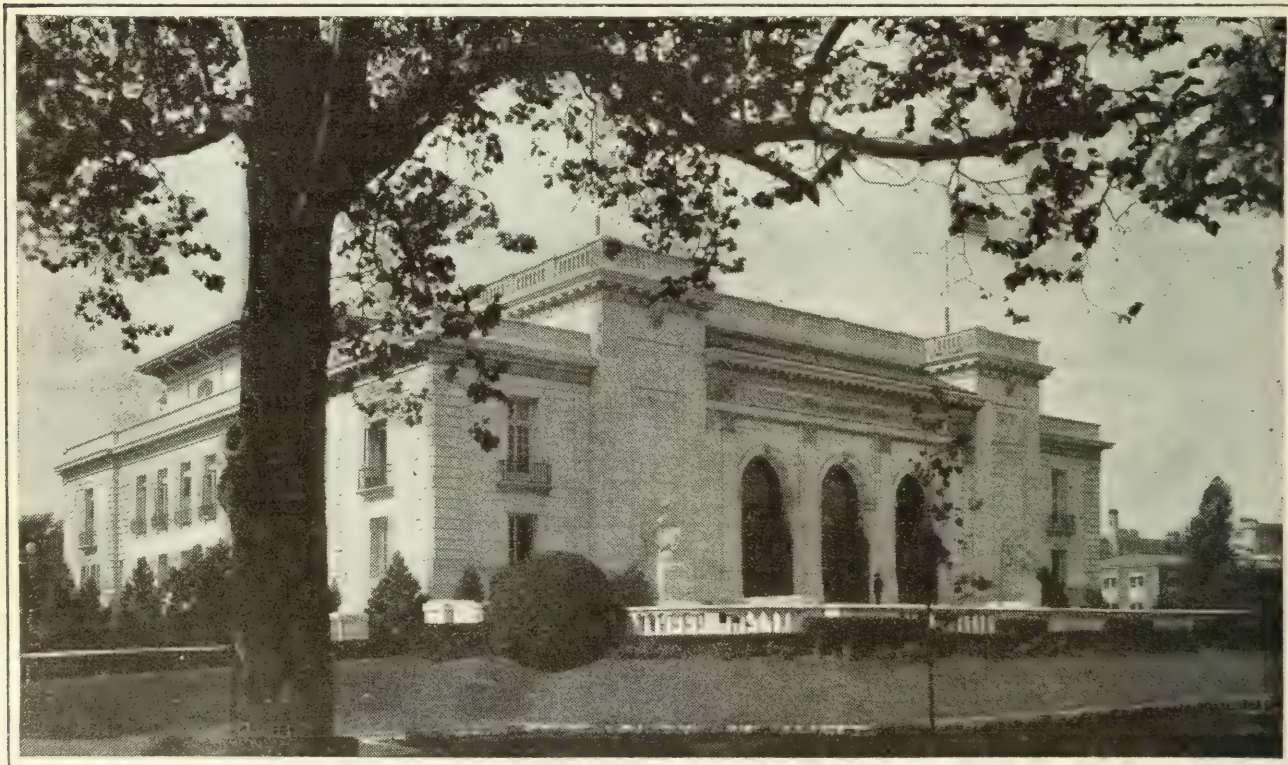
*Essentials
to Be
Demanded*

The proper thing for the Washington Conference to do is to move in the direction of real disarmament by accepting the principle of coöperation. We should know in advance what we want, and should bring it to pass. The same kind of agreement which enables Canada and the United States to live together, without the shadow of hostile militarism on either side of the line, must be

specifically extended to include Great Britain and the rest of the Dominions. The Entente which has led to practical naval coöperation between France and Great Britain must be maintained and carried much farther, and it must be extended to embrace the United States, Italy, and other countries. Japan must feel secure in having her legitimate interests defined and recognized, and then she must join the United States and the European powers in a plan of naval coöperation that will bring about virtual disarmament. This is the reason for bringing the questions of the Pacific and the Far East into the same conference that is to deal with armaments.

*The Call
to a New
Unity*

The text of the Hughes notes inviting Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to the conference is identical. China's invitation is like the others so far as problems of the Pacific and Far East are involved. China, of course, could not be brought into a conference on the subject of naval disarmament because she is not a naval power. The tone of the note is excellent. It denounces competitive militarism as a menace to the peace of the world and an intolerable burden. The scope of the discussion of Far Eastern and Pacific questions is left to be arranged by further parley. Perhaps the most significant paragraph in the note is that which bears



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THE PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING AT WASHINGTON

(In which it is reported that the sessions of the disarmament conference will probably be held)

upon the real motives and desires that underlie national policies. The Administration means something more than mere parley when it uses the following language:

It is quite clear that there can be no final assurance of the peace of the world in the absence of the desire for peace, and the prospect of reduced armaments is not a hopeful one unless this desire finds expression in a practical effort to remove causes of misunderstanding and to seek ground for agreement as to principles and their application. It is the earnest wish of this Government that through an interchange of views, with the facilities afforded by a conference, it may be possible to find a solution of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, of unquestioned importance at this time—that is, such common understandings with respect to matters which have been and are of international concern as may serve to promote enduring friendship among our peoples.

*All Depends
Upon What
Is Desired*

If governments desire peace and disarmament, they can secure it.

There is no more reason for the United States and Japan to maintain navies against each other in the Pacific than for the States of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin to maintain competitive navies on Lake Michigan. A series of agreements, based upon mutual confidence and upon a sense of common interest, makes Lake Michigan a free and safe highway for all who care to make proper use of it. In like manner, a series of agreements can make the Pacific Ocean a truly "pacific" highway in every aspect. Factors in the freedom of the Great Lakes are the federalized system of our American States on the one side, and of the Canadian provinces on the other. Further factors are the treaty arrangements between the United States and Great Britain, and the practical understandings between the United States and Canada, with joint commissions and other agencies to maintain them. In like manner, the freedom of the Pacific Ocean may rest upon agreements and understandings. One of the most important of these is the practical accord among the peoples of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa as associated in the British Empire. This group can and must come to an understanding with the United States



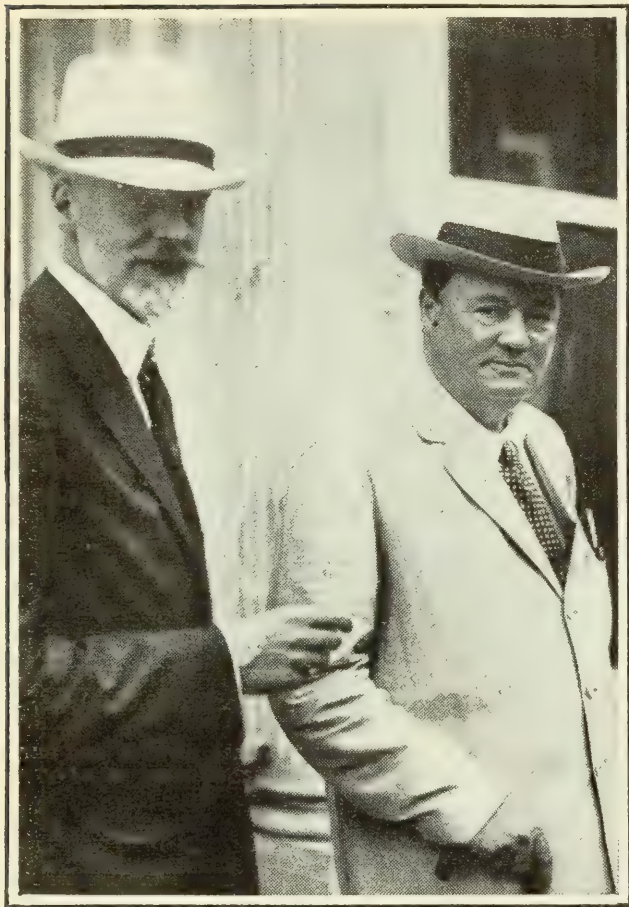
SECRETARY HUGHES IS TOO BUSY WITH VARIOUS MATTERS OF IMPORTANCE AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TO BE ABSENT FROM WASHINGTON THIS SUMMER

(He is occupying a suburban house in the Chevy Chase district, and our picture shows him with Mrs. Hughes at the entrance of what is a very charming country home)

regarding questions of the Pacific and the Far East that will be as valuable as the accord between Canada and the United States regarding the Great Lakes. The most difficult problems in sight are those that touch the motives, ambitions, and policies of Imperial Japan. It must be remembered that there is a far sharper difference of opinion between rival groups of Japanese leaders at home than between the Governments of Japan and the United States. It is to be hoped that liberal-minded statesmen, concerned with the true interests of the Japanese people and convinced of the friendly spirit of the United States, may continue in power and may express the voice of Japan at the Conference. The note of invitation said nothing about the number of delegates to be chosen, but this subject, like others having to do with conference arrangements, was under discussion through diplomatic channels. It has been conjectured that each government might be represented by five principal delegates besides others who would be competent to advise upon particular matters requiring special knowledge. President Harding will abstain from taking active part, and Secretary Hughes will head our delegation.

*Personnel
of the
Conference*

It is not known at this time what men the invited governments will send to Washington as their representatives. If the premiers and



MR. H. WICKHAM STEED (LEFT) AND LORD NORTHCLIFFE

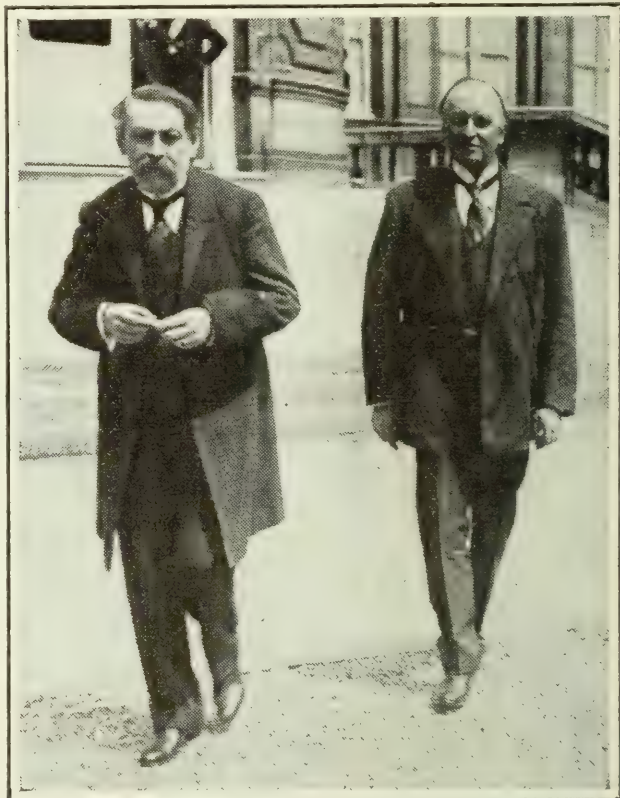
(Lord Northcliffe, who is very much at home in the United States, passed through this country last month on his way to Australia. He brought with him Mr. Wickham Steed, editor of the *London Times*, which Northcliffe controls, this being Mr. Steed's first visit to the United States and Canada)

foreign ministers who now rule Europe in their capacity as a "Supreme Council" should choose to appoint themselves as heads of the delegations from their respective countries, they would be welcomed in America as eminent statesmen, and we should not abandon hope of a successful conference. Perhaps better results, however, might be secured if men less skilled in the old game of European diplomacy and politics, and more directly identified with the economic and social interests of the British, French, Italian, and Japanese people, should be prominent in the conference. With such delegates, it might be easier to accomplish the things that business men and labor leaders understand better than do the statesmen and diplomats who have played through several decades at the dangerous but alluring game of international politics. Lord Northcliffe, as head of the *London Times*, passed through the United States in July on his way to the Antipodes, and his statements bearing upon this question of representation in the conference were exceedingly

frank. The *London Times* had boldly declared that the Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, were not the proper men to represent Great Britain and the Dominions in a disarmament conference, and Curzon in particular was stigmatized as entertaining conceptions of British policy that were altogether unfriendly to the United States.

*America's
Cordial
Welcome*

These characterizations in the *Times* were naturally not agreeable to the British Government, and the controversy grew to international dimensions. But there will be a most hearty reception accorded by the American public to any group of men that may come from any one of the five invited countries. It is the general feeling in the United States that the British Dominions, particularly Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, should be significant factors in this conference, although they have not been separately invited. It would be highly agreeable to the people of the United States if Lord Bryce, who is now in this country and who has been making a series of notable addresses at a summer conference organized at Williams College, Massachusetts, should be one



PREMIER BRIAND OF FRANCE AND LORD CURZON, THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER

(In recent meetings of the Supreme Council, Lord Curzon has been almost as prominent as Prime Minister Lloyd George, and it is reported that he will be one of the British delegates to the Washington Conference)

of the British representatives. There is no man living who is better qualified to sit in such a conference than Lord Bryce, and perhaps no one else in the entire world who is equally familiar with so many of the problems that must affect the negotiations. No partisan attitude in the United States will be shown. Democrats and Republicans alike will hope and work for successful results.

*Success of
the British
Conference*

Undoubtedly the Washington Conference of next November will assemble more hopefully if difficulties of one kind and another are overcome in advance. Thus the Imperial Conference at London will be seen to have had a most vital bearing upon the forthcoming conclave at Washington. As a result of the London Conference, it was declared that henceforth the self-governing Dominions were to be consulted upon all questions of larger foreign policy. It was also agreed that the Dominions were free to act upon their own initiative in matters relating to their own affairs as distinguished from affairs of the Empire. For example, Canada and the United States may deal with one another directly rather than through the Foreign Office at London. It was further agreed in the Imperial Conference that coöperation with the United States was to be an essential point in British world policy, as the best single means by which to insure peace and justice. The work of this Imperial Conference goes very far toward paving the way for real achievements in the larger fields of discussion at Washington. While continued coöperation with Japan was favored, the sentiment of the Conference was strongly against a renewal of the Japanese Alliance on any terms that might seem to strengthen Japan in a hostile attitude toward the United States. The conference closed its work on August 5, with all participants declaring that it had been unexpectedly important and successful. Much of its work was done behind closed doors in a strictly secret fashion. The conference agreed that the further discussion of British interests in the Pacific questions, naval armaments and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should be postponed until after the Washington Conference.

*Progress
in the Irish
Negotiations*

It is further obvious that a clearing up of the Irish situation would have a most favorable influence upon the work of the Washington Conference. There is nothing that does so



PREMIER MASSEY, OF NEW ZEALAND, SHAKING HANDS WITH MR. LLOYD GEORGE

(Mr. Massey, who has been Prime Minister of New Zealand for ten years, is receiving congratulations from the British statesman on this decennial anniversary. Massey was one of the leading figures in the recent conference of Dominion Premiers with the Government at London)

much to disturb the general harmony of the English-speaking world as the Irish question. A sincere devotion to the best interests of Ireland requires a laying aside of prejudice, with an open-minded attempt at understanding. Fortunately the negotiations which were opened after the King's visit to Belfast have not been broken off, and the truce has continued to give Ireland the happy experience of freedom from the devastations and horrors of civil war. Early in August it was announced that the Dail Eireann, which is the elected parliament of the so-called Irish Republic, would meet on Tuesday, August 16, to consider the proposals contained in the final offer of the British Government. It was also stated that the numerous members of the Dail Eireann who were held in jail were to be unconditionally released by order of Premier Lloyd George. Dublin Castle made an exception of one man, Mr. John J. McKeown, who had been convicted of murder; but this exception was overruled at London, and McKeown was released with the rest. It was not quite clear whether the releases were final, or only temporary.

*Proposals
Considered
at Duolin*

General Smuts, who on August 6 left London on his return journey to South Africa, and who had been more active than anyone else as a go-between, sent a final letter urging Mr. DeValera and his friends to accept the terms offered by the Prime Minister. A response to the British Government's proposals reached London on August 11 and was immediately forwarded to Mr. Lloyd George, who was then at Paris discussing the Silesian question with the French Premier. The contents of Mr. DeValera's letter were withheld for a day or two, but were soon made public, together with Mr. Lloyd George's proposals on behalf of Great Britain. At first the DeValera answer seemed to end discussion by its insistence upon the theory of Irish independence; but it soon appeared that the negotiations were by no means hopelessly blocked in advance of the Dublin Parliament. Arguments are not very conclusive where states of feeling rather than objective realities are at the bottom of differences. The thing necessary just now is enough compromise all along the line to secure a working agreement, with elastic provisions for change of plan in future if opposing sentiments should be less stubborn. Reports coming from British sources now depict the leaders of southern Ireland as men of high intelligence and character, as well as of strong purpose and conviction. In like manner the leaders of Ulster are set forth as sincere, upright, and efficient. It would be for mutual advantage if the interests concerned should unite upon all points where they can now agree, and should leave

their remaining differences to be diminished by future experience. Two chief points of difference were evident, one relating to Ireland's connection with Great Britain and the other relating to Ulster. As to the first of these, Mr. Lloyd George's offer seemed fair and final. As to the second, General Smuts's argument suggesting the ultimate absorption of Ulster at some future day seems the conclusive word of statesmanship.

*Silesia
Still a
Menace*

Mr. Lloyd George, who would appear to be the busiest public man of our times, was in Paris engaged in a deadlocked argument with Premier Briand over the Silesian question when the letter from Mr. DeValera was made the occasion of his hurried return to London on August 12. The Dail Eireann was to assemble on Tuesday, the 16th, and apparently the Irish leader had desired to have certain points in the British proposals either modified or elucidated before the plan as a whole should be taken up by the Irish Republican Parliament. It had been reported at first that Lloyd George and Briand were in agreement upon the partition of Silesia between Germany and Poland; but it soon appeared that they were about as far apart as ever. France was definitely committed to Poland's claims, and the British Government on its part seemed no less strongly partisan on behalf of Germany. The British position was urged on two grounds, the first being that most of the region in dispute belonged unquestionably to Germany from every point of view, and the second being that, if justice was denied to Germany in this matter at the present time, a future war would be inevitable. Lloyd George boldly declared that the German claim to Silesia was decidedly stronger than the French claim to Alsace-Lorraine. Mr. Simonds, in his contribution to the present number of the REVIEW (see page 259), goes thoroughly into the latest phases of the Silesian question as bearing ominously upon the future harmony of Europe.

*A Plan
for
Postponement*

The Paris session of the Supreme Council was attended by the American Ambassador at London, who was present as an "observer," but not as an active member. The French Premier proposed that the partition of Silesia should be arbitrated by the United States. Mr. Lloyd George, however, suddenly remembered, so we are told, that both England and France belonged to the League of Na-



FRIENDS FOR A TIME, ANYWAY

From the *Newspaper Enterprise Assn.* (Cleveland, Ohio)



NIKOLAI LENINE, HERE SHOWN HARANGUING A MASS MEETING IN MOSCOW, SEEMS TO BE MAINTAINING HIS AUTOCRATIC HOLD UPON RUSSIA WITH UNDIMINISHED PERSONAL POWER, ALTHOUGH HE IS GREATLY MODIFYING COMMUNISTIC PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF HIS SOVIET GOVERNMENT

tions and that the Council of the League might be asked to recommend a solution. Meanwhile, Germany and Poland were exhorted to abstain from further outbreaks, and the Allies agreed to send more troops to the scene of controversy. The French papers immediately declared that a reference of the Silesian question to the League of Nations was a farce, because the Council of the League could settle the question only by unanimous agreement and was less competent to deal with it than the Supreme Council. It is to be regretted that this issue remains so acute, not only because it is intrinsically a matter of major consequence, but also because it is threatening to weaken seriously the coöperation between Britain and France upon which European peace is more dependent than upon anything else. Germany, it is admitted, cannot meet her indemnity payments unless she is industrially prosperous; but it is further claimed that she cannot be prosperous unless her industries have access to Silesian coal and iron, and unless she keeps possession of the great manufacturing establishments that she had created in times past within the territory under dispute. The real solution is economic rather than political, and requires coöperation. But it depends for success upon Germany's change of heart.

*Russia's
Famine and
Misery*

It is evident to all thinkers and students that the troubles of Europe are due to the breakdown of Russia more than to any other cause. The plight of Russians under Bolshevism had gone from bad to worse until an adverse crop season, coincident with the general demoralization of the country, has now revealed a situation so desperate that instead of attempting to conceal it the Soviet authorities have probably exaggerated it in the dire necessity of making appeal to the world for help. We are publishing an article in this number of the REVIEW dealing particularly with the famine in Russia. A plea made to the United States was met by the American Relief Administration, of which Secretary Hoover continues to be the chief officer. This association, having funds and food supplies at its disposal, was prepared to undertake relief on a large scale. It was demanded, however, that the Bolshevik authorities should first release Americans detained in Russian prisons, and also that they should make the same kind of agreements as to methods of distributing relief supplies that have been required by the Relief Administration from Austria and other European countries where assistance has been rendered. The assumption that the distress of Russia would lead to the downfall

of the Lenine-Trotsky régime does not seem to be well founded, whether in facts or in logic. It is more probable, on the contrary, that the situation will be used by Lenine and his associates to strengthen their autocratic hold. The protracted drought, with consequent crop failures, throughout extensive Russian provinces found Russia in much the same condition that China was in last year under similar circumstances. China's energy to meet the emergency had been frittered away by civil war, and she was lacking not only in transportation facilities, but also in the general spirit of philanthropy which would have enabled her, out of the abundance of other provinces, to relieve the distressed districts. Russia, through war succeeded by misgovernment, has also been rendered incapable of meeting such emergencies as that now presented to the world.

*Why the
Sudden
Discovery?*

It should not have been so very difficult to know what were the conditions in the Russian provinces most affected by crop failure. Such emergencies do not arise suddenly, like those produced by a San Francisco fire or an Italian earthquake. Yet Americans everywhere were told in immense headlines at a given moment, as if the thing had happened overnight, that many millions of Russians were starving, that refugees, also numbered by millions, were moving desperately, some upon Moscow, and some toward Siberia, that parents in countless numbers were destroying their children, and that nothing upon the whole since the dawn of human history had equaled Russia's immediate tragedy. Obviously, this sudden flare-up—this exaggerated advertising of unfortunate conditions which must have been known for a considerable time—was not accidental. The American newspapers were not conscious offenders in thus misleading the American public; but they had been imposed

upon from some foreign source, presumably the Soviet publicity agents. The American Relief Administration is fully justified in its insistence upon supervising and controlling the disposition of American supplies. The Soviet rulers are said to have been using the emergency, with its natural appeal to American sympathy, as a means by which to obtain indirectly that practical recognition of the Bolshevik Government that they had failed to obtain by various other methods. Doubtless there are humanitarian grounds for doing relief work in Russia; but there are no grounds whatever which justify playing into the hands of the very men who have brought upon Russia most of its present misfortunes. The distress of China, on the other hand, due to similar conditions of crop failure, presented a much more convincing and undeniable call upon American sources of relief.

*American Dis-
tress Not
Paraded*

While there is no danger that assistance rendered to people across wide oceans will diminish the ability of Americans to take care of distress in their own midst, it is well to remember that American communities, no matter how much they may be suffering, are not in the habit of advertising their poverty. They endure, somehow, and complain even too little. A month or two ago we stated frankly, in these pages of editorial comment, that there were districts in the United States in which crop failures, together with the decline of prices, had brought about as much real distress as could be found in any portion of Europe that had suffered from the consequences of the Great War. It is, indeed, not asserted that we now have regions in the United States in which the suffering is anything like as general or severe as that existing in parts of Russia. But late in July there appeared in so conservative a newspaper as the *New York Times* an extensive article the bold headlines of which, reduced to ordinary type, were as follows:



PULLING BACK THE CURTAINS IN RUSSIA
From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)

Plague threatens 100,000 victims in the cotton belt.—Tenant farmers, half-starved by crop failure, face scourge of Pellagra.—Washington is alarmed.—Public Health Service fears 10,000 deaths this year and more next year.—Urges immediate relief.—Appeal will be made to Congress at once to supply means for effective action.

These headlines were based upon information which had been issued from the office of the Surgeon-General, and which formed the substance of the

article in question. The Public Health Service statement, which was elaborate and detailed, opened with the following declarations:

While the American people have been spending money lavishly to save the Chinese and the Europeans from starvation, a veritable famine has been developing in the rural districts of the South, and particularly in those of the cotton belt, which stretches from eastern Texas to the Carolinas. The tenant farmers, most of whom devote all their land to cotton and allot not even a foot to kitchen gardening, or for the use of a cow or even of some hens, have been forced by the failure of the cotton market to adopt a starvation diet that is rapidly decimating them.

The latest reports to the United States Public Health Service show that pellagra, which results the world around from famine conditions, will this year claim about 100,000 victims, of whom at least 10 per cent. will die; and that, unless radical relief measures are taken, it will take a still heavier toll from the already enfeebled population in 1922.

*Pellagra
and
Famine*

The statistical assertions of the health authorities at Washington, as summarized, to the effect that the dread disease called pellagra would claim 100,000 victims in the United States this year, of whom 10 per cent. would die, while perhaps most of the remainder would be left in permanently impaired condition, were challenged throughout the South. But, obviously, cases of pellagra are rare in comparison with the prevalence of conditions that invite so dread a form of disease. One hundred thousand cases of pellagra this year would point to the larger fact that millions of people are lacking proper quantity and variety of nourishment. President Harding took the matter up at once and declared in a letter to the Surgeon-General that it was unthinkable that any measure to relieve sufferers among the cotton planters and textile workers of the South should be delayed for a single day. The President also asked the American Red Cross to cooperate with the Public Health Service, after he had read the statement from which we have quoted. In such cotton centers as Memphis, Augusta, Austin, Mobile, and others in the South, the alarmist statements at Washington were criticized and resented; and the *Times* gave ample space to the denials. But there was truth enough to justify the calling of the conference of Southern health officers with the United States Public Health authorities, which met at Washington early in August. The conference found that pellagra was increasing, and that the situation called for relief.

*Conditions in
the
Cotton Belt*

Two situations, of course, are involved in the discussion, one being the extent of the spread of pellagra, and the other being the nature and extent of the general distress in country districts due in part to the collapse of cotton prices, in part to crop failures, and in no small part to the persistent failure of tenant farmers in great regions of the South to cultivate gardens, keep cows, hogs, and chickens, and in short to be self-sustaining as respects food, irrespective of the success or failure of their cotton enterprise. Generally speaking, the Southern States can and will meet their own problems. Their spokesmen are well aware that farming methods must be revolutionized, and that country life must be reconstructed upon plans which nobody in the world can state more intelligently and convincingly than these Southern leaders themselves. The main lines of reform will require several decades for their accomplishment. Educational agencies will play a great part. Meanwhile the South believes that it could carry out this great work far more rapidly and successfully if credit facilities under national control were more largely directed toward support of rural industry. This general view lies back of the current criticism of the policies of the Federal Reserve Board. Such views are strongly expressed by Southern leaders like Governor Westmoreland Davis, of Virginia, and the former Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. John Skelton Williams. In one way or another, the agricultural interests must secure needed capital.



A TYPICAL CABIN HOME OF THE SOUTHERN TENANT FARMER

(There are many thousands of these dilapidated cabins containing large white families in the upland districts of the South, and there are many thousands of equally unfit dwellings on lowland cotton plantations occupied in the main by negro families. Food insufficient in quantity and in variety in these homes invites disease. Hookworm and other maladies are very prevalent, while pellagra is far less common, though more dreaded.)

*Problems of
National
Growth*

All things considered, there is no portion of the world in which we Americans can so advantageously invest money intended to promote educational and social progress as in our own Southern States. America may indeed help other nations as it is now proposing to help Russia. But the principal service that America can render to the rest of the world is to sustain its own character by continuing the process of "leveling up" the entire people, in fitness for the duties of citizenship, and in social and economic capacity. Underlying many of the questions of political or legislative policy now being discussed is this fundamental demand for a continuance of American progress upon right lines. The perplexity of Great Britain at the present moment is due to what many thoughtful students must regard as an abnormal kind of development. Mr. Simonds, in his remarkably valuable discussion of European problems in the present number of this periodical, points the contrast between French and British development. France, as he shows, produces its own food and has created industries which to a great extent are not forced into the world's markets in competition with the products of other countries. England, on the contrary, has built up immense populations that rely upon foreign-grown food, and that must sell ordinary articles of manufacture in foreign markets in order to live.

*Home Markets
and
Foreign Trade*

America began to insist upon spinning and weaving a large part of her own cotton, and upon using her own deposits of iron and coal. Germany took the same course. Japan, in due time, began to increase enormously her industrial output, to gain control of her home market and also to compete with the market for British goods in China and India. Even Canada protected her own growing industries against the English manufacturers. Germany had followed the policy of England in a rapid expansion of the home population and an equally rapid growth of foreign trade. At earlier periods, Britain had exported surplus population and had thus laid the foundations of the United States, Canada, Australia, and so on. Germany also had sent out great streams of industrious emigrants, mostly to the United States, but largely to South America and elsewhere. The normal course of progress for the United States, in view of the disastrous experiences of Germany and the manifold diffi-

culties of Great Britain, is to proceed on the plan of a self-sustaining country. Foreign trade is desirable for the United States, as also it is desirable for France; but foreign trade should be incidental rather than vital. Underlying our tariff policy is the belief that the United States should continue to prefer the home market. The arguments for this policy would be overwhelming but for the exceptional conditions of the past seven years, in consequence of which we have become a creditor nation on a vast scale and must open our markets to foreign goods or else greatly weaken the hope of ever collecting a tithe of what Europe owes us.

*Europe Must
Export
People*

As for the future of Great Britain and Germany, although it will be hard for either of them to accept the logic of contemporary facts, they must adopt the policy of exporting surplus people in preference to that of constantly increasing their industrial population while striving to gain foreign markets in order to stave off famine and Bolshevism. If Great Britain and Ireland should now coöperate wisely, they could easily double their food production and also improve by a hundred per cent. the social status and consuming capacity of their own people. This would lessen very much their relative dependence upon foreign markets for their industrial output. Meanwhile it would be a source of strength rather than weakness if Great Britain should join Canada and Australia in plans for systematic migration. The day for haphazard, helter-skelter movement and settlement of populations should be declared at an end. Canada understands this question better than we do in the United States. Great Britain has more to gain from sending a million people to strengthen the hands of Australia than from adding another million people to the manufacturing districts of Lancashire or Yorkshire.

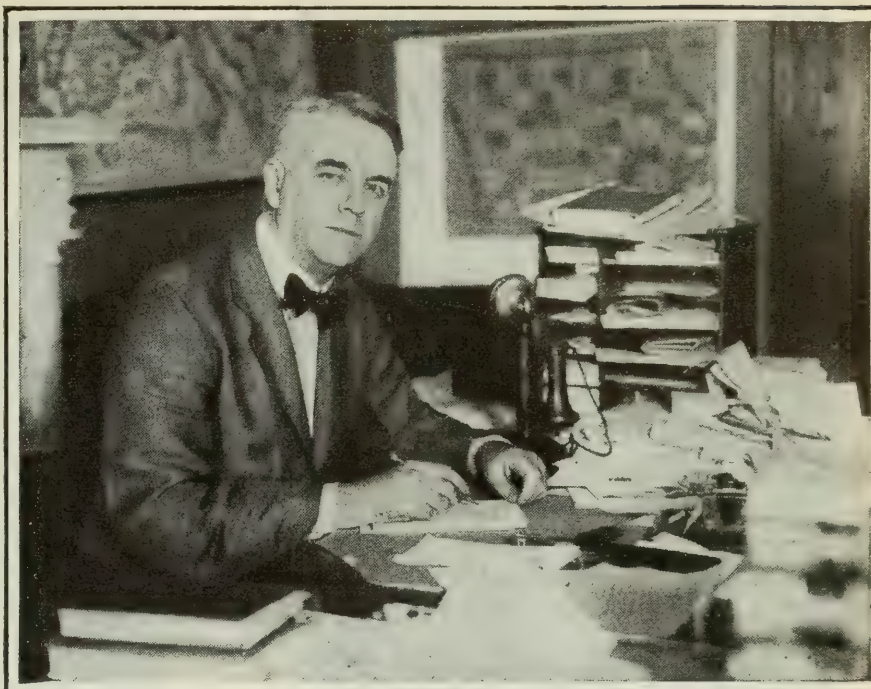
*Lessons for
the Industrial
Peoples*

As for Germany, she should become a well-balanced country like France, and regain the esteem of the world by her devotion to intellectual progress, to scientific research, and to all that makes for human welfare. Her true interests lie in being able to convince her neighbors that she has definitely and for all time renounced militarism in favor of neighborly friendship and coöperation. All countries are going to learn to vary their industries, and to rely relatively more upon

themselves and less upon the products of distant countries. The highly industrialized peoples must prepare for the coming change. Germany should have learned this lesson through terrible adversity. Great Britain, with all her difficulties, is at the very climax of her dazzling success as a world power. Nothing in her history has given her a deeper satisfaction than the voluntary coöperation of the self-governing Dominions during the recent war. She had gained the support of South Africa through a policy of almost quixotic liberality. She can now secure the eternal intimacy of Ireland by adopting the paradox of giving the Irish virtually a free rein. A sufficiently liberal policy all around would win Ulster for Ireland and would win Ireland for Great Britain. It is a mistake to suppose that British opinion is to be dominated henceforth by the vanishing type of empire-grabber of the last century. The empire of the recent London Conference exhibited a new kind of association which rests upon liberty rather than upon coercion. Inconsistencies will linger on, but liberty will dominate.

**"Packing"
Under Govern-
ment Control**

While the agricultural interests have contended for better credit facilities to develop farming in a modern way as the country's foremost kind of business, they have also maintained their old-time attitude of antagonism to the monopolistic control of the agencies which distribute and handle farm staples. Thus railroad management is always under criticism, as are the organizations or agencies that control the marketing of wheat or of cotton. Perhaps no other interest has been so generally assailed from the standpoint of the Western farmers in recent years as the group of great packing corporations, which have been regarded as in virtual control of the entire business of buying cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, eggs and other farm products, and of manufacturing an ever-increasing range of food products. The methods of the so-called "Big Five," these being the principal packing firms or



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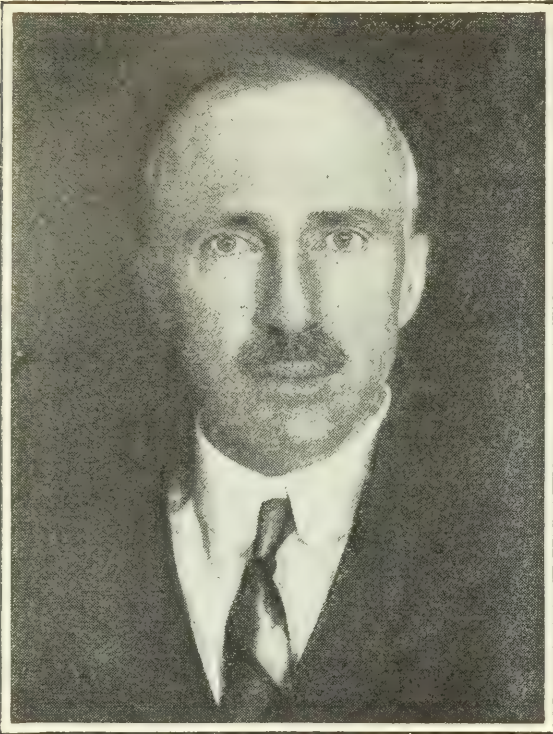
HON. WILLIAM S. KENYON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IOWA

(Mr. Kenyon is one of the leaders of the so-called "agricultural bloc" at Washington, which, regardless of political parties, is trying to secure legislation favorable to the interests of the farmers and American rural life. Mr. Kenyon has taken a leading part in the legislation which regulates the packing industry in the interest of farm producers of cattle and hogs and also of meat consumers)

companies, have been under investigation and discussion at Washington for many years past. An inspection bill, of which Senator Beveridge was the author, led to the correction of serious abuses in the actual work of preparing meat products for the consumers. No body now questions the sanitary methods of the packing establishments. But the later grievances have had to do with an alleged monopolistic control, which seemed to be adverse on the one hand to the farmers and ranchmen and on the other to the consumers.

**The Bill
as Now
Enacted**

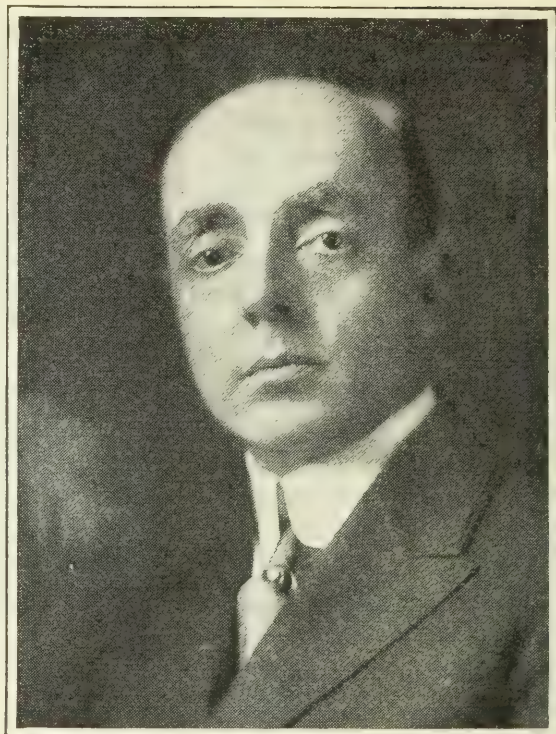
For many months past, bills to regulate the packing business had been pending in both Houses at Washington; and such bills had some weeks ago secured passage by decisive majorities. But in many respects the Senate bill, under the leadership of Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, was more sweeping than the House bill. For a month the rival bills struggled for supremacy in conference committee, and finally a report was made by agreement which in most respects accepted the House provisions. The conference report was duly adopted, and the bill went to the President for his signature on August 9. The Senate's proposal for uniform accounting by the packers was rejected. Great powers of regulation are vested in the Secretary of Agriculture. The



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HON. HENRY H. CURRAN

(Choice of Republicans and anti-Tammany elements for Mayor of New York City)



Campbell Studios

HON. CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD

(Republican and Coalition candidate for Comptroller of New York City)

Federal Trade Commission is left without much jurisdiction except as called upon by the Secretary of Agriculture to make particular investigations. The public is naturally more interested in the practical results of a measure like this than in statutory details. We must be content to wait in order to see whether well-founded complaints make their appearance, and whether in point of fact the new law is capable of meeting the demands arising from such public grievances.

*The
New York
Election*

The party leaders, especially the chastened heads of the Democratic brotherhood, are preparing for a tremendous campaign next year, when an entire new House of Representatives is to be elected and one-third of the Senate seats will be open to attack. A good many important State elections will also be held in 1922. But this year, although Virginia is to hold a State election, there are not many electoral campaigns pending, and the most important by far of those on foot is the municipal election to be held in New York City on November 8. Mayor John Purroy Mitchel, the brilliant young anti-Tammany Democrat elected by the Republicans and the associated fusion elements eight years ago, had given New York City so excellent an administration as to place the American metropolis in the foremost rank of the well-governed centers of the world. Mr.

Mitchel had earned the right to be excused from running for reelection four years ago. His renomination, by reason of powerful enemies he had made, resulted in a losing fight; and Tammany came into power with John F. Hylan as mayor. Reform administrations had set standards in New York City which could not easily be overthrown. Tammany misgovernment is by no means as scandalous in certain ways as in former periods. But the interests of the people of New York require a far more efficient and intelligent kind of government than the Tammany people under present leadership can possibly carry on, in view of complicated motives.

*Curran
and
Lockwood*

The investigation of housing conditions, as carried on during the past year by the Lockwood Committee of the Legislature, with Mr. Samuel Untermyer as chief counsel, revealed a series of abuses not only connected with the building trades but in many other directions, for which Tammany rule of the city was not wholly blameless. Mr. Lockwood is a State Senator from the Brooklyn Borough of New York, and to his good record as a Republican in the legislature and elsewhere there has been added an enviable reputation acquired by his successful chairmanship of the inquiry into housing and building conditions. He had become the most prominent candidate of the reform element for the anti-Tammany may-

orality nomination. Next in prominence was Mr. Henry H. Curran, also a Republican, and President of the Borough of Manhattan. Mr. Curran is young, highly trained, expert in New York City affairs, and very popular both on personal grounds and by virtue of his standing upon certain questions. Senator Lockwood gallantly stood aside in favor of Mr. Curran, and the Republicans and their allies unanimously chose Curran for the mayoralty and Lockwood for Comptroller.

*Shaping
the
Tickets*

Financial problems are vital to New York just now because the Hylan régime appears to have been extravagant and inefficient as regards matters of expenditure and revenue. The Comptroller is a finance officer of great authority. The metropolis as a whole elects three officials on a general ticket, these being Mayor, Comptroller, and President of the Board of Aldermen. For the third position, the Republican-Coalition Committee agreed last month upon Mr. Vincent Gilroy, a young Democratic lawyer of high standing whose uncle was at one time a Democratic Mayor of the city, who had himself served in the legislature, and who supported the Hylan ticket four years ago, but is now opposed to further Tammany rule, and is particularly against the bosship of Murphy, which still exists. The primaries will be held September 13 and two or three men will run on their own hook as candidates for the Republican nomination; but, of course, Mr. Curran will be overwhelmingly accepted by Republican voters. In the regular Democratic primaries controlled by Tammany there will be no opposition to the re-naming of Mayor Hylan. Mr. Murphy is credited with arranging the ticket as a whole.

*The
Transit
Issue*

A few weeks ago it was freely declared that nothing could prevent the election of Hylan for another four-year term. Hylan's principal claim to popularity has been due to his fight for a continuance of a five-cent fare on the rapid transit lines, irrespective of the impending bankruptcy of transportation companies, which declared that they could not pay expenses and fixed charges without an increase of fares. Governor Miller was regarded as having in a general way committed the Republican government of the State to a support of the demands of the transit companies, or at least to a careful consideration of the facts. It happens, however, that Mr. Curran

has stood all along for a retention of the five-cent fare; and the steady tendency toward reduced costs is now diminishing the financial troubles of the transit lines. Investigation of the municipal government of New York by a legislative committee of which Senator Meyer is chairman, kept Mayor Hylan on the witness stand for several days last month and succeeded in holding him up to the town as not strikingly well informed about the city's financial methods and conditions. Apparently the Republican-Coalitionists will have a fair chance to defeat the Hylan ticket in November. Most of the newspapers are supporting Curran, Lockwood, and Gilroy with genuine enthusiasm.

*Maintaining
Order in
New York*

The management of the general affairs of the metropolis is in the hands of a so-called Board of Estimate, which consists of the Mayor, the Comptroller, the President of the Board of Aldermen, and the elected Presidents of the five boroughs into which the greater city is divided. It has sometimes happened in the past, however, that the best-known official in New York City is the prosecuting officer (the District Attorney) of New York County, which is identical with the Borough of Manhattan. The present District Attorney is a Democrat, Hon. Edward Swann. The Democrats are expected to name one of Swann's assistants as his successor. The Republican-Coalitionists have chosen as their candidate a young attorney of fine training and high standing, Mr. John Kirkland Clark, who was one of the assistants in the office of ex-Governor Whitman when he was District Attorney. In the chief city of the country there are always conditions which render it highly important that the prosecuting organization should be headed by a man of ability and public spirit, with a particular kind of talent and training. Mr. Clark seems to meet the specifications to the full extent. Meanwhile, it is permissible to say that New York City, even under the present Tammany rule, has become a much more law-abiding and orderly place than it was twenty or thirty years ago. Forces of disorder are not so highly commercialized, and the stranger who expects to find abundant evidence of bootlegging and other forms of disorder and impropriety will be astonished to discover how well-conducted are the great mixed populations of New York City. There are always criminals and lawbreakers, however, in any great community; and there is constant need



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HON. FRANK B. WILLIS, SENATOR FROM OHIO

(Mr. Willis, who took the seat in the Senate vacated by President Harding, has attached his name to the measure which fixes the status of beer under the prohibition amendment)

of vigilance on the part of an honestly managed police force and a courageous and capable District Attorney.

*In Spite of
Bootlegging and
Smuggling*

The aftermath of constitutional prohibition in the United States is not more abundant and varied than was to have been expected, all things taken into account. Thus drastic and universal prohibition was ordained at a time when there were in existence enormous stocks of alcoholic liquor that had been manufactured legally and that had cost a great deal of money. We had also, up to the moment when war-time prohibition was enforced, a current consumption of alcoholic drinks that represented an immense national demand. War-time orders, and peace-time laws, do not immediately turn habitual drinkers into happy abstainers. The existence of unsold stocks that had been lawfully manufactured, and that could not now find a lawful market, was quite certain to result in evasive methods of sale and distribution. The smuggling of expensive liquors has been practiced for centuries against excise laws in one country or another; and it was certain enough that, with our extensive coast lines

and unguarded land boundaries, the profitable business of "running" whiskey, rum, gin, brandy and other strong drinks into the United States would keep the revenue officers very busy and frequently baffled. Furthermore, if moonshining in the lonely mountain places could never be quite broken up under former conditions, it was obvious enough that with vastly increased gains in sight the moonshiners would become more busy than ever. All these things are true; and yet the people of the United States are already the gainers in many ways from the virtual disappearance of the old-time saloons. Bootlegging doubtless dispenses much booze, but the total is small when compared with the quantities that were sold in the ante-dry period.

*Beer Is
Specifically
Forbidden*

The fight against moonshining and bootlegging, and the recent discussion at Washington regarding the manufacture and sale of beer, are two things quite different. Before going out of office last March, Attorney-General Palmer had made a ruling with regard to the sale of beer on a physician's prescription that might, if permitted to stand, greatly enhance the amount of beer that could be thus obtained as compared with the previous understanding of the Volstead Act by its supporters. To meet this situation, the so-called Willis-Campbell anti-beer bill was passed in the House late in June by a vote of 250 to 93. After much controversy, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 39 to 20 on August 8. The point of the bill is entirely clear and simple. It holds that beer is not a medicine at all, and that there is no occasion for prescribing it. According to the theory of this new law, the attempt to provide for beer drinking through a physician's orders is nothing but an evasion of the prohibition law. Undoubtedly there is a very strong sentiment at Washington in favor of regarding beer as a non-intoxicating beverage, when containing less than three per cent. of alcohol, and of permitting it to be made and sold in unlimited quantities with the object of capturing Government revenue from the brewers to the extent of about one billion dollars a year. This suggestion does not appeal to the dry leaders as one that they can at this time safely entertain. The country is undertaking a genuine experiment in doing without alcoholic beverages. The return to beer and light wines, it would seem, will only be made by constitutional amendment.

*Education and
Government in
Porto Rico*

We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW a most illuminating article on the progress of education in Porto Rico under American direction, which began a little more than twenty years ago. Dr. Miller of Wisconsin, who has had a long experience in Porto Rico, and who has for some years past been the efficient head of the island's educational system, is the author of the article. Whether Dr. Miller should retire in the near future at the end of his term or should continue at his post, he will have earned high praise for the excellent work he has accomplished, and will have yet before him a distinguished career as an educational administrator. The new Governor of Porto Rico Mr. E. Mont Riley, entered upon his work in the island several weeks ago, and delivered his inaugural address at San Juan on July 30. The address was vigorous in assertion of the feeling in the United States for permanence in the present relations of political union, and encouraged the Porto Ricans to hope for ultimate admission as a State. The people of Porto Rico already were fully aware of the views entertained at Washington, both in Congress and in the White House. We do not discover opinions about Porto Rico's future in Mr. Riley's address that differ in any material respect from the views entertained and expressed by his predecessor, Governor Yager. The business that pertains to the office of Governor, however, is of course that of administration, and not that of policy-making. Governor Riley's determination to serve the interests of the people of Porto Rico in every helpful way is evident, and he asks the Islanders not to judge him in advance, but to wait and give him an opportunity to show how good a Governor he can make. Party spirit runs high in Porto Rico, and Mr. Riley may find it difficult to develop his program as against the political currents that move so strongly. But the leading men of Porto Rico are able and patriotic, and the key to their motives and methods will never be held by anyone who does not appreciate their thoroughly commendable devotion to their insular traditions, and their intense love of country.

*Problems of
Philippines
and Hawaii*

The approaching conference at Washington on problems of the Pacific gives added interest to the news that General Leonard Wood is to remain in the Philippines as Governor-



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VISCOUNT UCHIDA, JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER

(Japanese statesmen regard the present year as crucial in the settlement of various questions affecting the future development of the empire, and the present Foreign Minister is playing a leading role. He may head the Japanese delegation at the Washington Conference to meet Mr. Lloyd George, Premier Briand and Secretary Hughes, who will head the delegations of their respective governments)

General. For a good many weeks his investigation of conditions in the archipelago has been taking him from one district to another, and his exceptional qualifications are recognized by everyone. The Filipinos regard the appointment of General Wood as a compliment to them, in view not only of his past experience in their islands, but of his eminence as one of the foremost Americans of his generation. Our article on education in Porto Rico is to be followed by one on the educational system of the Philippines, and another upon problems of education and race in Hawaii. Both of these articles will be written with the same kind of knowledge and understanding that permeates the notable contribution that Dr. Paul Miller makes to the present issue. The Hawaiian Islands, by the way, have this season been the scene of an important conference on education in the countries bordering on the

Pacific. In those islands, the young Japanese are American citizens; and Honolulu should in the future more than ever be a meeting point for those who would promote harmonious progress and good understanding among the peoples of different races who border on the great ocean or occupy its islands.

President Harding's First Half-Year All years are busy years for the heads of modern governments, but the year 1921 may fairly be said to be exceptional in this matter of the intense pressure of public affairs in times of peace. Clearing away the débris of a colossal war, and transforming governments to meet changed conditions, would tax the strength and the talent of the greatest of human leaders. President Harding is about to complete his first half-year as head of the American Government, and it is enough to say that his leadership begins to be recognized at home and abroad. He is demonstrating his ability to secure coöperation. His Cabinet commands respect, and his influence upon the order of proceedings in Congress is quite evident, but not in the least domineering. With sufficient rapidity, it would seem to many thoughtful men, he is promoting the cause of good understanding in foreign relationships, and is seeking the paths of permanent peace through the adjustment of troublesome questions, and through the cementing of friendly understandings. He has been working at Washington most of the time through

the hot season, but has had snatches of vacation travel. He appeared in New England last month, where he spoke at the Tercentenary Celebration at Plymouth, and visited the Secretary of War, Mr. Weeks, in the White Mountains. Unquestionably, the first half-year of President Harding has not only met reasonable expectations, but has gained the approval of many citizens who had been political or personal opponents, and of many newspapers which had been disparaging in their earlier estimates. He is strengthening himself in building up the influence and standing of each member of his Cabinet. The prestige that Secretary Hughes has gained only serves to increase the esteem in which the country holds Mr. Harding.

*Reducing
the Tax
Burden*

Real progress toward a definite plan for tax revision was announced from the White House on August 9, after conferences between the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Republican leaders of the House. Immediately thereafter, the Ways and Means Committee of the House agreed on the groundwork of a new revenue bill—with the hope and belief that it would be quickly passed by the House, leaving Congress free to adjourn in the last week of August for a month's recess. The theory was advanced that instead of further delaying the work of cutting down the tax burdens of the country, this interim would leave the Senate Finance Com-



PRESIDENT HARDING IN THE WHITE MOUNTAINS

(As the guest of Hon. John. W. Weeks, Secretary of War, the President spent several days on the top of Mount Prospect, Lancaster, N. H., where Mr. Weeks has his summer home, and where the President found opportunity for his favorite recreation)

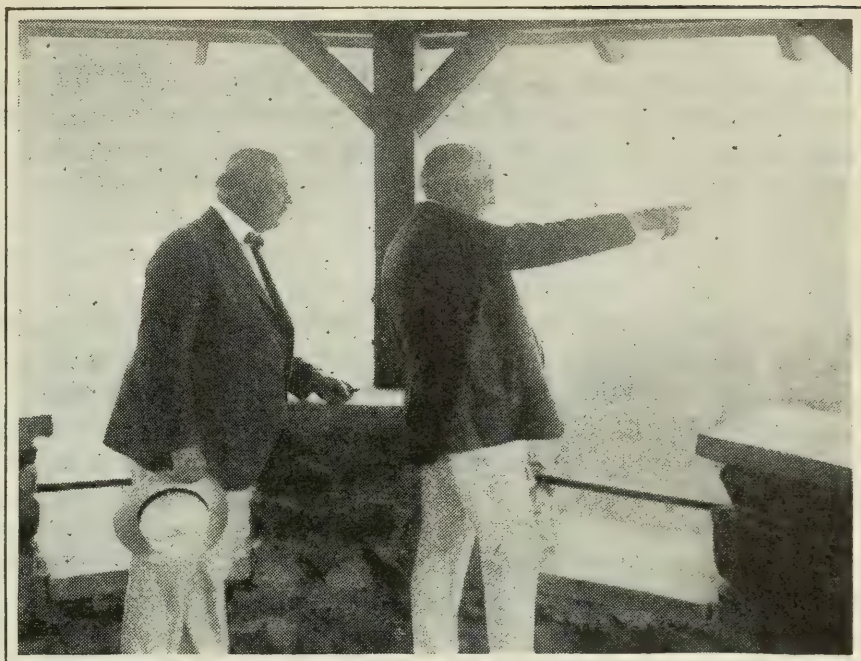
mittee in a position to devote itself exclusively to a consideration of the proposals of the new bill and that the final result desired—a new revenue law in effect before the end of the year—would be hastened rather than retarded by the recess with its escape from distractions of miscellaneous business.

*The
House
Bill*

On August 15 the Republican caucus of the House, by a close vote, changed the Administration program importantly as to the dates on which the new schedules should come into effect. The excess-profits tax is to go, but its repeal does not become effective until January 1, 1922. Partly to fill up the revenue void thus created, the present flat tax of 10 per cent. on the net income of corporations is to be increased to 12½ per cent. Instead of the maximum surtax of 65 per cent. on individual incomes, a new maximum of 32 per cent. is proposed, to begin with the year 1922. Transportation taxes, with the exception of those on express shipments, are to be done away with beginning next year. The new measure would also abolish luxury taxes on wearing apparel and those on soda-water fountain sales, now paid over the counter by the consumer. Heads of families are favored by deduction from the normal income tax of \$400 for each child or other dependent, instead of \$200, while the exemption is raised to \$2500 (from \$2000).

*Striking
a
Balance*

It is estimated that the revenue loss resulting from the repeal or reduction of various taxes as proposed in the new bill will amount to over \$900,000,000, while increases and substitutes will bring in over \$300,000,000, leaving a net loss in tax revenue for 1922 of about \$600,000,000. The largest item is the abolition of the excess-profits tax, \$450,000,000; the radical reduction of surtaxes, owing to the comparatively small number of individuals affected, causes a smaller loss than might be expected, \$90,000,000; the transportation taxes now done away with have been producing about \$250,000,000. The largest item in offsetting revenue gains is the in-



PRESIDENT HARDING AND HIS HOST, SENATOR WEEKS, IN THE OBSERVATION TOWER ON MOUNT PROSPECT, NEAR LANCASTER, N. H.

crease of 2½ per cent. in the tax on corporation incomes, which is estimated to produce about \$132,000,000.

*This Year's
Financial
Situation*

These proposals as to revision downward are only practicable on the assumption that the nation will spend much less money than it has been preparing to spend. The Treasury has counted on needing for disbursements in 1922 some \$800,000,000 more than would be provided by the bill now in prospect. The Administration has courageously and vigorously taken in hand the big task of reducing these coming expenditures, and Mr. Dawes, Director of the Budget, has instructions to effect cuts on every side. It looks now as if the outgo next year would be held down by main force to a little over \$4,000,000,000. It is estimated that the new Revenue bill will raise somewhat more than \$3,350,000,000; that the Fordney Tariff bill should yield about \$370,000,000; a determined drive to recover back taxes may bring in \$335,000,000; salvage of war materials should produce \$200,000,000; and miscellaneous items will amount to \$131,000,000—making total Government receipts of \$4,450,000,000.

*How Savings
Were
Effected*

The largest cuts achieved in the program of expenditures were in the executive departments, including lopping off \$100,000,000 from the Navy Department and the same amount from

the Shipping Board. The Railroad Administration was cut down \$50,000,000 and the War Department as much. Altogether, \$350,000,000 is to be saved in the executive departments. This is in addition to the cuts amounting to \$112,000,000 previously made by Director Dawes's budget. Another class of reductions in expenditure—more apparent than real, but which at any rate serves to help out the balance sheet of the next year—is the arrangement to borrow money to redeem \$100,000,000 of War Savings Stamps and \$70,000,000 of Silver Certificates, instead of making these payments out of current revenues.

*Big Shipping
Board
Deficits*

For an Administration struggling with the baffling problem of reducing tax burdens without losing necessary revenue, the first reports from Mr. Lasker, the new head of the Shipping Board, have been as discouraging as they were startling. The disturbing fact is that after the nation has made a capital expenditure of \$3,500,000,000 for its great merchant fleet, it needed \$380,000,000 of further help from the public treasury in the year 1920—and not less than \$200,000,000 of this represented an absolute loss in the operation of the fleet. As the shipping business this year is undoubtedly much worse than in 1920, Mr. Lasker's job and his responsibility for making any even relatively good showing will not excite widespread envy. His report to Congress reveals an almost unbelievable condition of confusion, inefficiency, and laxity in the conduct of the nation's commercial fleet, the largest ever gathered under one ownership in the history of the world. Most of the trouble has been caused by poor accounting methods or the absence of accounting. Mr. Lasker said frankly that it was only a guess on his part when he asked Congress for \$300,000,000 further appropriation for the Shipping Board, as the books of the business were in such a condition that nothing but a guess was possible. With the Administration's present task of reducing taxes, Mr. Lasker is going to have a hard time to get the amount that he guessed at; but, at any rate, it is a gain to find out the worst of the situation and to have as head of the Shipping Board a man who is not afraid to reveal the truth even if it is shocking—one who evinces a clear-headed determination finally to straighten things out and to make our gigantic experiment in shipbuilding count for as much good as possible.

*The General
Shipping
Situation*

We spent \$3,500,000 to build our present fleet of some 1,700 vessels. They cost us over \$200 a ton to construct. The present going price per ton is probably around \$36, though any forced sale of large quantities of tonnage would undoubtedly have to be made at even lower figures. This astonishing capital loss is the result of the huge increase in the world's shipping, combined with the present almost unprecedented stagnation in trade. In 1914 the total shipping of the world was about 48,000,000 tons. In spite of the depredations of the submarine—one might almost say because of the submarine—the total shipping of the seven seas to-day amounts to 60,000,000 tons, which is more than would have come into existence through normal growth if there had been no war. It was the fright and anxiety occasioned by Germany's submarine campaign that set the world to building ships so fast that it now has too many for the trade that is offered.

*A Competitive
Era
Coming*

Through our great investment, we have suddenly come from a nonentity in the shipping world to the second nation of shipowners in point of tonnage—a fairly close second to Great Britain, who maintains her old-time supremacy. It is estimated that 10,000,000 tons of shipping are now laid up with nothing to do. Half of England's merchant fleet is simply a current expense, and much more than half of ours. Thus the next few years seem to promise the bitterest sort of rivalry in securing cargoes. Germany's 4,500,000 tons of shipping was lost to her as a result of the war, but her shipyards are now busy replacing the fleet; and it is to be noted that when Germany launches her new vessels now building they will be of the latest and most efficient types, designed to carry cargoes at the least cost and manned by labor very much cheaper than either English or American labor. In this respect of efficiency, we are probably, so far as concerns shipping construction, at the tail of the procession. Our 287 wooden ships are worth nothing at all and will be scrapped with a net loss to us of \$313,000,000. Much of the remainder of our 12,000,000 tons of shipping was so hurried in its construction, during the wild efforts of war times to produce quickly at any cost, that we shall be handicapped in the race for ocean cargoes even before considering the higher wage cost of operating American ships. Chairman Lasker is not, how-

ever, dismayed by these discouraging facts, and he believes that by sternly facing realities and applying proper business methods we shall yet work out a handsome salvage.

*Settling with
the
Railroads*

Still another financial puzzle for the Administration, scarcely less discouraging than the incubus of the new fleet, comes in the handling of the Government's present relations with the railroads. To be sure, these relations have nominally ended, the period of Government control and guarantee of compensation having ceased many months ago. The experiment under Government control has, however, left an aftermath of responsibilities and claims which, combined with the fearful depression in industry and loss of traffic to the roads, make the railroad problem as embarrassing as ever. In the latter part of July the President gave a clear intimation of the policy he favored to relieve the roads from the financial tangle resulting from the claims and counter-claims following Government control. The present situation finds the Government owing the roads several hundred million dollars on operating account, with other possible hundreds of millions due to claims the roads have made or will make on account of alleged undermaintenance under Government control; and the roads owe the Government some \$750,000,000 on account of capital expenditures for additions and improvements made during the period of Government control. The railroads need the money due them on account of operation, and need it sadly; but it has been held back from them heretofore because of debts due by them for capital expenditures. At the President's suggestion it is now proposed to issue securities covering the capital expenditures on the roads, to market these to the public through the War Finance Corporation, and, concurrently, to pay the roads the balances due them on operation account. It is estimated that this would bring to the railroads half a billion dollars, which would go far toward seeing them through what is undoubtedly the most anxious and dangerous period in their history. Without some such help, it is obvious that there will be widespread bankruptcy.

*No Time
for
Curping*

There is much criticism of this method of settling the Government's accounts with the railroads, though most of it comes from those who lose few opportunities for "railroad

baiting." It is argued that the sums due the roads should simply be set off against those due the Government, and a settlement made on the basis of the balance. The simple fact is that the money disbursed by the Government for additions and betterments does not come in classes of expenditure that the railroads have been accustomed to make from current revenues. Perhaps it would have been better for them and for all of us if the opposite were true; but it is not true, and it is utterly impossible to expect the roads at the lowest stage of their operating fortunes suddenly to reverse their financial policy. If there had been no Government control, the railroads would have sold securities to raise the money to expend for these additions and improvements, and that is what will have to be done now. There is no other way to get it.

*Earnings
Are Still
Inadequate*

In the meantime, current reports of railroad operating revenues hold out little ground for optimism. It is true that the reports for June were much better than a year before, and show a greater gain still over the earlier months of 1921. The net income, however, was but little over half as much as the rates prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission were estimated to produce. Beginning on July 1 there will be the help of the lower wage scale, which may add to net income as much as \$350,000,000 a year. This gain will be partially offset, however, by the lowering of freight rates here and there, and by the necessity of increasing maintenance work, much of which has been left in abeyance while labor and materials were abnormally high. Like most other industrial organizations, railroads must wait on a revival of business for any decided turn in their fortunes. The volume of traffic is away below normal, having taken, in the past year, the most precipitate tumble ever known in industrial history. The single item of the collapse of mining operations has been in itself a sufficient disaster to railroad revenues. Even with bituminous coal excluded, the mines furnished traffic to the railroads twice as heavy as that furnished by agriculture. It is estimated that at present mining operations have on the average ceased to function to the extent of not less than 50 per cent. In other words, the roads have lost business from this source alone equivalent to their entire normal business in products of the farms.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From July 15 to August 15, 1921)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 16.—In the House, Mr. Johnson (Rep., Wash.) introduces an immigration bill authorizing control by vice-consular inspectors with examinations at foreign ports.

The House, voting 122 to 106, refuses to discard the dye embargo in the Fordney Tariff bill.

July 17.—The Senate Naval Committee submits reports on its investigation of the Daniels-Sims controversy; the Republican majority takes the side of Admiral Sims, the Democrats support ex-Secretary Daniels.

July 18.—In the House, all oils are put on the free list of the Fordney Tariff by vote of 196 to 86 and a 15 per cent. ad valorem duty on long-staple cotton is approved, 105 to 74.

July 19.—The House places asphalt on the free list.

In the House, Mr. Madden (Rep., Ill.) is selected Chairman of the new Budget Committee, which supplants the Appropriations Committee (succeeding Mr. Good, resigned).

July 20.—The House puts leather goods, including boots and shoes, on the free list, 90 to 52; the duty on automobile tires is reduced from 20 to 10 per cent.

The House Census Committee orders its chairman, Mr. Siegel (Rep., N. Y.) to report a bill increasing seats from 435 to 460 by a new reapportionment.

July 21.—In the House, the Fordney Tariff bill is passed, 289 to 127; asphalt, cotton, hides, and oil are on the free list, and the dye embargo fails.

July 22.—The Senate passes the Sheppard maternity bill providing cooperative protection by State and nation of maternity and infancy, and carrying \$1,480,000; the vote is 63 to 7.

July 25.—A Senate committee reports out the Walsh substitute for the House cooperative agricultural marketing bill, eliminating price-fixing and monopolies.

July 26.—President Harding sends a special message to Congress asking financial relief for the railroads and the agricultural industry through the War Finance Corporation.

In the Senate, Mr. Kellogg (Rep., Minn.) introduces an Administration measure to take the place of the Norris Farmers' Export Corporation bill.

July 27.—The Senate Finance Committee hears business men on the clause of the Fordney Tariff bill which provides for American rather than foreign valuation.

July 28.—The Senate Finance Committee votes 9 to 5 approving the allied debt refunding bill of the Administration, and orders it reported.

In the House, Mr. Winslow (Rep., Mass.) introduces the Administration bill for providing further financial assistance to the railroads.

August 4.—The Senate passes legislation for

the relief of producers of and dealers in agricultural products; the War Finance Corporation is empowered to make advances to the extent of \$7,000,000,000 during 1921 and 1922 to assist in the carrying of surplus agricultural products until they can be exported in an orderly manner.

The House Ways and Means Committee receives Mr. Mellon's statement that expenditures will reach \$4,550,000,000 for fiscal year 1922 and require \$3,830,000,000 taxes; unless \$250,000,000 can be saved, extra taxes for that amount must be raised over this year under the war revenue laws.

August 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) introduces a proposal to reduce the Army from 150,000 men to 100,000, to save \$100,000,000.

August 8.—In the Senate, the Willis-Campbell anti-beer bill is passed, 39 to 20; it prohibits prescriptions for beer, limits alcohol for internal use to $\frac{1}{2}$ pint in 10 days, with no limit for external use, and makes search and seizure without a warrant a misdemeanor; false representation as a federal officer to injury of constitutional rights is made a felony.

August 9.—In the Senate, the Capper-Tincher regulatory bill governing grain exchanges is passed without record vote; it deals with grain "futures."

The House passes the bill regulating packing houses, and it goes to the President for signature.

August 10-12.—Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee, after conference with the President and Secretary of the Treasury, agree on the principal changes in the new Republican revenue bill; the excess profits tax is abandoned, but net earnings of corporations are taxed 15 instead of 10 per cent.; surtaxes on large individual incomes are reduced considerably and exemption is raised for married men to \$2500 from \$2000, with \$400 deduction for each dependent instead of \$200; transportation taxes and so-called luxury taxes are eliminated.

August 10.—Congressional leaders agree upon a thirty-day adjournment after August 20, if the tax-revision bill passes the House and agricultural credits legislation is adopted.

August 11.—The House, at the President's request, passes the Longworth bill, 189 to 91, extending the dye embargo from August 27 to November 27.

The House Ways and Means Committee agrees to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to settle \$1,500,000,000 disputed taxes without recourse to the courts.

August 12.—The House passes a \$48,500,000 Shipping Board appropriation bill, 159 to 87; it prohibits more than three officers receiving over \$12,500 annually.

August 15.—In the House, the tax revision bill is introduced; a Republican caucus, voting 98 to 87, postpones reduction of income surtaxes to 32 per cent. and repeal of excess profits taxes



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**PRESIDENT HARDING AND TWO OF HIS DISTINGUISHED HOSTS CAMPING IN MARYLAND WOODS
OVER A WEEK-END**

(At the left of the picture is Mr. Henry Ford, with Mr. Thomas A. Edison in the center and Mr. Christian, the President's secretary, standing in the rear)

until January, 1922, instead of 1921; the defeat of the leaders' program is caused by the "Agricultural bloc."

In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) consents to October 10 as the date for final action on his Panama Canal Tolls Repeal bill.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 17.—Secretary Hoover names Charles E. Herring, First Assistant Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, to act as Trade Commissioner to Berlin.

Henry H. Curran, Borough President of Manhattan, New York City, reports 370 per cent. increase in amount and 216 per cent. increase in number of families provided for in building plans filed under new tax-exemption ordinances fostered by him.

July 19.—Budget Director Dawes reports pledges by departments which would save \$112,512,628.

July 20.—Governor Len Small, of Illinois, and Lieut.-Gov. Fred E. Sterling are indicted for conspiracy to defraud the State and embezzling public funds during their respective terms as State Treasurer.

July 22.-23.—The Shipping Board seizes nine vessels from the United States Mail Steamship Company for violations of charter agreements and failure to pay rent since March 31, and places them with the United American Line for operation.

President Harding goes camping with Messrs. Edison, Ford, and Firestone in the Blue Ridge mountains.

At New Haven, Conn., prohibition enforcement agents capture liquor valued at \$50,000, motor-trucks worth \$50,000, and a \$10,000 schooner engaged in smuggling.

July 24.—The Bureau of Internal Revenue reports 1919 income-tax collections totaling \$1,269,630,104.

The Treasury retires \$73,939,300 of Liberty bonds with principal payments from foreign countries.

July 25.—President Harding orders a full report on the cotton belt pellagra plague from the Public Health Service, and suggests Red Cross relief.

The United States Mail Steamship Company gets back under temporary injunction the nine vessels seized by the Shipping Board.

Secretary Weeks rejects Mr. Henry Ford's offer of purchase of the Muscle Shoals nitrate plant, because the Government cannot guarantee 600,000 horse power.

July 26.—Counterfeit revenue stamps for \$2,000,000,000 face value and forged whiskey labels are seized at New York by Secret Service agents.

Sweeping army reorganization orders call for abandonment of Camps Devens, Sherman, Grant, Pike, Meade, Jackson, and Bragg.

A Fifth Avenue firm in New York pleads guilty

to collecting and retaining federal luxury taxes, and is fined \$12,000.

July 28.—The Public Health Service invites the health officials of Southern States to a pelagra conference at Washington on August 4.

The Interstate Commerce Commission denies a plea by New England roads for redivision of joint freight rates east and west of the Hudson River, with a greater share to the New England roads.

July 30.—E. Mont Reilly takes office as Governor of Porto Rico.

August 1.—President Harding officiates at the Pilgrim tercentenary celebration at Plymouth.

The New York City anti-Tammany coalition group selects Henry H. Curran (Rep.), Manhattan Borough President, for Mayor; State Senator Charles C. Lockwood (Rep.), chairman of the legislative housing investigating committee, is chosen for Comptroller and Vincent L. Gilroy (Dem.), for President of the Board of Aldermen.

President Harding transmits to the Senate the opinion of Secretary Hughes that the United States is obligated to lend Liberia \$5,000,000 under an agreement made in September, 1918.

August 9.—At New York, Charles Francis Murphy, Tammany "boss," designates John F. Hylan for a second term as Mayor, with Comptroller Charles L. Craig similarly rewarded.

Governor Len Small, of Illinois, is arrested by the sheriff of Sangamon County and released on \$50,000 bail; charged with embezzlement.

Mayor Hylan, of New York, appears as first witness before the Legislature's investigating committee; he is charged with permitting the city's debt limit to be exceeded by \$120,000,000, and appears uninformed about municipal finances.

The Bureau of War Risk Insurance is abolished and its duties transferred to the new Veteran's Bureau headed by Col. Charles R. Forbes, of Seattle; the new bureau includes the Federal Board for Vocational Education and part of the Public Health Service.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 16.—The Russian Government appeals to its people to aid 10,000,000 starving in Astrakhan, Tsaritsin, Saratov, Samara, Simbirsk, Ufa and Vyatka, along the Volga and in Chuvash.

July 17.—Canton troops, under President Sun-Yat-Sen of the new "Extraordinary Government of China," are reported victorious in a war between the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung.

July 20.—Premier Lloyd George confers with the British Cabinet and the King on the plans for an Irish settlement.

Moscow reports a total of 27,779 cholera cases on July 13, compared with 13,476 on July 6.

July 21.—Premier Lloyd George presents the Irish peace proposals to DeValera, offering dominion self-government with some sort of military and naval reservations.

July 23.—In Tokio, the Japanese Diplomatic Advisory Council meets to determine a program for the conference at Washington.

Troops from Canton, China, occupy Nanking, capital of Kwangsi Province, which will sever relations with Peking and set up an autonomous government.

July 26.—President Obregon decrees a reduc-

tion of 10 per cent. in salaries of all civil and military officials of Mexico.

A subcommittee of the British Imperial Conference decides that inter-Dominion air service is impracticable because of the £10,000,000 expense.

A general strike is called at Rome, Italy, because of casualties between Socialists and Nationalists; troops patrol the city.

August 1.—Spain is swept by riots and troops mutinies; news is heavily censored.

August 3.—The House of Commons votes to build four battle cruisers of the *Hood* type by 1925, to replace obsolete boats.

Russian famine refugees are reported moving on Moscow, Siberia, the Caucasus, and Ukraine.

Britain's new "booze" bill passes the House of Commons; it restores the pre-war "kick" and permits drinking until 11:30 P. M.

August 4.—The Irish Republican parliament, or Dail Eireann, is summoned to meet at Dublin on August 16.

Dominion premiers, at the British Imperial Conference, secure agreement on a share in British foreign policies, with the establishment of a policy of coöperation with the United States.

August 7-8.—Britain releases all the imprisoned members of Dail Eireann.

August 10.—In Spain, Premier Allendesalazar resigns as a result of the Moroccan disaster.

August 11.—Eamon DeValera's reply to the British proposals for peace in Ireland is delivered to Lloyd George at Paris, via airplane from Downing Street.

Baron Byng of Vimy is installed as Canada's new Governor-General.

August 12.—Lenine is reported to have decreed abandonment of free use of railroad, postal, and other public services, together with the free grant of tools and household goods to workmen.

August 13.—Ex-premier Antonio Maura forms a new Spanish Cabinet.

August 14.—Correspondence between British Premier Lloyd George and Eamon DeValera, Irish Republican leader, is made public; Lloyd George originally proposed (July 26) dominion status for Ireland, with complete autonomy in taxation, finance, courts, judges, military forces within reasonable limits, police, education, etc.; DeValera's reply (August 10) declares for amicable but absolute separation, with the Ulster question to be settled by the Irish; Lloyd George's rejoinder (August 13) states that right of secession can never be acknowledged.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 16.—Greek troops take Kutaia, in Turkey, on the southern branch of the Bagdad railroad and center of the Turkish Nationalist front.

The United States pays \$32,688,352 to Great Britain to meet claims for transportation of American soldiers.

The International Women's Congress meets at Vienna and is presided over by Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago.

July 17.—Japan's terms for recognizing the Far Eastern Republic are said to include the "open door," elimination of communism, and indemnity for Japanese citizens killed in Siberia.

July 19.—It is reported that Ellis Loring



The "Mayflower" Entering Plymouth Harbor
CELEBRATING THE THREE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS, AT PLYMOUTH, MASS.



Pilgrims Coming Ashore in a Shallop

Dresel, United States representative at Berlin, has been authorized to negotiate a resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany.

Germany pays the Allies 31,000,000 marks in European currency, making a total of 275,376,000 marks paid on account of the 1,000,000,000 marks owed.

July 20.—France replies to a request from Britain for immediate conference on Silesia, that the time is not yet ripe to settle Silesian boundaries, that she is sending more troops, and that Britain had better do the same.

The Greeks enter Eski-Shehr.

July 21.—Argentina refuses to intervene in the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute upon the request of Panama.

July 23.—Moroccan tribesmen at Melilla severely defeat Spanish troops; General Silvestre, in command, commits suicide.

The Bavarian Einwohnerwehr delivers to the Allies 170,000 of their 250,000 rifles.

Greeks repel Turkish attacks; Nationalists losses are 30,000 men; Greeks advance along the Brussa front.

July 24.—Secretary Hoover, as head of the American Relief Administration, replies to Maxim Gorky's appeal for relief in Russia; he agrees to furnish assistance conditioned upon release of American prisoners and compliance with the organization's standard terms.

In a note to Japan, Secretary Hughes outlines completely the American views on the scope of the Disarmament and Pacific conference.

July 25.—Panama asks Washington to refer her Costa Rican boundary dispute to the Permanent Court at The Hague.

Turkish Nationalists stop Greeks in a counter offensive at the pass of Altikeuk and at Seid-El-Ghazi.

American Ambassador Richard Washburn Child reaches Rome.

July 26.—France accepts Britain's insistent in-



THE PILGRIM PAGEANT AT PLYMOUTH, ON AUGUST 1, PASSING THE REVIEWING STAND



MADemoiselle SUZANNE LENGLEN

(Having defeated all opponents in France and England, Mlle. Lenglen crossed the Atlantic last month to compete with America's foremost women tennis players in the national championship tournament at Forest Hills, N. Y. The French visitor's skill on the courts is exceeded only by her grace and energy)

invitation to an immediate meeting of the Supreme Council, following a meeting of experts on Silesia.

Turkish Nationalists move their capital from Angora to Sivas; Greeks claim Turks lost 75 per cent. of their effectives and that their line is broken.

July 27.—Japan agrees to participate in the Washington Conference on limitation of armament and to discuss Pacific and Far Eastern questions, upon assurance from America that preliminary discussion will be held.

Secretary Hughes directs the American consul at Reval to inform the Russian representative that American prisoners in Soviet Russia must be immediately released.

July 30.—It is reported from Riga that Soviet Russia has accepted Secretary Hoover's terms for famine relief.

Allied representatives at Berlin back France in her demand that Germany permit troop movement to Poland.

A conference of the foreign ministers of Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland ends at Helsingfors without a new Baltic Entente.

August 2.—American authorities seize the schooner *Henry L. Marshall*, British registered, beyond the three-mile limit off Atlantic City; the vessel carries a manifest for 15,000 cases of liquor, of which 12,000 remain at the time of seizure.

Senator France, at Riga, publicly accuses Col. Edward W. Ryan, of the American Red Cross, of having fomented the Cronstadt revolt in Russia last spring; the charge is vigorously denied, and Senator France offers no proof.

Walker D. Hines, of the United States, as river-shipment arbitrator, decides that Allied seizures on the Danube were chiefly justified; some private boats are recalled, and the Czechs are awarded 70,000 tons.

August 5.—Spanish forces lose Nador and Zeluan, and 2000 square miles of Moroccan territory; a cabinet crisis is threatened.

France and Britain accept November 11 as the date of the Washington Conference, at which Secretary Hughes is to preside.

August 6.—The League of Nations secretariat announces ratification of the Court of International Justice by Britain and her dominions, by Albania, Austria, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland.

Soviet Russia, through M. Kameneff, chairman of the Russian Relief Committee, pledges release of all American prisoners to Walter L. Brown, European director of the American Relief Administration; 300,000 starving children are reported by Moscow to have been abandoned.

Tokio agrees to November 11 as the date for the Washington Conference.

Mexico City reports delivery of a new note from Washington; newspapers declare recognition is expected soon; Congress meets August 8 to consider revision of Article XXVII of the Mexican Constitution, affecting foreign oil concessions; President Obregon reports complete restoration of order.

August 7.—American Vice-Consul at Changsha in Hunan, China, Walter A. Adams, courageously confiscates a ton of opium, breaking up a gang operating under the American flag.

August 8.—The Allied Supreme Council meets and discusses the Upper Silesian boundary question; American Ambassador Harvey attends as an observer.

Italy and China accept November 11 as the date for the Washington Conference.

August 10.—From Soviet Russia, the first six American prisoners are brought out to Reval, Esthonia; the Hoover representative meets M. Litvinoff and examines his Soviet credentials; the Supreme Council decides to form an international commission for Russian relief work.

The Supreme Council decides in effect to abandon the Sèvres treaty with Turkey; Allies are still officially at war with Turkey, but declare neutrality in the present Greco-Turkish war.

August 11.—Secretary Hughes sends out formal identic invitations for a disarmament and Pacific conference to England, France, Italy, and Japan, and invites China to participate in the Pacific and Far Eastern section of the conference at Washington on November 11.

Spanish General Navarro is captured, with his staff, on Mount Arruit by the Moors.

The King of the Hedjaz calls for a holy war by the Arabs against the Greeks to help the Turkish Nationalists.

August 12.—The Supreme Council, unable itself to effect a settlement, refers the Silesian boundary question to the executive council of the League of Nations.

August 13.—The Supreme Council agrees to refer all further financial adjustments of the Treaty of Versailles to arbitration if not unanimous in the choice of a judge.

August 13.—Maxim Litvinoff agrees for the

Soviets to comply with the American Relief Administration's terms, which include: free entry, exit and movement, diplomatic privileges at frontiers, assumption of expense of movement of supplies from ports to final consumption by Russia with ownership remaining vested in the American Relief Administration.

The Hungarian National Assembly unanimously approves the peace resolution adopted by the United States Congress, and the Hungarian Government is authorized to negotiate a treaty of peace with Washington.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 16.—The Committee for Relief in Belgium makes a final report showing an administration cost of .4 of 1 per cent. in aiding 10,000,000 at a cost of \$1,800,000,000 for six years.

July 17.—The Census Bureau reports a total of 261,553 women farmers, of whom 7477 are in New York.

July 18.—At Brooklyn, N. Y., for the third time in medical history, a wound in the heart is sewed up and the patient lives.

The former German cruiser *Frankfurt* is sunk by airplane bombs in 26 minutes off the Virginia Capes.

July 19.—Shipmasters of five associations agree to bargain individually with owners regarding pay after August 1, when prevailing blanket rate agreements expire.

July 20.—Fire destroys millions of dollars' worth of property in the Amatlan oil fields eighty miles south of Tampico, Mexico.

July 21.—In further army bombing tests on captured German war vessels, the 22,800-ton dreadnought *Ostfriesland* is sunk with 2000-lb. bombs in 25 minutes by seven land planes 100 miles from their base.

July 22.—The Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York lowers wages 10 per cent. with the consent by ballot of 8341 of its 15,000 employees; the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company follows suit.

July 25.—Venezuela announces a foreign trade for 1919 of 444,698,856 bolivars (\$85,826,879); imports increased 133 per cent. and exports 157 per cent.

Peruvian foreign trade for 1919 is reported as amounting to \$190,041,853; imports increased \$12,-144,813, exports \$33,664,379.

July 28.—The trustees of Johns Hopkins Hospital at Baltimore, Md., order a limit of \$1000 as a fee for an operation and \$35 a week as the maximum fee for medical attendance.

At Brooklyn, N. Y., 28 families of 90 persons leave by automobile for settlement on an Idaho irrigation tract under the lead of William D. Scott.

August 1.—Sid Hatfield, notorious West Virginia miner and gunman, is shot during an argument at Welch, W. Va., by a private detective.

August 2.—Chicago "White Sox" baseball players are acquitted of conspiracy to throw the 1919 world series, but baseball officials declare the evidence sufficient to justify refusal to reinstate the players.

August 7.—The *Alaska* founders off the northern coast of California in a thick fog; 47 are lost.

August 11.—The British expedition exploring

Mount Everest in the Himalayas completes its preliminary photographic survey.

The French wheat crop, despite a long continued drought, is estimated conservatively at 80,000,000 quintals.

August 15.—The Erie Railroad leases its Marion, Ohio, repair shops to a private concern, thus freeing them from the Railway Labor Board.

OBITUARY

July 16.—General L. E. de Maud'huy, French military governor of Metz, formerly commander of the Tenth Army.

July 17.—Brig.-Gen. Benjamin Kearney Roberts, U. S. A., retired, 74.

July 19.—Vera Sassulitch, notorious Russian Nihilist.

July 21.—Ex-Justice Seneca Haselton, of the Vermont Supreme Court, minister to Venezuela under Cleveland, 73.

July 22.—Rev. Henry Martin Sanders, D.D., noted Baptist minister of New York, 71.

July 23.—Ex-State Senator George W. Ketcham, of Newark, N. J., 82. . . . Brig.-Gen. James Anderson Irons, U. S. A., retired, 64.

July 24.—Rev. Cyrus Ingerson Scofield, D.D., religious editor and author, 78.

July 25.—Rev. Samuel Charles Black, D.D., president of Washington and Jefferson College, 57. . . . Jose Cortejarena, editor of *La Razon*, the great Argentine daily newspaper, 44.

July 26.—Michael Dreicer, well-known jeweler and diamond expert, 53. . . . Gen. Maxwell Van Zant Woodhull, author and former head of the State Department Consular Bureau, 78. . . . Winthrop E. Stone, president of Perdue University, 59.

July 28.—William L. Ashmead-Bartlett-Burdett-Coutts, for thirty-six years a Member of Parliament, British reformer, 70.

July 29.—Robert Emmet Burke, widely known Illinois Democratic politician, 62.

August 1.—Guernsey Mitchell, sculptor. . . . Edgar Saltus, author and publicist, 63. . . . Edmond Perrier, noted French naturalist, 77.

August 2.—Enrico Caruso, world famous tenor, 48.

August 6.—Rorer A. James, representative from the Fifth Virginia District, 62. . . . Frank Lange Randall, noted penologist. . . . Senator Malaquias Concha, widely known Chilean social economist, 62.

August 8.—George Trumbull Ladd, authority on Oriental life and morals, 79. . . . Rt. Rev. Charles Edward McDonnell, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, N. Y., 67.

August 10.—Rear-Admiral George Fink Kutz, U. S. N., retired, 86.

August 11.—Victor Baier, for nearly twenty years the organist of Trinity Church, in New York, 61.

August 13.—Col. Samuel Pomeroy Colt, chairman of the board of the United States Rubber Company, 69.

August 15.—Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford, formerly a widely read novelist, 86. . . . Zed S. Stanton, Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, 73.

WASHINGTON'S CHIEF TOPICS, IN INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS

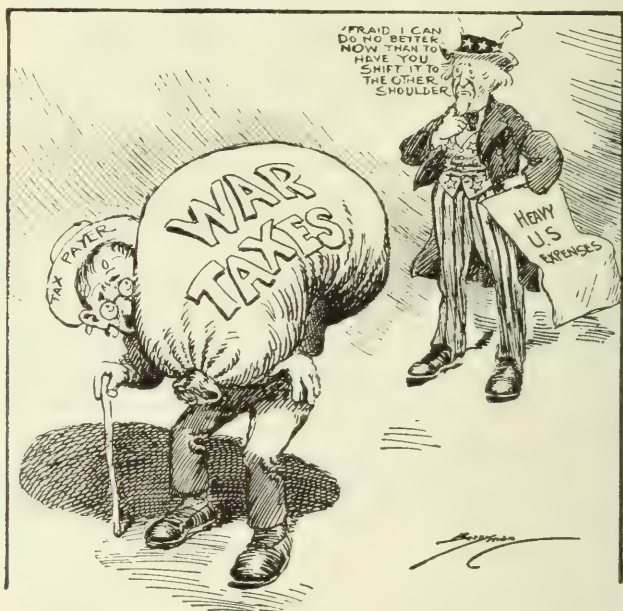


A NICE LITTLE SUMMER OUTING FOR CONGRESS
From the *Tribune* © (New York)

[The driver's cheerful tale of the coach which went off the edge some years ago and wrecked the whole party refers, of course, to the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909]



CAN THE FORDNEY TARIFF PULMOTOR REVIVE BUSINESS?
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



WILL UNCLE SAM MERELY SHIFT THE BURDEN TO THE OTHER SHOULDER?
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)

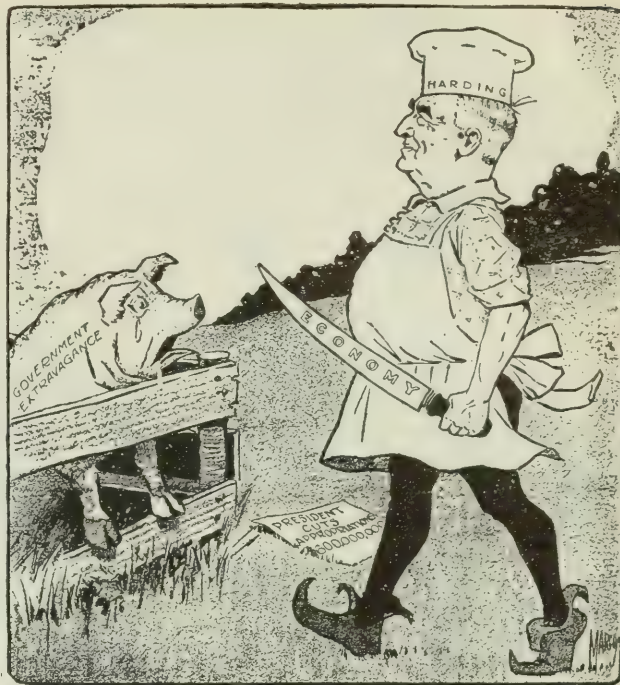
[Unless retrenchment in Government expenditures is real, it is obvious that new tax sources must be discovered to take the place of old ones that may be abandoned]



WORRY OVER THE SIZE OF HIS DOCTOR'S BILL RETARDS COMPLETE RECOVERY
From the *News* (Galveston, Texas)



THE SENATE PLAYS SECOND FIDDLE AGAIN!
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



TO MARKET, TO MARKET TO GET A FAT PIG—
From the *Times* (New York)



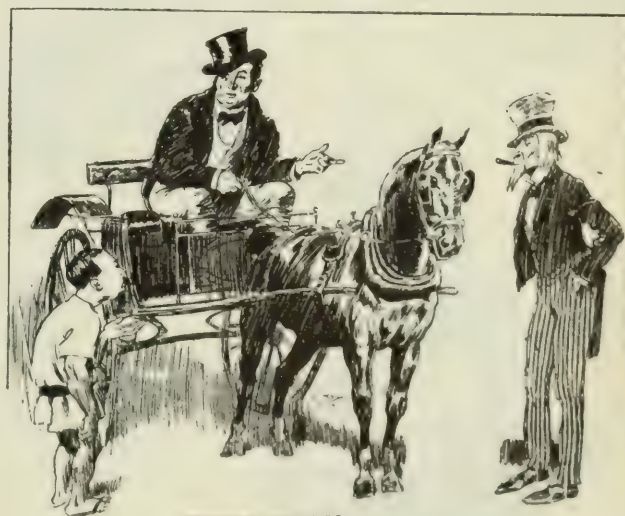
A PERILOUS VOYAGE
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



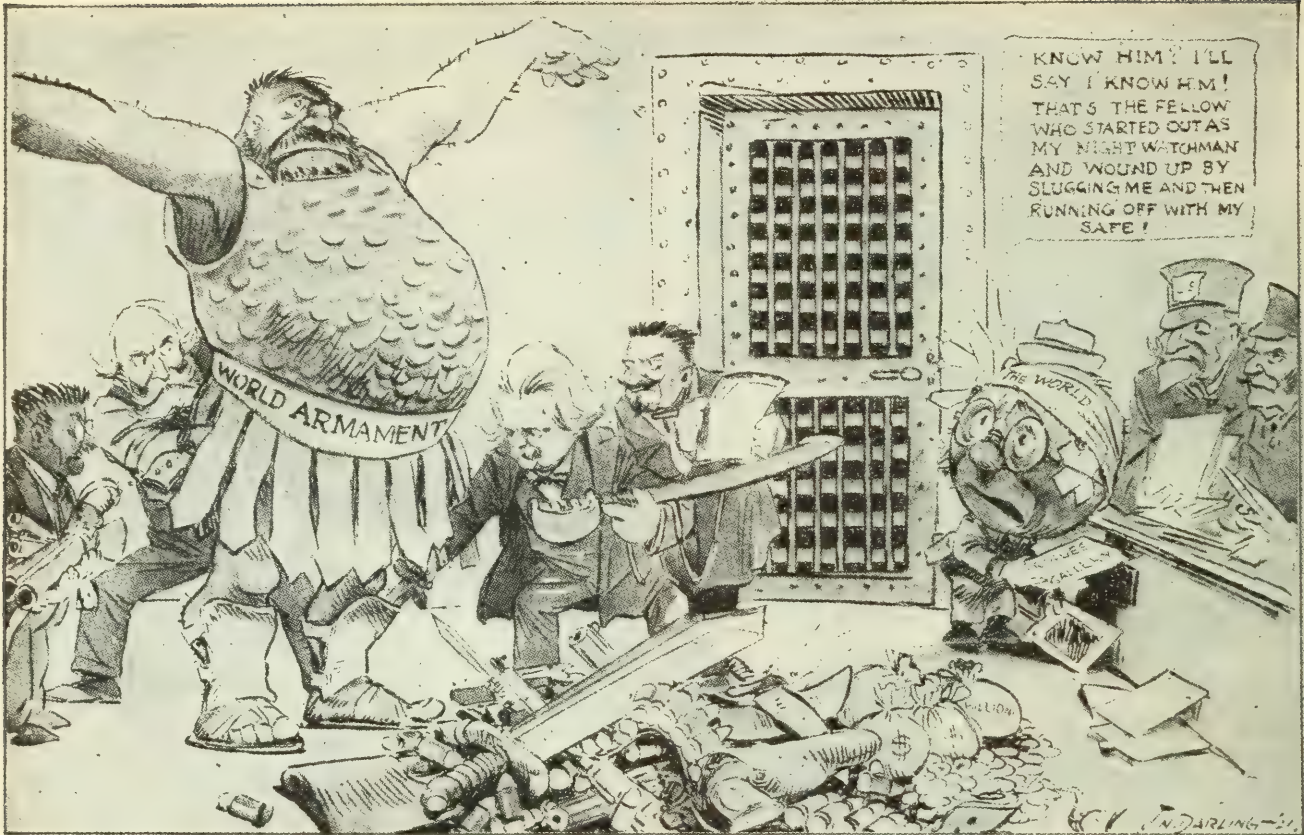
A TICKET TO NORMALCY
UNCLE SAM: "I want a ticket to Normalcy."
THE RAILROADS: "Not till the road is repaired."
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



THE RELATIVE ON WHOM ALL THE OTHERS
DEPEND FOR SUPPORT
From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



JOHN AND HIS FRIENDS
JOHN BULL: "Ride with me? Certainly, my little friend! But we'll have to leave room for Samuel. Him and me are interested in the same blood-stock."
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

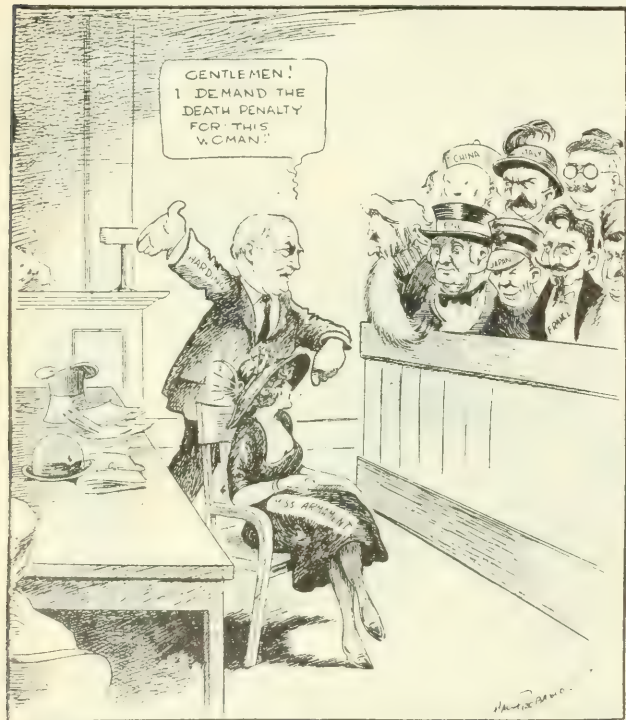


THE BLOODY TYRANT IS BROUGHT TO TRIAL

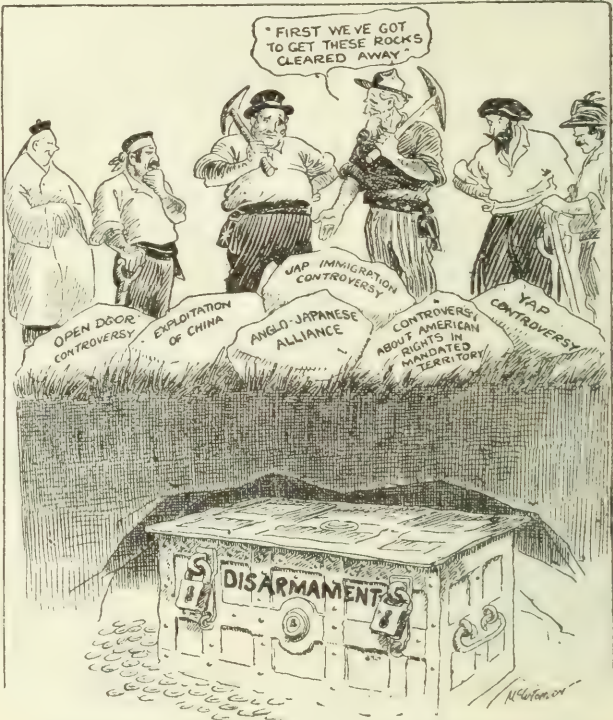
(Now that they've got him, it's difficult to conceive of a jury that would let him go again)
From *Collier's* (New York)

TARIFF and taxation matters have occupied the attention of our lawmakers, and have been not without interest to business men and citizens in general. But by far the most popular topic of the month—if we may judge from the emphasis placed on it

by cartoonists in Europe and America—has been President Harding's invitation to England, France, Italy, Japan, and China to participate in a Washington conference on limitation of armaments and on Far Eastern questions.



HIS ARGUMENTS ARE GOOD, BUT IT'S HARD TO CONVICT THE PRETTY VAMP, MISS ARMAMENT
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



THE BURIED TREASURE—MUCH PRELIMINARY DIGGING WILL HAVE TO BE DONE
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



AND THEY ALL ACCEPTED WITH PLEASURE!
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

The international conference on limitation of armaments will discuss Pacific Ocean questions, as well as Atlantic; and thus Japan has been especially prominent, showing at first a little hesitation in accepting.



CHINA AT THE COMING WASHINGTON CONFERENCE
From the *Democrat & Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)



NO PLACE TO GO BUT THE PEACE CONFERENCE
By Reynolds, in the *Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)



BUT HE DIDN'T HESITATE LONG
By Sykes, in the *Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



REPLYING IN OUR OWN LANGUAGE
By Fitzpatrick, in the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)



A MOMENTOUS INVITATION

JONATHAN: "Walk right in, friends! Guess we shall be all the better for a good talk."
From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)



THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

UNCLE SAM (TO JOHN BULL, FRANCE, JAPAN, *et al*):
"Say, you fellows, why don't you come under this umbrella and keep out of the sun?"
From *Opinion* (London, England)



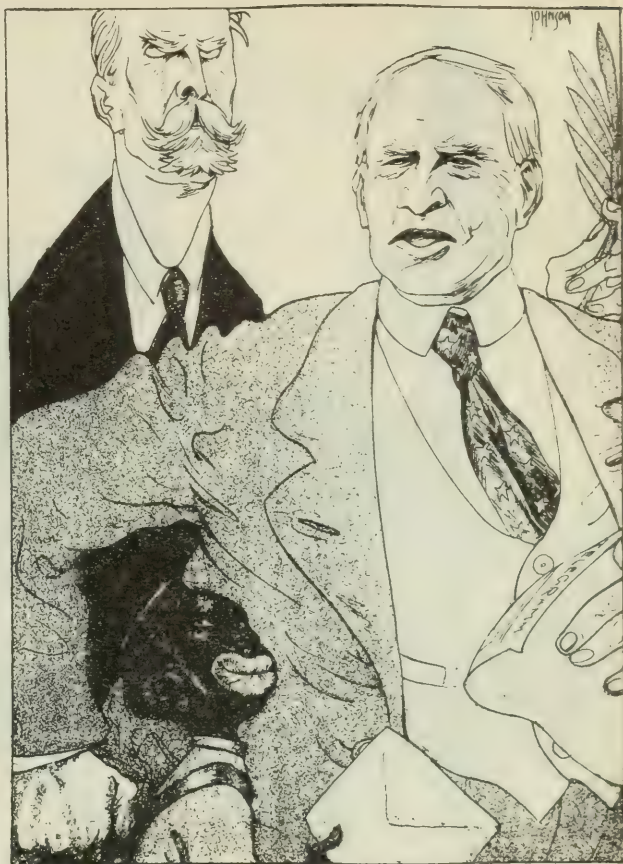
DELILAH AND SAMSON UP TO DATE

MISS COLUMBIA (TO ENGLAND, FRANCE, ITALY, AND JAPAN): "Now's the time, boys, for us to give old Mars a hair-cut!"
From the *Passing Show* (London, England)



DIS-“ARMS AND THE MAN”
From the *Bystander* (London, England)

Germany—already disarmed on land and sea—was not invited to the Washington conference; but *Kladderadatsch* pays its compliments to England and France. *Le Rire* fears that France once more is to lose something over the conference table.



THE INVITATION IS ACCEPTED
PRESIDENT HARDING (TO SECRETARY HUGHES): “We can call it a complete success! England is agreed about disarmament on land, and France agrees with disarmament at sea!”

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

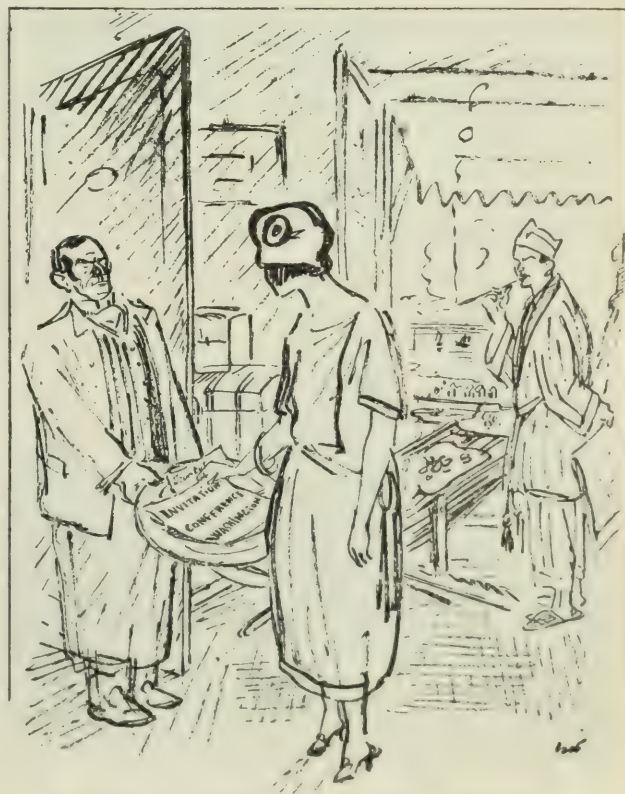


UNCLE SAM'S PART IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNCLE SAM: “What role can I play in your production?”

MARIANNE: “Financier!”

From *La Victoire* (Paris)



FRANCE IS INVITED TO THE DISARMAMENT
CONFERENCE

“I don't know . . . but I have a presentiment, Marianne, that you are going to lose something again.”

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



AMERICA CONCLUDES PEACE WITH THE CENTRAL POWERS

GERMANIA: "What does peace cost me?"

UNCLE SAM: "Nothing!"

CHORUS OF OTHER POWERS: "He's dotty!"

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND GERMANY

AMERICA: "Pardon, my friends; you will crush the man to death."

JOHN BULL AND THE FRENCH MARIANNE: "Just so! That's the idea!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



THE HAND AT THE GERMAN THROAT

FRANCE (TO PREMIER BRIAND): "Loosen it for a moment, so that he can say 'Yes!'"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)

[In both drawings at the bottom of this page the plight of the German Michel is presented—by German cartoonists. The one at the left charges the League with oppression, while the one at the right blames France alone]

ANGLO-FRENCH DISPUTES

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. ANOTHER CONFERENCE OF PARIS

THE most important single incident of the past month, interesting in itself as marking the seventh anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, has been the new strain placed upon Anglo-French friendship by two of the chronic differences between the two nations. Amongst the multitude of questions which divide the recent Allies, French policy in Poland and British policy in the Near East are the most striking circumstances. Thus the French press ceaselessly assails Britain for her imperialism expressed in the support of Greek aspirations in Asia Minor, while the British press rings the changes upon French imperialism expressed in the steady backing of those Polish aspirations which would result in the further weakening of Germany.

For Americans, necessarily observers of this dispute, it is essential to preserve an impartial perspective and to perceive what is really the fact, namely, that Britain and France historically and inevitably pursue different objectives and follow different policies. It is not, as each of the contestants would have us believe, that greater unselfishness, higher moral perception or deeper devotion to the good of the world is possessed in London than in Paris, or *vice versa*. British indignation at the French attitude toward Germany, French anger at British treatment of Turkish rights—these are too patently the maneuvers of interested parties to deceive or even to beguile.

The truth is that Britain desires to dominate the Near East because the Near East is the vital incident in British colonial policy. Having for nearly a century backed the Turk, in an effort to turn back the Russian rival from Constantinople and the open sea, Britain has now quite wisely abandoned the Turk and is backing the Greek. Greek claims to Smyrna and to much territory on the coast of Asia Minor are every whit as good as any claims honored by the Paris Peace Conference. But they are not a shade better than Polish claims to Upper Silesia, historically, ethnically, or economically.

The reason the British accept the Greek

claims and reject the Polish is that for Britain a greater Greece is a useful thing, while a greater Poland is an unmistakable barrier to a restoration of Germany economically. This restoration, moreover, is the foundation of the return of British prosperity. On the other hand the French, with a hatred of King Constantine which is natural, favor the Turk against the Greek, because as holders of Turkish bonds in large amounts they stand to lose with each reduction of Turkish territory.

The Mediterranean is the life line of the British Empire. Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus and Suez are the links in the chain which binds India to the United Kingdom and also marks the shortest route to Australia and New Zealand as well as to much of the Union of South Africa. If, in addition, Britain could have in the eastern end of the Mediterranean a state, dependent upon her but useful as the possessor of a real army and even a miniature fleet, to watch the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and guard the landward approaches to Constantinople in Asia as well as in Europe, the advantage would be unmistakable and Britain has steadily supported the Greek as a consequence.

The Frenchman on his side finds security for his own country, not in the possession of island fortresses which extend from Plymouth to Aden, but in the creation on the eastern flank of Germany of a nation which shall be able to furnish a powerful army, if Germany attacks again. We are, this month of September, to observe the seventh anniversary of the Battle of the Marne and it is worth noting that to-day German and French military writers agree that the fundamental cause of the German defeat in that decisive battle, which in reality settled the outcome of the World War, was the transfer of two and a half German corps from the West to the East in the period between the Battle of the Frontiers and that of the Marne.

That transfer was due exclusively to the onrush of Russian troops into East Prussia. At the moment German forces were entering France from Belgium the Russian success at

Gumbinnen had put in jeopardy all of Prussia east of the Vistula and its abandonment was openly considered. Russia has gone, but Poland is rising in her place as a powerful state in the East, and, faced with the possibility—the probability, the Frenchman would say, of a hostile Germany restored to strength in the future, France seeks to make Poland strong and Germany weak.

One may admit that there is more sentimental feeling in France for Poland than in Britain for Greece, but this is, after all, an incident. The simple truth is that, no matter what the sentimental considerations, each nation would be bound to consider its own interests and French interests fall in with Poland's while British are best served by forwarding Hellenic aspirations. Judged by the standards of fair play and right, it seems to me that both the Poles and the Greeks have the better case; they deserve to win. But in the pathway of Greece stands France, in the road of Poland stands Britain.

Meanwhile the press of the world is filled with the denunciations of rival policies which fly back and forth between Paris and London. And because London is a more considerable news source for the United States than Paris, the British have been, on the whole, more successful in putting their case before the American people and in creating the impression that French support of Poland is in some fashion imperialistic, nationalistic and sinful. Yet it is of utmost importance for Americans to perceive that this is no more than one added detail in the war of propaganda, which has survived the war of bayonets, and continues to rage everywhere in the world.

II. THE SILESIAN QUARREL

My readers are familiar with the facts of the Silesian dispute, which I have many times discussed. Here, in a territory only half as large as Connecticut, and in one corner of this territory, smaller than Rhode Island, is the second largest coal deposit on the Continent of Europe, with other valuable deposits of iron and of zinc. These deposits are all of them less than a score of miles from the present Polish frontier on the east and on the south; thus they are almost an enclave in Polish territory.

Of the population of this Upper Silesian territory much more than half is Slav, that is, Polish. As to this fact there is no dispute. Historically the region was separated

from Poland at least five centuries ago and was a part of Hapsburg territory until Frederick the Great stole Silesia in his notorious attack upon Maria Theresa. This attack, moreover, was the real point of departure of Prussia on her course of conquest, which ended, at least temporarily, with the Armistice of Rethondes.

So clear did Polish claims to this Upper Silesian territory appear to the Paris Conference that the whole region was allotted to Poland without limitation in the first draft of the Treaty of Versailles. When the Germans came to Paris the British were terribly afraid that the new government would reject the Treaty of Versailles and thus prolong world chaos and business paralysis. Accordingly, in the final draft of the Treaty, at British instance, provision was made for a plebiscite in the Upper Silesian region, with the express understanding that the result was to be considered by communes and not measured by the total vote. In a word, it was accepted as probable that certain districts would "go" German and others Polish and a division was foreseen.

At the plebiscite this is what did happen: In the whole area 60 per cent. voted German, 40 Polish, but the German majority over all was largely due to the influx of German elements, which had originated in Silesia but had long ago left for other parts of the Empire. The Poles, on their part, lacking funds were unable to promote a similar migration. Nevertheless, the results did show that a number of the northern counties, touching Germany but not containing the mines or the factories, had voted for Germany by decisive majorities.

A similar clarity was observable in the southeast, where the two large counties of Pless and Rybnik, mainly agricultural but containing great coal deposits, as yet unworked, gave overwhelming Polish majorities. But between these two areas was the middle ground, containing the great coal deposits. Here the result was indecisive, for all the rural communes had voted for Poland, while the half-dozen cities, in which are concentrated the German elements, had voted for Germany. How then was the problem to be solved?

At the outset, the Germans on their side claimed all of Upper Silesia, basing their claim on the fact that there had been a German majority in the district, taken as a unit. But this claim was preposterous, in view of the provisions of the Treaty of Ver-

sailles, itself. The second proposal was advanced by the British, who urged that Pless and Rybnik be ceded to the Poles and all the rest of Upper Silesia turned back to Germany. The French on their part offered a third solution, which gave all of the mineralized area to Poland, relying upon the fact that the Poles had carried more than three-quarters of the communes.

While the Plebiscite Commission was deadlocked, Berlin published the British proposal, and the Poles promptly took things in their own hands and organized a revolution led by Korfanty, a Pole, who had represented the Polish cause in the organization of the Plebiscite. The rising instantly complicated the situation. Only France had any considerable number of troops in the area and the French unmistakably sympathized with the insurrectionists. Moreover, as the Germans began to send troops into the area France became acutely concerned.

At this point Lloyd George made an amazingly indiscreet speech scolding the French, threatening them, and even hinting that Britain might favor German military action. Instantly the fat was in the fire and the French Prime Minister retorted by a categorical declaration that France would not under any circumstances permit the use of German troops. Briand also called attention to the fact that only French troops were present in numbers and British troops were entirely lacking.

The debate between Paris and London which followed was the sharpest since the outbreak of the World War. In the end British troops were sent to Upper Silesia, the German and Polish forces were separated and disbanded, and order was temporarily restored. Yet it was clear that a new outbreak would inevitably follow a final decision, since either the Germans or the Poles, or both, were bound to take up arms to enforce extreme claims which were sure to be rejected by the Supreme Council.

During the debate Paris openly charged that Lloyd George had promised to support German claims in Upper Silesia if the Germans would accept the Allied Ultimatum of May, which was evoked by the reparations issue and involved the occupation of the Ruhr if Germany declined to surrender to the terms of the Allies in the matter of the payments to be made to her conquerors as a consequence of her war guilt and her war destructions. This charge was denied, but remains fixed in French minds.

Meantime a settlement of the Upper Silesian mess was long postponed by the refusal of the French to go to conference—a refusal which endured until August and was only withdrawn after the British had consented to the transfer of another French division to Upper Silesia. And over this proposed troop movement a new dispute raged between Paris and London, with new floods of acrimonious criticism.

III. THE REAL ISSUE

But Americans should recognize that there is something more fundamental than Upper Silesia or Western Asia Minor dividing the British and the French. We are in the presence of two totally divergent conceptions of the wiser policy in dealing with Germany. And this divergence of opinion rests upon the utterly different interests of the two nations. Britain is an exporting nation, a factory state condemned to import food and bound to starve unless she can find markets for her manufactures and thus funds for the purchase of her food.

The war terribly reduced the purchasing power of the world and of the Central European states, which with Russia were very important British customers. In addition, the reparations settlement, by forcing Germany to give France and Italy millions of tons of coal annually, deprived the British of the French coal market in its entirety, and the Italian to a considerable extent. Thus we have seen terrible business depression in Britain, unemployment figures mounting into three millions. This depression culminated in a coal strike of unprecedented dimensions, during which the world witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of British ships compelled to go to French ports to coal and there loading German coal, which had been supplied to France on account of the reparations bill by German coal-miners.

Accordingly it has become a matter of life and death for Britain to restore the Central European markets for her manufactures, the markets which she filled before the war. It has become a matter of vital necessity for her to have Germany put on her feet economically, not only on account of German trade, but because most of Central Europe depends upon Germany economically. If these markets cannot be restored, and that promptly, millions of Englishmen must emigrate or starve.

Now the French situation is totally

different. France is not in the main a commercial country. She is self-sufficient as to food. Her manufactures are largely non-competitive in the world market; that is, they do not meet competition from similar products of other nations. By the war France became the greatest iron country in Europe. The deliveries of German coal insure her domestic needs against the day when her own mines are reopened. Her occupation of the Sarre district gives her still further coal resources. At the moment when British unemployment numbers passed 3,000,000, the number of French citizens out of work barely passed the 80,000 mark.

What France needs is not the restoration of world markets, not the restoration of Germany to trading ability, but protection against a Germany which, in regaining industrial and economic strength, will, at the same time, regain the capacity to attack France again. All French policy centers about this one point.

It has centered about it since the morning of the Armistice. It was the beginning and end of French concern in the Paris Peace Conference. It has been the dominant *motif* in all of French action from that moment to the present hour.

To the Frenchman, the Briton, seeking to restore Germany commercially for his own economic advantage, seems to be sacrificing French security, deserting an ally to take up with an enemy. British policy is regarded as selfish, cold-blooded, mercenary beyond defense in Paris, where Frenchmen with very few exceptions see their own country made the sacrifice for British cupidity.

To the Briton, on the other hand, the French determination to keep Germany weak, to bestow Upper Silesia upon Poland, to occupy the Ruhr, in a word, to prevent the recovery of Germany, seems militaristic, imperialistic, evil altogether. British newspapers and editors solemnly lecture the French upon their sacrifice of the prosperity of the world to a sentiment of vengeance. French papers retort by accusing the British of being willing to betray a friend for a bargain.

Meantime the net effect of the two conflicting policies is paralysis for both. British interests furnish the Greeks with arms and materials of war; French and even Italian interests have become purveyors to the Turks. German purposes in Upper Silesia are constantly supported by London. All over the world, wherever England or France

has an interest, each finds the other hostile. In the two countries the bitterness increases with each week and in recent days so good a friend of France as Sir Philip Gibbs, writing from London, announced the end of the Anglo-French alliance.

To American eyes, it must be clear that such a termination is inevitable unless some basis for compromise can be found. And, to put the thing quite frankly, unless Great Britain is prepared to guarantee French security against Germany in a fashion utterly satisfactory to France, the British must expect that France will continue to make impossible real German recovery, however costly this policy may prove to British interests. So far the British have declined to give any such guarantee; it is exceedingly doubtful to-day if the country would agree to such a pledge.

Yet the alternative is plainly chaos. For, in the last analysis, France has the power to prevent German recovery, and she has in ex-President Poincaré and other very able statesmen those who are prepared to use the power, and determined that France shall not make any further sacrifices to Britain. The collapse of the Anglo-French alliance would be an unfortunate thing for the world—for France, perhaps, in the end. But it would be immediately far more costly to Britain, because once the British restraint were removed, France would be able to move her troops into the Ruhr and, short of another war, Great Britain would be powerless to prevent such an operation. Such an occupation of the Ruhr would, however, postpone German economic recovery indefinitely. Moreover, it would inevitably be accompanied by a Polish advance into Upper Silesia and Germany would thus lose her great coal districts east and west and, as consequence, her ultimate resource in purchasing power.

IV. A CRITICAL MEETING

The new Conference of Paris, then, which is in session as I write this article, comes at a moment when Anglo-French relations are once more at a crisis. How critical the situation is may, I believe, be gathered from these words of ex-President Poincaré at the close of a recent magazine article:

If we permit matters to go on getting embittered, two great nations which for the good of humanity ought at all costs to remain united will return to their traditional hatreds, the revival of

which would be at once absurd and criminal. To avoid this catastrophe it is necessary and would be sufficient that in the necessary association there should be neither superiority nor subordination. It is necessary and it will be sufficient that France, in the presence of a friendly Britain, should remain France.

The Paris correspondent of the *Journal de Geneve* touches the same note when he recalls the words of Talleyrand returning from London in the last century:

An alliance between England and France, said the old diplomat, is as logical as that between Man and the Horse, but, we don't have to be the horse.

In a word, on the eve of this gathering it was plain that all over France there was a common conviction that in the relations between the British and the French it had been France which had been called upon to make all the concessions, and the French were inclined to make a test of the Upper Silesian Question, to insist upon British concession in this instance to balance French concessions in the past.

On the other hand, from London came an equally determined note, which gave little promise of compromise. French policy was excoriated as vengeful, fatal to the peace and prosperity of the world, and fraught with disaster for France. France was threatened with a termination of the Entente Cordiale, and at least veiled suggestions were to be detected that Britain, despairing of further French coöperation, would be forced to make other arrangements—which was euphemistic for an arrangement with Germany.

And in all of this preliminary controversy one peculiar detail was discoverable on either side of the Channel. French policy in the British press was described as the product of a few professional soldiers, of the extreme militarists and imperialists. British policy was described in Paris as the personal creation of Lloyd George. In other words, so sure were the British of the justice of their position that they insisted that it was the position of a majority of Frenchmen, while Frenchmen, equally convinced of the rightness of their opinions, asserted that these opinions were generally held in Britain outside the immediate circle of the Premier.

Yet, so far as one might judge from the outside, both these assertions were totally inexact. Weak as public support for Lloyd George in recent months has proved, it seems plain that the course which he has adopted with respect of French policy in Upper

Silesia not only has popular support, but is the single course which would permit him to continue to retain a majority in the House of Commons. As for Briand, it is reasonably certain that further yielding to the British would spell defeat when the French Parliament reassembles. Indeed, Paris despatches have insisted that he had retained power in the closing days of the last session only by giving a definite pledge not to yield in the case of Silesia.

In this Upper Silesian snare Italy took a middle ground. Count Sforza, Foreign Minister of the now fallen Giolitti Cabinet, had declared that while French claims on behalf of Poland were impossible, British proposals fell short of compliance with the terms of the Treaty of Versailles itself. In point of fact Italy had through Sforza proposed several compromises, all extending the Polish share beyond the Pless-Rybnik area conceded by the British. But when the Paris Conference actually assembled, the Italian representative withdrew these and contented himself with recommending some compromise between the two views.

With this Paris Conference America returned to the Supreme Council and quite naturally both France and Britain watched eagerly for some word which might indicate that the United States was prepared to act as arbiter in the Silesian dispute, despite the fact that the State Department in Washington had long ago declared that the Silesian Question was purely European and thus outside the field of American action.

All things considered, then, this new Conference of Paris promised to be one of the most important international gatherings since the great Conference of 1919, and the world watched it, eager to know whether Anglo-French friendship would once more survive a severe test or whether, at last, the forecast disruption of the Entente would come.

V. THE NEAR EAST

Second only to the Upper Silesian Question on the calendar of the Paris Conference was that of the Near East. There recent events had materially modified the situation. The elements in the problem have, however, remained unchanged. By the Treaty of Sèvres, one of the several Paris documents, Greece had been awarded much Turkish territory, as well as all of the Bulgarian coast upon the Egean Sea. Thus the new Greater Greece, as described in the

Treaty of Sèvres, approached the Chatalja Lines, almost within sight of Constantinople, and included all of Thrace, including Adrianople.

Even more important internationally was the territory assigned to Greece in Asia Minor. It included the great city of Smyrna and a very considerable hinterland extending eastward. This acquisition marked the Paris estimate of Venizelos; it was a tribute to the statesman, generally regarded as the most astute diplomat of the whole Paris Conference. But when Venizelos fell and Constantine returned the prizes remained with Greece.

Turkey, however, refused to ratify the Treaty and found herself promptly supported by France and Italy. The former, because she resented the return of Constantine, saw in the Treaty of Sèvres the hand of British diplomacy, which, under Greek disguise, sought to acquire control at the Golden Horn. But above all else France was dominated by two considerations. Her new Syrian colony adjoined Turkish territory for many miles and, having had several unpleasant border struggles with the Turks, she was prepared to purchase immunity on the Syrian frontier by support of Turkish claims at Smyrna. In addition, as the largest holder of Turkish bonds, France was interested in seeing Turkey as considerable as possible, as each loss of territory reduced her security on her loans.

Italy was frankly pro-Turk and anti-Greek because for Italy Greece is the one rival in that field in which all Italians see the future of their country. Smyrna has long been the objective of Italian aspirations, and Greek and Italian claims have clashed in Albania, in the Egean Islands, and upon the mainland of Asia Minor. Thus France and Italy supported the Turkish demand for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, a revision downward, so far as the Turk was concerned, which would restore to him Smyrna and all of the seacoast of the Egean turned over to Greece.

The Allies and the League of Nations being unable to find a solution, since Britain backed the Greeks and her associates the Turks, the consequence was one more war. Last spring the Greeks pushed their forces eastward to the Bagdad Railway and suffered a heavy defeat which just missed being a supreme disaster in the vicinity of Eski-Shehr, a junction point on the railway. Thereafter they retired upon Smyrna and

Brusa, and proceeded to collect all of their strength for a final effort.

Before this effort was made the Allies united in a recommendation to Greece to give over the proposed campaign and submit her claims to the great powers. But, knowing only too well what this meant, Greece declined and presently began a new operation, with an army increased to more than 200,000, and this time including many of the Venizelist officers who had been eliminated before the previous effort. Opposed to the Greeks were the troops of Kemal Pasha, numbering less than 100,000, and much inferior in all military resources, despite the fact that they had drawn upon Russia for some material.

Late in July a decisive battle was fought west of the Bagdad Railway between Kutaia and Eski-Shehr; and this time the Greek troops were victorious, and the Turks, after appalling losses, fled eastward up the branch line leading to Angora, which had become the Kemalist capital. Following their victory, the Greeks continued to advance, but only slowly, meantime reconstructing the railway lines and reorganizing their troops. The victory did not end the war, but even the Turkish accounts indicated that the Greek success was complete.

By this victory the Greeks have established a new obstacle to any revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. Constantine, who refused Allied advice before the battle, can hardly be expected to accept it now. Indeed, the real question to-day would seem to be not a revision downward, but upward, so far as the Treaty of Sèvres is concerned, for the Greeks now occupy most of Asia Minor south of the Straits and the Sea of Marmora and west of the Egean, their present front being many miles east of the Bagdad Railway.

Conceivably the Turks will be able to rally. Probably they will be able to maintain a guerrilla warfare which will tax the slender Greek resources to the uttermost. But, on the other hand, the restoration of peace in the Near East is desirable from the point of view of all of the great powers, and so a basis of settlement must be found. Here is the point at which British and French interests collide, and France, in this case, has the emphatic support of Italy.

As a consequence, there were to be heard, before the Paris Conference assembled, frequent reports that a basis of agreement would be found by which French views would be recognized by the British in Upper Silesia.

and France, in return, would accept the British solution in the Near East, which would carry with reaffirmation of the Treaty of Sèvres, and might even envisage eventual Greek possession of Constantinople itself. But these rumors were evidently without any other basis than that found in the logic of the situation, and there was little suggestion in London of a desire to "swap" Königshütte and Beuthen against Constantinople and Smyrna.

VI. COMPROMISE

As I close this article word comes from Paris that both the British and the French Premiers have taken occasion to announce that there will be no break in the Entente over the Upper Silesian dispute. Further than this, unofficial reports have already begun to sketch the terms of a compromise which will in the picturesque phrase of one diplomat "save everybody's face."

With the precise terms of the compromise I shall deal next month, but it would seem that the underlying principle is the allocation to each of the contestants of a population based upon the percentage of vote in the plebiscite. In a word, the industrial area is to be divided, but the drawing of the line is still in process.

Patently the approach of the Conference of Washington has exerted a restraining influence upon both France and Great Britain, both of whom quite wisely wish to escape a European break on the eve of the great American adventure. Yet it must be clear that something more than a mere patched-up bargain will be needed to restore Anglo-French friendship. Such restoration is by no means impossible. The latest quarrel may clear the air, but a general settlement seems necessary.

One may ask what effect the proposed compromise will have in Germany, where the Wirth Ministry unquestionably rested its hope of continuance in office upon a favorable decision in Upper Silesia. But, after all, the same question must be asked in the case of Briand, who has also to face a hostile Chamber if his concessions are considerable.

Finally, there is the Polish aspect and, since the dispatch of more French troops has been vetoed in Paris, there must be sound reason for believing that the danger of a new revolution is regarded as slight. But what is worst in the situation is the fact that any settlement now will be regarded on

both sides of the Oder as little more than a temporary truce. The Pole-German problem must remain one of the great obstacles to permanent peace in Europe and the various compromises, of which Danzig is only the most notorious, supply adequate opportunity for fresh quarrels.

From the American point of view the recent Anglo-French dispute is important, as it indicates in what temper Europe will come to Washington. At the moment France is divided from Italy and from Britain, while Italy sides with France against Britain in the Near East and with Britain against France in Poland. Moreover, in all these disputes there is a keen desire in European capitals to have America intervene as arbiter.

Yet it seems to me sufficiently clear that any intervention on our part is likely to lead to unhappy results. If we decide for Germany against Poland or for Poland against Germany, we become parties to a condition which can only be preserved by force, and we become partners in the guaranteeing of political conditions which, in the east and southeast of Europe are necessarily impermanent.

The question of naval restriction is sufficiently concrete to permit of definite agreement. In the case of the Pacific certain progress may be made provided we are ready to concede to Japan advantages which she possesses but are outside the limits our Open Door policy has envisaged. But if the questions of European military strength and political relations are to be dealt with, then it is impossible to forecast any outcome of the Washington Conference more satisfactory than that of Paris.

In Washington the British will seek American support for all their purposes the world over. They will hope for our assistance in restraining France in Poland and Italy in the Near East. The French will base all their policy in dealing with Pacific questions on their necessities upon the Rhine and their interests upon the Vistula. In the last analysis the Washington Conference will be little more than a continuation of the recent Paris gathering, with the United States taking an active part. In truth, it is no more than a continuation of the original Paris Conference.

If we go into the subject of disarmament on land, then we must go into the question of guaranteeing the safety of the nations which, obedient to our request, consent to disarm. But this is to return to the point

where Clemenceau extracted from Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George that Treaty of Insurance for France which has never been ratified in the United States and has no force so far as Britain is concerned until America has ratified.

Three years after the Peace Conference the Continent of Europe is the battleground of policies and purposes. New alliances arising on the ruins of old and ancient antipathies are taking on new vitality. With Germany and Russia naturally excluded from the present Conference, no decision will be binding upon them and any attempt to bolster up the existing political arrangements, so unfavorable to them, must involve later defense against their attack.

When one perceives that Britain and France, nations which have been at peace with each other for more than a century and at least twice have been allies, the last time in the most terrible struggle in human history, are to-day unable to avoid constant clashes, quarrels, each a little more bitter than the preceding, it is manifest that the way to international accord is still difficult.

So far, differences have been adjusted by bargain-counter methods, but the results are not such as to encourage those who look for a final adjustment of international differences as a step toward peace. Beyond all question, Europe will bring the bargain-counter method to Washington. Mr. Wilson was forced to meet this form of negotiating and his unfamiliarity with it led to disaster. In the final act of the Peace Conference he found his domestic political fortunes involved and he was forced to make great concessions in the hope of preserving that League of Nations which was, in his mind, the supreme issue in Paris, and the essential political accomplishment at home.

President Harding will face the same situation. Europe knows his need to succeed where Mr. Wilson failed. It is prepared to give him success, as it gave Mr. Wilson his League—at a price, but the price is American participation in all the problems of Europe. In establishing our view, as contrasted with that of Japan, in Pacific matters, we may count upon the solid support of all Europe—but Europe will expect certain compensating actions on our part.

If Americans neglect to keep in mind the present situation in Europe, if they fail to recognize that the Conference of Washington in November is only a carry-over from the Conference of Paris of August, if they

follow their course at Paris and ignore the past, remote and immediate, the results will be just about like those of the Paris experience. I have devoted my attention this month to the Paris Conference, exclusively, because it has seemed to me that in it was discoverable a lesson which was of real value for Americans in estimating the prospects of the Washington gathering two months hence.

When all is said and done Europe has been attending conferences for centuries. I recall the words of Lord Robert Cecil to an American friend of mine; "I am afraid," said that eminent British statesman, "that we have been at this business so long, we do it rather too well." Europe went to the great Paris Conference as one goes to an auction, America as one goes to church—and the Paris Conference, whatever else one may say about it, was not church.

VII. FAILURE

As I read the proofs of this article, the dispatches from Paris give definite information on the results, which are identical in both cases; that is, as to the Upper Silesian dispute and as to the Near Eastern problem. As to the latter the Supreme Council has frankly washed its hands of the whole affair and left it to the belligerents to settle their claims by battle. As to the former, after deadlock the conferees have separated, leaving the decision with the Council of the League of Nations.

Actually, however, no one can be deceived by this diplomatic device. The Council of the League of Nations is made up of representatives from the four nations present at Paris, namely France, Britain, Italy, and Japan, and in addition of other representatives of Brazil, Belgium, Spain, and China. And no decision can be reached which is not arrived at by unanimous vote. Thus France, which stood out against Britain, Japan, and Italy in Paris, will hardly change her position at Geneva when the matter comes up.

All that has actually happened is that Lloyd George and Briand have reached a deadlock and the sentiment in their respective countries has forbidden the making of such a compromise as each would personally strive for. But faced at last with the imminent possibility of an absolute break between the two nations, both Premiers have hesitated and preferred to postpone that break by temporary delay. Thus the Upper Sile-

sian dispute has been laid upon the League of Nations shelf for the moment; but no one can fail to see that the Anglo-French Entente now hangs by a thread.

Meantime the Upper Silesian situation, which for many months has constituted an acute political peril to the peace of Europe and a grave barrier to economic restoration, endures in an aggravated form, with the daily possibility of new uprisings either on the German or the Polish side. This is the real calamity. Moreover, hard on the decision of the Supreme Council to leave Greece and Turkey to fight it out comes the word that the King of the Hedjaz, as Sherif of Mecca, has proclaimed the Holy War against the Greeks and on behalf of the Turks. This latter incident forecasts unrest all over the Moslem world from Calcutta to Casablanca.

For the moment the situation now shifts from Paris to Geneva, where the Council of

the League of Nations will soon assemble. But this is only a surface indication. In reality the decision must be made in Paris and London and by the statesmen and parliaments of France and Britain. The fact is that the machinery which represents international order and authority has at last reached a complete stop and is on the point of collapsing altogether. Reference to the League of Nations does no more than supply one last breathing spell.

In all human probability an absolute break will be postponed until after the Conference of Washington, since Europe would hardly wish to come to America separated by an irreparable breach. Yet, whatever may be the ultimate outcome, it is plain that for many months the alliance which defeated Hohenzollern Germany has been crumbling precisely as did that which destroyed Napoleonic France. And the recent Paris Conference marks one more stage in dissolution.

THE RELIEF OF STARVING RUSSIANS

BY JEROME LANDFIELD

THE urgent appeal to "all honest men" to come to the rescue of Russia's starving millions, which Maxim Gorky sent out on July 20, has served to concentrate universal attention on the world's most pressing problem. How immediate and insistent is this problem may be realized from the patent fact that Europe cannot settle down to normal life and restore production while Russia remains "an economic vacuum," and that the threat of vast epidemics and of the incursion of famished hordes is a very real one. The appeal, which was made at the direction of the Soviet authorities and followed by an official statement, served also to expose completely the failure of the Communist experiment and the terrible consequences resulting from Bolshevik rule. All these consequences had been predicted repeatedly by competent observers, but this appeal, which constitutes a confession, confirms these predictions and eliminates all doubt or confusion as to the real causes of the débâcle.

Gorky's estimate of 300,000 Russians

dying daily from epidemic disease and starvation, of 6,000,000 people in flight from the Volga region, of the spread of the famine over eighteen provinces where 20,000,000 are starving, may be an exaggeration. The heart-rending stories of famished peasants leaving their villages from which the last edible fragment has disappeared; burning their huts; abandoning children they cannot carry or feed; subsisting on roots, grass, field mice; wandering blindly in hordes toward regions where rumor tells of plenty; and falling in merciful death by the roadside—these stories are not to be taken too literally or as of general application. But, after making due allowance for rumor and panic, for sensational tales and exaggeration, the situation is far worse than anyone in fortunate America can possibly form any conception of. The migrations of whole villages, the abandonment of children, the trail of corpses by the wayside—these are only the high-lights in one vast welter of misery from which but few communities are entirely exempt.

The most acute famine is felt in the Volga region, where, according to the best available reports, eight provinces of an area of some 250,000 square miles have suffered entire crop failure owing to the long-continued drought. The number of fugitives from this region is placed at 3,000,000, which includes many of the refugees from southwestern Russia that migrated thither during the retreat of the Russian armies. There is a general shortage of crops in the very regions from which formerly the surplus went to supply the industrial centers and the non-self-supporting regions of the north. In these latter the crop reports are better, but at best they can only take care of their own people, and that on a very meager ration.

Dire Straits of the Cities

The condition of the cities is terrible beyond the power of words to describe, for here we have the cumulative effect of years of chronic near-starvation which have robbed the inhabitants of vitality and the power of resistance. Here also we have not only horrible sanitary conditions, but the depressing mental effect of terror, the terror inspired by

all-pervasive espionage, by imprisonment, and torture, by wholesale executions, from which the outlying country districts have been comparatively free.

In the cities there is, however, food for the few who have money. The tables of commissars and "speculators" are provided with milk, eggs, poultry, meat, and delicacies. This trade in food is carried on clandestinely, and the greatest caution must be observed, for detection means imprisonment and perhaps death. In all respects it reproduces accurately "bootlegging" in America, except that food instead of alcohol is the desideratum.

A general survey indicates that the cities and industrial centers are in the most deplorable state, because the famine conditions have persisted there longest. They are threatened with absolute extinction unless help comes from the outside. Such help, though utterly disproportionate to the need, is possible through the use of the remnants of Russia's transportation system. The agricultural regions that have been afflicted with drought are in desperate straits, and starvation and disease will take a terrible toll. Lack of transportation precludes much help reaching

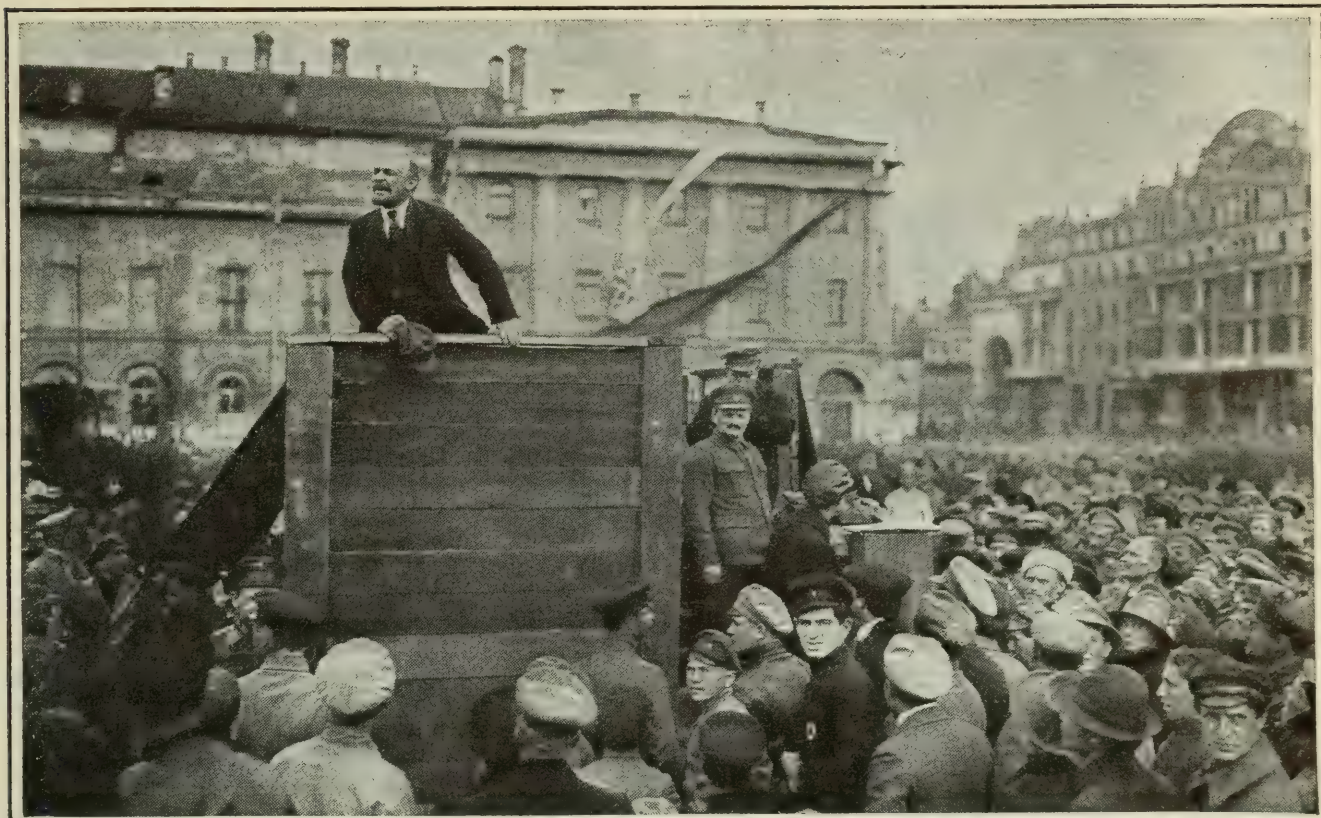
them in time, even if the world pours forth its bounty in unstinted measure. Only the hardiest can survive. The remaining agricultural regions will manage to exist after a fashion, for the Russian peasant possesses powers of endurance that are well-nigh unbelievable. But presently, almost before relief operations can be got well under way, the Arctic winter will enfold Russia in its icy grasp and claim its masses of victims from among those who are undernourished, for the fuel situation in Russia is also desperate. Altogether, it is probably not an exaggeration to estimate that 5,000,000 people must perish before another harvest.

Causes of the Famine

The Soviet authorities have sought to exculpate themselves from blame for the general famine and its attendant horrors by attributing it to the war and block-



MAP SHOWING THE MOST IMPORTANT FAMINE AREAS OF RUSSIA



From Dr. Wovschin's Collection

LENINE ADDRESSING A STREET MEETING IN MOSCOW

ade, and, more recently, to the drought. The real cause, however, is not far to seek, and it is well that the world at large should realize it clearly. The full responsibility must fall on the Bolsheviks themselves and their insane economic policy. The war undoubtedly curtailed production by conscripting labor from the fields and consuming food non-productively, but this was but a small factor in a country that normally exported immense quantities of foodstuffs. Other countries, less favored agriculturally, have carried on food production successfully during a war that engaged a far larger proportion of their manpower. The blockade only prevented export and kept food at home. As for the drought—which is an added local visitation—the official Soviet press was full of predictions of famine and appeals to avert it long, long before the winter snows had melted.

Effects of Communist Policy

That famine should result from Communist policy was inevitable. When the Soviet authorities, who professed to base their revolution on the industrial proletariat, found that the peasants would not exchange food for Bolshevik paper money that would buy nothing, they had recourse to forcible requisitions, sending Red Guards out into the villages to seize the peasants' stores. Fur-

ther, as another expedient, they organized so-called "Committees of the Poor" wherever their authority reached, committees often made up of the lowest human material, to spy upon the well-to-do peasants and denounce those who hoarded grain.

The effect was precisely what might have been expected. The peasants, forbidden to sell privately and in constant danger of forcible requisition, deprived of any incentive to produce more than they needed themselves, cut down the area cultivated to a minimum and concealed the product. There have been serious famines in Russia in the past, notably that of 1891, but these have always been relieved by moving the surplus from more fortunate regions into the stricken areas. Now, however, thanks to Communist policy, there are no reserves to move, even if there were transportation to move them. What is particularly tragic in the situation in the Volga Valley is that, because of its accessibility to Soviet requisition, the peasants of this fertile region have been repeatedly plundered of their food reserves and even of the very seed required for the fall sowing.

A Radical Change Demanded

It is important that all this should be understood in order to realize the immensity of the problem of salvaging Russia. It is evi-

dent that sending in food from the outside, essential as this is at the moment, can relieve only an infinitesimal portion of Russia's suffering millions. The present emergency will be only the prelude to more terrible famine conditions in 1922 and 1923, unless there is a radical change. Russia, formerly the great food producer, must be enabled to feed herself. For this she needs seed, implements, and railroads. But there is no use in attempting to furnish these things while a system persists which nullifies all constructive effort and which destroys faster than the people can build. While the dead hand of Communist rule continues to grip the country there is no hope to avert further horrors. Mr. Hoover expresses this clearly when he says that such food shortages "will be recurrent every year until there is a much further change in the economic system."

Relief Measures

In the face of the famine emergency the Soviet Government is running to various expedients. As a matter of fact, the present struggle against the famine is only an intensified form of the struggle in which they have been engaged since the beginning of their régime, for the food problem has ever been uppermost. The most vigorous propaganda has been used to coax the peasants to increase the area sown, and to induce workmen to turn out more goods to exchange for food, but with little result. In direct contradiction to communist theory, private trade by the peasants has been legalized and requisitions replaced by tax in kind, but too late to increase production.

A Central Soviet Famine Relief Committee has been appointed to coördinate and direct all relief activities. In addition to this a general or non-political relief commission has been organized, which includes members who are not Communists and among them men of some prominence under the old régime and the Provisional Government. This latter commission presents several points of interest. Of its sixty-three members, only ten are Communists, and these belong to the moderate wing of the party, such as Kameney, Krasin, Litvinov, Lunacharsky, Rykov, and Semashko. Five are Cadets, among them Golovin, president of the Second Duma; Kishkin, prominent municipal worker of Moscow and a minister in the Provisional Government; and Kutler, who was Minister of Agriculture under the Czar. With these are a number of well-known writers,

an actor, the director of the Art Theater of Moscow, a daughter of Tolstoy, and a considerable group of professors. The question is whether this commission is instituted for political effect abroad or if it signifies an honest attempt to secure the coöperation of non-communist elements. Little is to be expected from Soviet decrees and commissions, however, to relieve the situation.

Hoover and the Relief of Russia

Secretary Hoover, on behalf of the American Relief Administration, of which he is the head and organizer, responded at once to the Gorky appeal. The conditions under which relief would be undertaken were laid down carefully. First, American prisoners in Russia must be released and allowed to leave the country. Relief would be restricted to children and the sick. There must be freedom of movement and communication and relief workers must be inviolate. Distribution would be by the Relief Administration's own agents or under their personal direction. The security of supplies against seizure or diversion must be guaranteed. No political activities would be indulged in.

The Soviet authorities submitted to the conditions with a wry face. Politics is their ruling passion, and the fate of millions is nothing to them compared with any menace to their political power. Indeed, it was evident that they hoped to make the relief negotiations the basis for securing recognition. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Hughes took very good care that nothing of this kind should take place. The charitable efforts of the American Relief Administration were not to be utilized for strengthening the Soviet régime. Walter L. Brown, the efficient representative of the Relief Administration in Europe, was dispatched to Riga to confer with Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet representative. After protracted conferences, the way seems now to be cleared, and energetic measures have been set on foot to rush forward food and medical supplies with the utmost dispatch, although at last accounts the Soviet Government was still playing for control over distribution.

No Pooling of Resources!

The job of relieving starvation in Russia is a gigantic one, and Mr. Hoover frankly recognizes it as too big for the private charities of the world. In Europe the Supreme Council, the International Red Cross, and many bodies in the various countries are

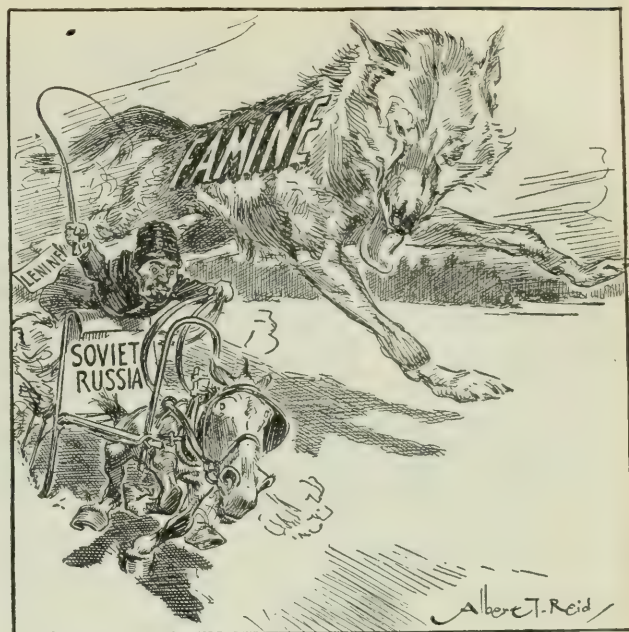
concerning themselves with this overwhelming problem. To the suggestion of an International Commission for Russian Famine Relief, Mr. Hoover has made a definite answer. Such an organization is eminently desirable to coördinate the activities of the various relief committees, and prevent overlapping and duplication of effort, but each committee or organization should use its own resources in its allotted field independently. The American Relief Administration has no idea of pooling its resources with European organizations, and placing their disposal under control of a joint commission.

The Future

Although facing the greatest tragedy in historic times, the Russian nation will survive. Her people are now paying a frightful price for misgovernment, for war, and revolution. Misgovernment kept them backward and ignorant; a war in which they sacrificed themselves without limit for the Allied cause left them demoralized; and in the revolution which found them leaderless and unfitted to meet new conditions advantage was taken of their ignorance, simplicity, and demoralization by the communist leaders to impose upon them a terroristic tyranny that has ruined the country, and brought them to the verge of starvation. But there is a brighter side to the picture. For more than three years, thanks to Bolshevik policy, the mass of the peasants have been practically cut off from the cities, and have doggedly resisted interference with their affairs.

To-day probably less than 6,000,000 out of Russia's total population of perhaps 130,000,000 are under the direct authority of the Soviet Government. In their separate communities, away from the railroads, they have been running their own affairs, developing their cottage industries, carrying on trade, administering their own government and living a primitive or medieval life. With this has come self-dependence and the spirit of liberty.

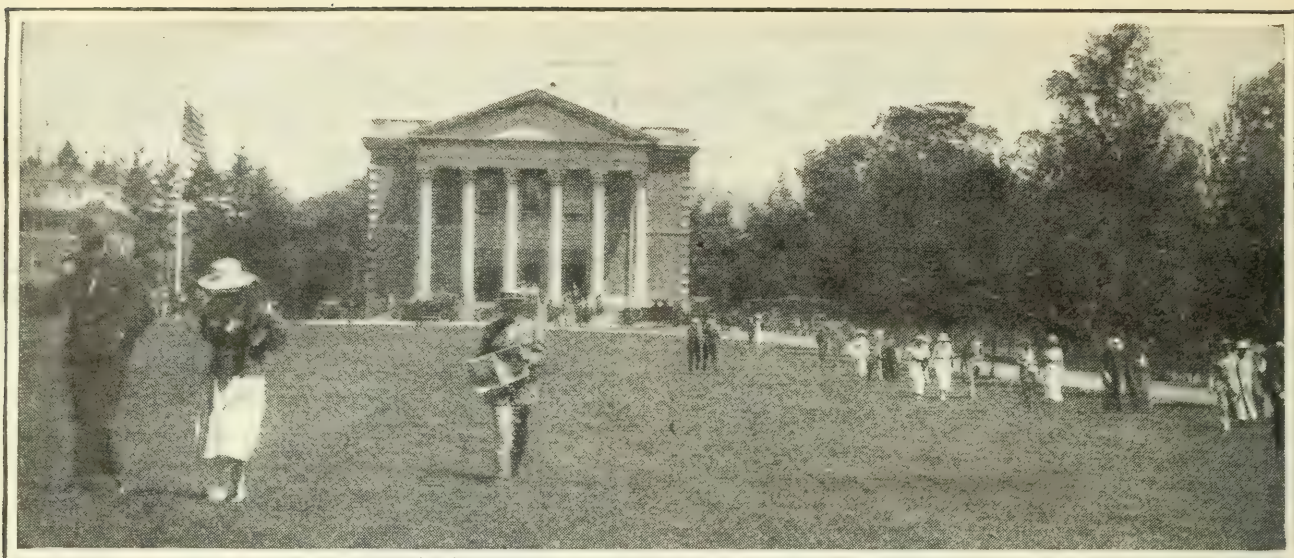
It has been a common propaganda claim of the Bolsheviks and of those who expect to profit through a continuation of the present régime that the fall of the Soviet Government would mean anarchy in Russia. Rather would it mean the end of anarchy. For a time there might be no central gov-



A RACE FOR LIFE
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

ernment and disorder would rule in the cities, but 95 per cent. of the population would go on quietly as before in thousands of separate communities, freed from the threat of Red Guard incursions, and gradually drawing together as the economic pressure of the need for transportation and commerce made itself felt. One thing is certain, and that is that these masses now have the instinct of private property deeply engrained in their nature and that they will submit to no external rule.

The present measures of famine relief are necessary and vital. Every effort must be put forth by the other nations of the world to avert an immediate catastrophe. But the biggest task will come when at last the curse of the Communist tyranny has been removed and the real work of rescue and reconstruction can begin. In this lies not only the salvation of Russia, but the salvation of Europe as well, and there is comfort in the thought that however great the destruction wrought by the present régime there will be found sound elements to build on in the millions of Russian peasants who have at last won through to freedom and self-dependence in the hardest school that the world has known. Upon these foundations the new Russian state will arise, developing slowly and crudely, but solidly. In such a polity, springing naturally from the people and responding to their national character, there is promise for peace in a troubled world.



GRACE HALL, WILLIAMS COLLEGE, IN WHICH WAS HELD THE OPENING SESSION OF THE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS, OVER WHICH CHIEF JUSTICE TAFT PRESIDED

WORLD RELATIONSHIPS AS SEEN FROM WILLIAMSTOWN

NEITHER in America nor anywhere else did the Institute of Politics, which has been in session for the past month at Williamstown, Mass., have a precedent. One hundred leaders of American thought—university professors, jurists, publicists, financiers—gathered for four weeks in the halls of Williams College during the vacation season and listened to addresses by scholars and statesmen of world-wide reputation on the various phases of international relationships. Among the lecturers were Viscount James Bryce, of Great Britain, Baron Sergius Korff, of Russia, Hon. Stephen Panaretoff, of Bulgaria, Count Teleki, of Hungary, Hon. Tomasso Tittoni, of Italy, and Professor Achille Viallate, of France.

If the newly-organized Institute had gone no farther than to invite men of such distinction to speak on international topics, the service to the American public would have been unique. The program of the Institute, however, did not stop with the lecture courses. A series of "round-table" conferences was organized for the membership of the Institute, subdivided into relatively small groups for the intensive study of particular questions, under qualified leadership. It was the ambition of President Harry A. Garfield, in launching the Institute, to attract to Williamstown, during the summer session, men already qualified as students and experts who could profitably engage in these small group conferences. The average number at each

round-table was from twenty to twenty-five, and the scope and work of these conferences is best shown by the following list of subjects, leaders and secretaries:

"The New States of Central Europe," Professor A. C. Coolidge and R. H. Lord of Harvard; Secretary, Professor Laurence Packard.

"The Reparations Question: Its International Aspects," Norman H. Davis, former Under Secretary of State; Secretary, Arthur Bullard.

"Treaties of Peace, Especially the Treaty of Versailles," Professor J. W. Garner, University of Illinois; Secretary, Assistant Professor P. B. Potter.

"The New Frontiers in Western Europe and the Near East," Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard, and Colonel Lawrence Martin of Washington, D. C.; Secretary, Professor Laurence Packard.

"Fundamental Concepts in International Law in Relation to Political Theory and Legal Philosophy," Professor J. S. Reeves, University of Michigan; Secretary, Lloyd Haberly.

"Latin American Questions," L. S. Rowe, Director-General of the Pan American Union; Secretary, W. P. Montgomery.

"Tariffs and Tariff Problems," Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard; Secretary, R. L. Masson.

"Unsettled Questions in International Law," Professor G. G. Wilson of Harvard; Secretary, Lloyd Haberly.

The leader of each round-table suggested specific references to books and documents, in order to furnish a basis of detailed knowledge of the points at issue. All the participants were thus enabled to prepare them-



LEADING EUROPEAN PUBLICISTS WHO LECTURED DURING THE MONTH OF AUGUST AT THE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

(From left to right: Professor Achille Viallate, the well-known French economist, director of the De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines; His Excellency Tomasso Tittoni, President of the Italian Senate, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Italian representative at the Peace Conference; President Harry A. Garfield, of Williams College, Chairman of the Institute of Politics; Baron Sergius A. Korff, former Deputy Governor-General of Finland; Hon. Stephen Panaretoff, Bulgarian Minister to the United States; Count Paul Teleki, former Prime Minister of Hungary; Viscount James Bryce, former British Ambassador to the United States, Dean of the Institute's session)

selves for debate, and the general discussion was directed and summarized by the leader.

Among those who participated in the conferences the academic group included more than thirty heads of departments and men and women of full professorial rank. About forty colleges and universities were represented, from the University of Alabama to the University of Washington. In the group of financiers there were enrolled Hon. Bernard M. Baruch, Thomas W. Lamont, and George Foster Peabody, and the United States Army was represented by several members of the General Staff College.

In order to achieve the desired ends it was of course necessary to restrict participation in the round-table conferences to the members of the Institute. The lectures, however, were thrown open to the general public. It was an unusual opportunity to see and hear distinguished men from the Old World, and about 500 members of the summer colonies in and about Williamstown made up the audiences. Through the press reports that appeared from day to day in the metropolitan papers the American public was reached in vastly greater numbers. Lord Bryce's addresses, in particular, were reported far and

wide throughout the country, and there can be no doubt that they made a lasting impression on thousands of readers. The subject of the eight addresses delivered by Lord Bryce was "International Relations of the Old World States in Their Historical, Political, Commercial, Legal and Ethical Aspects, Including a Discussion of the Causes of Wars and the Means of Averting Them."

The Hon. Tomasso Tittoni's course on "Modern Italy: Its Intellectual, Cultural and Financial Aspects" also arrested popular attention, and the same thing was true of Professor Viallate's discussion of "The Economic Factor in International Relations," and of the courses by Count Teleki, the Hon. Stephen Panaretoff, and Baron Korff.

The management of the Institute made it clear in advance that its purpose was to promote sane thinking in America on all that is involved in international relations. This can be accomplished, not only by reaching directly out to the general public through the lectures, but even more effectively by bringing together, as Professor Walter McLaren, the Chief Secretary of the Conferences, has said, "a group of members, who by utterances in the press, from the collegiate platform, and



GROUP OF INSTITUTE LEADERS

(Left to right: Professor James W. Garner, of the University of Illinois, Chairman of the Round Table on "Treaties of Peace"; Professor J. S. Reeves, of the University of Michigan, leader of the Round Table on "Fundamental Concepts on International Law"; Professor Philip Marshall Brown, of Princeton University, formerly of the United States Diplomatic Service; Professor George Grafton Wilson, of Harvard University, leader of the Round Table on "Unsettled Questions in International Law")

from the pulpit can disseminate sound, sane views upon current questions in the field of international relations."

Doubtless many who have learned of the activities of the Institute through the press dispatches of the past month have taken for granted that the idea was suggested by conditions brought on by the war. This is a mistaken assumption. President Garfield had developed the plan as early as April, 1913, but the execution was delayed until the present year. Williams College contributed the use of buildings and campus without profit, and a friend of the Institute generously offered to defray all expenses during a period of three years. A registration fee of \$10 was paid by enrolled members, who obtained board at the college commons and a room in one of the dormitories for \$15 a week. No examinations were held, and no certificates were issued. The Institute was not in the ordinary sense a summer school.

In every respect the opening session of the Institute has been a notable success. The addresses are to be published in a series of volumes, and it is expected that they will be widely circulated. Some of them may perhaps serve as university text-books. There can be no doubt that the influences set in motion by the founders of the Institute will extend far beyond the crests of the Berkshire Hills, in which they had their birth.

TEACHING WOMEN POLITICS

BY MARJORIE SHULER

ON October 24, in coöperation with the Connecticut League of Women Voters, Yale University will open a citizenship school for women. The classes will be held in Yale buildings. The lecturers will be Yale professors.

So general has been the interest manifested in the plans for the school that its scope has been extended beyond Connecticut and registrations are now being received from other States and other countries.

Among the Yale faculty members scheduled to make addresses are: Former President William Howard Taft, Professor E. M. Borchard, Professor Clive Day, Professor E. R. Fairchild, Professor Henry W. Farnam, Professor Irving Fisher, Professor Arnold Gesell, Professor Allen Johnson, Professor William Lyon Phelps, Professor

Charles Seymour, Professor C. E. A. Winslow.

The school will last for a week, with lectures on the science of government, the methods of political parties, social problems and the service which the individual voting citizen owes to the community, the State and the nation. One day will be given over to a discussion of international relations, economic, social, and political, and the reduction of armament. There will be a national day with lectures on the fundamentals of American history, and the history, principles and service of political parties. Connecticut legislators, who they are and what they do, and party caucuses and conventions versus primaries will be features of State Day. Town and city problems will fill another day, on which the Connecticut

Association of University Women will participate in a discussion on education, and there will be lectures on town and city management, social welfare and the working of the civil service.

On Town and City Day there will be presented the first results of a know-your-town survey which the Connecticut League of Women Voters is now conducting.

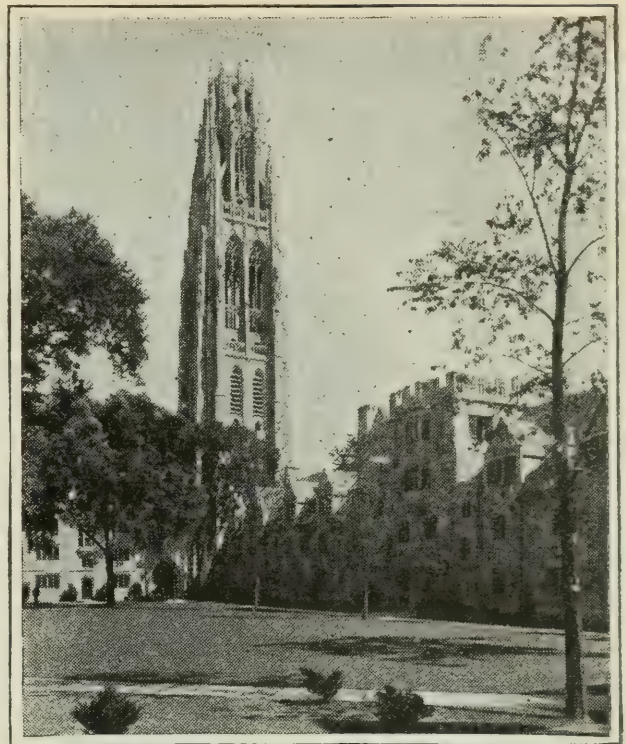
With the hope of discovering those community needs upon which women voters should concentrate their first efforts, the League has sent out lists of one hundred and twelve questions to the women of every town in the State. The questions are based on a syllabus issued by the University of Arkansas.

Facts are asked concerning the population of the community, the proportion of native and foreign born, what Americanization agencies are at work and the civil status accorded to negroes. There are questions on the industrial situation, the conditions and hours of labor for men, women and children. Under home-making, such questions are asked as, How many homes are mortgaged; How much are rents; Has the government or any housing corporation built groups of houses in your community; How many divorces in your town in 1920; What are the effects of the divorces you know; What was the highest price for coal last winter in your town; Have you water-power that could be used for electric lighting?

Among the questions dealing with health conditions is a request for information concerning the "regular profession or business" of the town health officer. Answers are required under seventeen headings concerning education—What use is made of Storrs College and the County Farm Bureau for vocational classes; Are school children given carfare; What community use is made of school buildings? Among the local organizations upon which information is desired are farmers' coöperative buying and selling groups and housewives' coöperative buying leagues.

Public utilities, courts, county and State government are inquired into and especial emphasis is put upon the quality of service of the State legislators to their communities.

From the information thus developed the League will map out a program to present to the women of the State, and the most important of the proposals for social reform and new legislation will be outlined for the first time at the Yale citizenship school.



A VIEW OF THE MEMORIAL QUADRANGLE AT YALE, SHOWING HARKNESS MEMORIAL TOWER

A New Departure for Yale

For two hundred and twenty years Yale has been maintained as a man's college. The regular departments in which women are admitted are the schools of art, music, law, and medicine, and the graduate school to pursue courses leading to the degrees of doctor of philosophy, master of arts, master of science, the certificate in public health, and the doctor of public health. The establishment of a special school primarily for women is a valuable proof of politics as a unifying instead of a separating force between men and women.

The coming together of the university authorities and organized women in open recognition of the fact that the duties and responsibilities of citizenship cannot properly be discharged without adequate and intelligent preparation constitutes an event of importance to the political life of the entire nation. The human mind is prone to believe that it requires no training for any experience which comes to it in common with all of its sex, class or group. Men and women, both, for countless generations have muddled through their own particular tasks with only such knowledge as they have inherited or picked up more or less consciously. There has been opposition to college training instead of the mechanic's bench for the boy, to domestic science school instead of the family cookstove for the girl. And there are those who believe that it is as well to

throw the man or woman into politics to swim out, as to give a definite, thorough course of citizenship training. It is this resistance which Yale University and other colleges intend to conquer.

Civics Courses Throughout the Country

It is interesting to note that the national movement for uniting women's organizations and colleges to teach citizenship, of which Yale now becomes a sponsor, has been inaugurated not in the West, where women have long been voters, but in the East, where they are comparative newcomers in politics.

In July, 1919, more than a year before the ratification of the federal woman suffrage amendment gave the ballot to the women of New Hampshire, the New Hampshire State College and representatives of the leading women's organizations of every kind in the State united in opening a week's citizenship school at Durham. The college dormitories were opened to the visitors and from all over the State there poured into the little town farmers' wives and city women, industrial workers and professional women, suffragists and anti-suffragists, all animated with the common desire to make themselves into the best kind of citizens.

So novel was the venture that correspondents were sent to the school from metropolitan newspapers to write up the amusing episode of grown women going back to school. One of the best-known humorous writers of New England was sent with a cartoonist by one of the Boston newspapers, and after a morning in the classroom he telephoned his editor that he could not write a funny story. It would be making mockery of reverence. And the professor of one of the large men's colleges, who arrived in smiling mood to make a speech, offered the facilities of his entire department for the next school the women should undertake. So those who came to ridicule remained to praise. And the movement for citizenship training by colleges and women's organizations together received a tremendous impulse.

Since that time the National League of Women Voters has made a vigorous campaign for citizenship training through universities, colleges, normal, high and primary schools.

Among the State universities which have coöperated with the women in establishing courses of citizenship training—and doubtless there are others not as yet recorded—

are those of Massachusetts, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, Arkansas, North Carolina, Nebraska, Missouri, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Michigan, Kentucky, Illinois, Montana, Washington and Utah.

The University of Missouri, in addition to providing citizenship speakers for towns, has made citizenship a required freshman course with a five-hour credit.

Two State universities, Virginia and Iowa, have added to their extension departments women directors of citizenship, who conduct intensive courses in citizenship in the towns throughout these States. The University of Florida sent a woman speaker last year to twenty-three towns where she gave ninety-one lectures. The State universities of Oklahoma and Florida have conducted citizenship forums in many towns.

Efforts of the League of Women Voters

Citizenship courses have been given in private colleges in coöperation with the local Leagues of Women Voters in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Illinois and Utah. In Iowa schools have been conducted by the State League of Women Voters in coöperation with Simpson College, Indianola; Grinnell College, Grinnell; Coe College, Grand Rapids; Buena Vista College, Mount Vernon. Two South Carolina colleges have had citizenship schools this summer—Converse College, Columbia and Winthrop College for Girls, Rock Hill, the latter also having made citizenship a part of the curriculum for the coming semester.

The National League of Women Voters has itself conducted three national normal schools for the training of teachers in citizenship. One school was at the Chautauqua assembly grounds, New York, in July, 1921, with Miss Emily Kneubuehl, director of citizenship for Minnesota, in charge; one in Saint Louis, Missouri, in August, 1920, with Miss Marie Ames, of the citizenship department of the National League of Women Voters, in charge; and one in Chicago, Ill., in February, 1920, with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in charge. At these schools hundreds of women have been trained to teach citizenship in their own home States



MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, CHAIRMAN OF THE
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

(The League has made the establishment of citizenship schools one of the most important features of its program)



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

(Who originated and directed the first normal school of citizenship training, at Chicago, in February, 1920)

and there have been developed teachers who have subsequently traveled from State to State organizing and instructing classes.

There have been 450 of such local schools in the State of Pennsylvania, 130 in Missouri, 35 in Ohio, 30 in Nebraska, and large numbers in other States. Besides this work through its State branches, the National League of Women Voters has sent a weekly correspondence course in citizenship into forty-six States and Alaska.

The National League of Women Voters has laid down a citizenship program for the guidance of its branches in every State, recommending a citizenship director in each State to coöperate with universities and schools and with local men experienced in public affairs. Each director of citizenship is advised to conduct a normal school in the most available large city in the State, asking each county to send representatives, and subsequent schools in the communities

throughout the State. The League program reads: "No State shall feel that it has approached training for citizenship unless it shall hold one citizenship school in each county and additional schools in such townships and wards as will reach every election precinct."

The League of Women Voters has been especially vigorous in its activities for citizenship training, but other agencies are also at work, including the organizations of the political parties themselves. Especially have the women within the parties urged the continuance between elections of such meetings and courses of instruction as would contribute to good citizenship education.

What the fresh vigor and enthusiasm of the women voters may accomplish in combination with men voters who realize the importance of such work must result in profit for the nation, the State, the community, as well as the individual citizen.



EUROPE'S INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE

BY GEORGE E. ROBERTS

[Mr. Roberts returned, last month, from a visit to Europe, which included his attendance as a member and speaker at the meeting in London of the International Chamber of Commerce. He has had points of contact with leading European men of business that gave unusual opportunities to form a correct estimate of Europe's present efforts toward reconstruction.—THE EDITOR]

A VISITOR in Europe this summer could not fail to see that economic conditions were far from normal, judged by pre-war standards, and if he felt disposed to be pessimistic he might easily find a basis for such a view, but if he took into account all that Europe has passed through in the last seven years, and the state of Europe even six months ago, he would surely feel that substantial progress has been made.

The war carried Europe to the brink of chaos. Aside from the direct losses of life and capital, which were staggering, the whole highly specialized system of industry and exchange, with its dependence upon modern communications and transportation, a common standard of value, and the highly developed use of credit, was prostrated and disorganized. It had grown to be what it was by gradual development over a long period of time. It could not be set up and started again in a day, even if everybody helped with the best will in the world. But the worst of it was that not everybody wanted to help. A lot of people didn't want the old system set up again; they wanted a different order of society, and thought the time had come to get it.

The psychological influence of the war, and of the service of so many people in the government, no doubt was a large factor in the state of unsettlement that followed the war. It was not in human nature to settle down to steady industry at once. Europe had been spending money for more than four years without much regard to the old-fashioned means of obtaining it, and the idea prevailed that somehow things were going to be different in the future. The working people were not going to work so hard and they were going to have more. In Russia a new order was proclaimed, and millions in Germany and throughout Europe who had professed a mild kind of evolutionary socialism were more or less persuaded that the times might be ripe for a general revolution.

Decline of the Revolutionary Spirit

The most important change that has come over Europe in recent months has been in the decline of the revolutionary spirit. The fever has run its course. The idea that a sudden and radical change in the constitution of society is about to be made has faded out until it is a definite vision only in the minds of a few habitual agitators and enthusiasts. Perhaps the most potent cause of this change has been the news from Russia. It is known everywhere that the experiment of socialism there has been a horrible failure. No such wreck of an organized society was ever known before. No tragedy of such proportions is described in history. The experiment has lasted long enough to afford opportunity for full examination, and to show that the failure is not due to accidental conditions or any minor mistakes, but to the inherent weakness of the scheme. The theories upon which it was founded simply will not work.

The people of Europe of all classes know of the conditions in Russia. The labor organizations have not relied upon newspaper reports or government reports, but have sent their own representatives to look over the situation and tell them about it. They know from the reports they have received that the wage-earning class has nothing to gain by bringing about the state of things existing in Russia. The effect has been to strengthen the authority of the conservative labor leaders who have always stood out against the revolutionary element.

Labor Conditions in England

The situation looked critical in England no longer ago than last April, when the coal miners went on a strike and the railroad employees and other organized workers seemed about to join in an effort to bring on a general strike. Possibly it looked more serious than it really was, for subsequent events have shown that the great body of British workmen are not revolutionary in purpose. At the

last moment the railroad unions withdrew from the strike movement. Their leader, James H. Thomas, who is one of the Labor Members of Parliament, was bitterly denounced as a "traitor" by the radical element, but two months later was reelected as head of the railroad unions by an overwhelming vote. The miners continued their strike with a resolution worthy of a better cause until they had spent all their strike funds and lost \$300,000,000 in wages, but finally gave in, and have gone to work with a will to make up for lost time. The issue of nationalization was dropped.

Since then the industrial situation in England has been steadily and quietly undergoing readjustment to conform to the decline of prices. The wage reductions have not been large, probably not as large as will be necessary to effect the reduction of costs that must be made. There is no reason to suppose that British workmen will not fight stubbornly for what they believe to be their proper share of the fruits of industry, but they intend to fight it out on the old lines, and at this time a conciliatory spirit is manifest.

On the Continent

In France the industrial situation is similar. There is not as much unemployment as in England, for it is not such an industrial country and not so dependent upon foreign trade. Wage reductions are taking place gradually. There is a radical element in the ranks of organized labor, but it is not in control, and the news from Russia weakens its influence. Moreover, the labor of the town industries is not so strong, relatively, in France as in England. The peasantry, with their numerous strong holdings, are a more powerful influence, and their conservative tendencies are well known. What is not so well understood is that the thrifty character of the French people has made a great number of small security-holders among the salaried and wage-earning class. The distribution of dividends and interest payments is very broad in France.

In Italy, where the symptoms were thought to be alarming a year ago, the subsidence of radical sentiment has been very marked. Recent disorders have been in large part due to the aggressive action of the Fascisti, a patriotic society organized to oppose the radical factions, but which in misguided zeal has adopted some of the violent tactics which the latter had been practicing. In Italy the food subsidies have been discontinued and general

progress toward normality is being made. The stream of tourist expenditures is flowing freely again, which is a great help not only there, but in France, Switzerland, and throughout central Europe.

In Germany the radical elements have lost ground and are in a hopeless minority, unless the pressure of the taxation which must be imposed to meet the reparation payments shall lower living conditions to a degree that provokes rebellion.

Over in eastern Europe the countries bordering on Russia are receiving a constant stream of refugees from that unhappy land, and the revulsion from the ideas that are responsible for its misery is pronounced. Bad as the conditions are in Vienna, where, in addition to the troubles affecting industry elsewhere, a great city is cut off from its natural trade territory by new national boundaries, political agitation is no longer the leading factor in the situation.

It does not follow, of course, that this revulsion from Bolshevism means that all ideas of social reform or improvement have been abandoned. The elements of the pre-war Socialist parties which for a time were swept into the Bolshevist movement have disentangled themselves from it and are disposed to reform as liberal parties, seeking to accomplish their ends by educational and constitutional methods.

It is evident that this general change in the temper of the people signifies much for the recovery of Europe. It is fundamental. If the people are ready to direct their energies to the work of reorganization along practical and accustomed lines they will make rapid progress and the basis for confidence and credit will exist.

Progress in Reconstruction

In France very substantial progress has been made in the rehabilitation of the devastated districts. The farming land is nearly all back under cultivation, although not restored to the highest state of cultivation. The railroads, canals, and highways have been practically restored. The efforts of the government were directed first to the means of transportation and the industries. The latter, upon the average, are back to more than one-half their pre-war capacity. Before the war the districts covered by the invasion contained 4,670,000 inhabitants; at the time of the armistice they were reduced to 1,944,000, and they are now reported at 4,100,000.

The great work remaining to be done is

that of providing houses for the hundreds of thousands of people who are living under temporary shelter, improvised around the ruins of their former homes. It is for this work that the French feel the pressing need of indemnity payments. To every expression of doubt as to the ability of Germany to make the payments agreed to they say that somehow the reconstruction work must be done and, pointing to Germany with her industrial equipment and homes intact, ask if sympathy given in that quarter is not misplaced. It is not a question of sympathy. The homeless French people clearly have a first claim to that, but unfortunately the ravages of war may be greater than the offending country can make good.

M. Loucheur, who holds the position of Minister of the Liberated Districts in the French cabinet, is a distinguished engineer, and he has gone at the problem of reconstruction with practical intelligence. He has had a meeting with Dr. Rathenau, Minister of Industry in the German cabinet, in which the two went carefully over in good spirit the possibility of having German industries participate as far as practicable in the reconstruction work. They are agreed to work together to this end, and to this extent the tasks of house-building for France and of indemnity payments for Germany will be both promoted.

One difficulty about these payments in labor and materials is that under the terms of the agreement the German payments are to be spread over a term of about thirty-six years, while, of course, France wants this reconstruction work done forthwith. Moreover, France is entitled to only 52 per cent. of the payments as they are made, the remainder going to her allies.

The reconstruction work that France has done has borne heavily upon her treasury, but has been met by the sale of bonds and not by issues of paper currency. The total volume of the latter outstanding is about the same as a year ago. This means that, while the national debt has been increased, the expenditures have been covered by the savings of the French people.

French bankers and public men do not express any desire to place large public loans abroad. On the contrary, they wish to avoid increasing the foreign debt. They hope that French exports will cover the necessary imports, and for the first five months of 1921 this was the case.

Funds for reconstruction work are now

being raised on a considerable scale by the sale of bonds issued by cities and civil districts. Thus Verdun and Rheims each have loans on the market for this purpose.

Vienna May "Come Back" Commercially

In the principal centers of Europe there is a growing feeling that Vienna eventually will come back into her old position as the commercial and financial center of eastern Europe. The political power of Austria is gone, and there is no reason to believe that it will ever be restored, but business does not readily find new channels. Vienna has enjoyed great prestige as a center of culture. In art, in music, in medicine, and in other branches of science it has held a proud position, and one which has attracted many visitors. The railroads of eastern Europe center there, and the trade relations have been with Vienna for a long time. The division of the old Austrian empire has cut off most of the territory of which it was the capital and hemmed the city in by customs barriers. These barriers impede trade not only with Vienna but among all the countries that formerly composed the empire, and there is much talk that for the common prosperity arrangements more favorable to business relations must be effected.

A committee of bankers appointed by the League of Nations, consisting of Mr. Gluckstadt, of Copenhagen; M. Avenal, of France and Sir Drummond Fraser, of England, has given careful attention to the situation of Austria and has recommended that all countries which now have claims upon Austria agree to postpone them for a period of twenty years, and give the country an opportunity for floating a new loan to meet its immediate needs, giving such special security as may be necessary. The principal countries concerned have agreed, with the exception of the United States, to which Austria is indebted in the amount of approximately \$24,000,000, on account of flour furnished by the United States Grain Corporation. Nothing has been done about this because legislation by the Congress is required. Action by the other countries is contingent upon corresponding action by the United States, and the whole proposal waits, although the situation of Austria is acute.

Opinion in the financial centers of Europe is unanimous not only that humanitarian considerations afford the most urgent reasons for granting this help, but that from the standpoint of the creditors the best policy is to help Austria to get on her feet. States

cannot pay debts until they can first collect revenues enough to exist, and can do neither until the people can earn a living and pay taxes. At a time when all Governments are having trouble in making ends meet, Austria, with 2,000,000 people in the city of Vienna, cut off from her former trade relations, certainly has a claim to considerate treatment.

General Gains in Economic Conditions

Notwithstanding the stupendous difficulties with which the people of Europe have had to deal they have made unmistakable progress since the armistice. I have described the reconstruction work done in France. In Belgium even a greater proportion of the damage has been repaired. Poland suffered terribly, not only during the main conflict, but from the Bolshevik invasion last year, and even here a very substantial amount of work has been done. Italy has made good progress in restoring the region that was over-run by the enemy. Throughout Europe, excepting Russia, transportation conditions have been very much improved. Repairs have been made to tracks and equipment and new locomotives have been procured. The coal mines are in better condition for production, although it will be several years before the mines at Lens are in operation. As a rule, the industries are getting into better condition.

The finances of many of the countries are in a very unsatisfactory condition; all are getting more deeply into debt, many are still printing money to supplement their deficient resources, all are off the gold basis, and the fluctuating rates of exchange almost prohibit trade with them or among them, and yet in view of these physical improvements it cannot be denied that they are getting on. It is amazing to see what a volume of business can go on under such unfavorable conditions.

Europe Needs Markets

All of Europe, all the world indeed, suffers by the state of Russia. American farmers are getting better prices for wheat because Russia is no longer an exporter, but they are suffering on other accounts. Russia was a great market for cotton goods and for all the manufactures of Europe. If Europe cannot give manufactures to Russia in exchange for wheat where can that exchange be made? Our answer is the Fordney tariff bill. We are talking about raising great sums of credit, by Government measures and otherwise, to enable us to sell cotton, meats

and other products to Europe, but the first condition necessary to purchases by Europe is that the consuming masses shall have employment and wages. They are the ultimate purchasers. The traders and manufacturers of Europe will not care to buy our products, even if offered on credit, unless they can be sold to consumers.

Germany's Present Situation

In the desperate days following the armistice it looked upon the surface as though there was real danger that Bolshevism or something closely allied to it might control Germany, but that danger is undoubtedly passed, always providing that nothing further happens to throw the industrial organization into confusion. The industries are now going again, and there is probably less unemployment than in any other country of Europe.

The prosperity of Germany is sometimes overstated by those who are alarmed by the prospect of German competition. It is true that German competition must be reckoned with, for there is a population of over 60,000,000 people, and they are industrious, skilled, intelligent and equipped with modern machinery. They were large factors in world trade before the war and certainly will be again, but after all it is well to consider that they cannot work any more than all the time. In fact, the hours of labor are less than before the war, having been reduced to eight. There is no reason to doubt that there will be plenty of work remaining in the world to be done. The new problems connected with German competition have to do with the reparations payments.

The depreciation of the mark gives Germany a certain advantage in export trade at the present time, as wages and prices within that country have not advanced to correspond with the depreciation of the money, but that is a temporary situation which the very growth of their exports will tend to correct. The advantage is much less than a year ago, and as the various artificial measures for keeping down the cost of living are abandoned will continue to diminish.

The government finances are in very bad shape, with a great excess of expenditures over revenues and constant issues of paper money to make ends meet. The situation has been a very difficult one to handle, and the long period of uncertainty about the reparations payments was not favorable to fiscal reforms. The German people are not

an incompetent people, and they know that a Government must be made to pay its way. No doubt there will be a thorough reorganization of the system of taxation and of governmental expenditures at an early day.

The Reparations Payments

After the acute problem which at this writing exists in Silesia the overshadowing question is still that of the reparations payments. Of the justice of the proposition that Germany should pay so far as practicable for the destruction to property wrought by her invading armies there can be no question. But the payments are more than a mere matter of settlement between Germany and the recipient countries; they will affect trade and industry everywhere, and the ability of Germany to make them will depend largely upon the attitude of other countries toward her exports. The payments cannot be made in German money. They must be made in goods, or, as one writer has graphically stated it, "in billions of hours of labor" exported to other countries. Much as France wants the reparations payments she does not want the proceeds of these billions of hours of labor exported to her markets. England views with concern the threatened competition of German goods in her own markets and elsewhere. The Congress of the United States is laboring upon a new tariff measure especially designed to keep German goods out of this country. In short, while the whole world says that Germany should pay, there appears to be a general disposition to prevent her doing so by the only possible means.

The trouble about the reparations payments is that they are an abnormal factor in the situation. A trade that grows up naturally and gradually makes no difficulty. Everything is adjusted to it as it grows, for if there is any difficulty about the settlements it stops growing. But here there is created suddenly a situation calling for the export of billions of German goods annually which no markets are ready to receive, and which the business men of all countries view with apprehension. It is the sudden change of trade conditions that works mischief.

Foreign Debts to the United States

There is a close similarity between the problem presented by the reparations payments and that presented by the debts of foreign governments to the United States Government. It would be very convenient to us to have these debts paid, or have pay-

ments begin at once, but Europe is just now perplexed to find the means of paying for the common necessities of life which she wishes to buy in this country. Moreover, all business in this country is suffering because we have a surplus of these products. It is nothing new that an individual may not be able to pay his old debts and continue to make new purchases at the same time.

Would we rather have Europe pay her debts to the United States Treasury or buy the surplus products that are depressing the markets? Exchange rates all over the world are so heavily against foreign currencies as compared with the dollar that they create a formidable barrier to our exports. If foreign Governments should go into the markets and bid for exchange on New York with which to make payments upon this indebtedness it would send exchange rates still higher. If we consider our own interests alone, we cannot afford to have this done, any more than France and England can afford to have the reparations payments made in goods that suddenly take the place of their own products in their own markets.

Interdependence of Nations

The great lesson taught by all our experiences since the war is that of the interdependence of nations, and they all prosper together or suffer together when the normal relations between them are disturbed.

The people of Europe are struggling amid great difficulties to reestablish their industries upon a normal basis. They are suffering from the same unbalanced state of prices that is depressing trade in this country. Europe has been accustomed to export manufactures to all parts of the world in exchange for raw products and foodstuffs, but while the latter have suffered a great decline, manufacturing costs are still so high that a full volume of trade is impossible.

The amount of credit desired by the countries of Europe is not beyond the ability of the people of this country to grant, if we have any general understanding of the importance of granting it, and of the benefits that will come by doing so. It amounts to nothing at last but supplying them on credit with commodities of which we have a surplus, and which at present are dead property to us.

Evidently the question of providing credits to enable Europe to buy here, and the question of postponing interest payments upon the indebtedness due us, should be considered together. They deal with the same subject.

WHY RETAIL PRICES COME DOWN SLOWLY

BY ALBERT W. ATWOOD

WHY do retail prices come down so slowly? This question has been asked by literally millions of people in the last year or two. In one form or another it is on the lips of every person interested in the cost of living, and that includes almost all grown-ups. For whatever our other interests may be—whether we are railroad presidents, window cleaners or editors—we are consumers also and therefore concerned with the cost of food, clothing, rent, fuel, and numerous other items.

The tremendous fall in wholesale prices, in basic commodities and products, is known to all. Silk, cotton, wool, rubber, hides, grain—scores upon scores of such commodities have fallen so precipitately that factories have closed, millions of men have been thrown out of employment, and the agricultural community reduced to serious straits. The Republican Congress has seen fit to draw up a high tariff to protect American producers, and on every side men are discussing such questions as why prices have dropped so far and whether the decline will go much farther. But retail prices have reflected only a part, and in many cases, a small part, of the drop in wholesale prices. The cost of living is still far above the pre-war level.

Illustrations are almost superfluous. A pair of shoes which cost from \$12 to \$13 at the peak are now "marked down" to \$8 or \$9. But hides are now selling at half the price of a year ago and a third to a fourth of what they cost two years ago. Goods made out of wool and cotton present almost as extreme contrasts. Moreover, there are many items in the cost of living such as rent, coal, and transportation which have fallen not at all, or even in a few instances have continued to rise. Although the farmer is facing a staggering loss on his produce, hotels and restaurants charge almost as much as during the war. But why multiply instances?

The producer of raw materials is more irritated, if such a thing is possible, than the

consumer. A sheep-raiser who pays as much in a fashionable restaurant for a couple of lamb chops as he gets for an entire lamb does not enjoy the experience. A newspaper that recently criticized certain political activities of cattle-raisers received this letter from a bank in the cattle territory: "We pay \$5 to \$10 for a pair of shoes, and shoes are made of hides. A customer of this bank has a carload of hides. Will you advise us at what point we can sell those hides for enough to buy one pair of shoes after paying freight?"

In a general way, those who have not carefully analyzed the price situation ascribe the resistance of retail prices to profiteering. Of course, there are merchants who profiteer when they have the opportunity, just as there are producers, manufacturers, professional men, and wage earners. Every class and group contains its greedy extortioners. But a moment's reflection will show that profiteering has been only a subsidiary cause of the failure of retail prices to reflect the drop in basic commodities. Retailers as a class have not grown rich in the last few years. Indeed, as a group they never do grow rich. The majority make a bare living and many fail altogether.

Now and then a merchant makes a fortune, but that is usually due to the enormous volume of transactions rather than to an undue rate of profit. It is a commonplace observation that the lowest priced automobile has made for its owner the largest or second largest fortune in the country. Nor must anyone suppose that the distributors of goods are ignorant of the principle which manufacturers know so well, namely, that volume of business is what makes profits.

Retail Prices Slower to Rise—and Slower in Falling

Col. Leonard P. Ayres, vice-president of the Cleveland Trust Company, in a recent exhaustive study of "Price Changes and Business Prospects," refers to the "almost unbroken chorus of complaint in our news-

papers and legislatures during the past year because retail prices did not fall so rapidly as wholesale prices, and adds: "The cause for the lead of the one and the lag of the other is to be found in economic law rather than in personal guilt, and it would be well for those who make the complaints to note that retail prices were slower and more moderate than wholesale prices in their increase, just as they are now falling with greater deliberation."

Colonel Ayres then lays down a number of general rules with regard to price movements, such as that wholesale prices move first and farthest, retail prices move more slowly and less violently, wage levels change more slowly than prices, manufactured articles having a high labor content, change their price levels more slowly than do raw materials having a low labor content, and rents change more slowly than do prices, wages, and salaries.

But there is nothing new about these or similar principles. Economists have noted them many times before, and it is truly amazing that so many people have the idea that high retail prices are somehow an evidence of personal guilt.

As we all know, retail prices did not rise as fast nor as far as wholesale prices; wages followed up somewhat later and finally rents began to soar. Yet an impatient and very forgetful public expects retail prices to fall as rapidly and as far as wholesale, and desires an immediate fall in rents and in wages of other people. That is, each group would be glad to see lower wages for other groups than its own. It must be remembered that retail prices did not go up all at once. The advance was uneven and jerky. There is no reason why the decline should be any different. If retail prices had suddenly fallen late in 1920 or early in this year to the 1913 level, unemployment and distress would probably be greater than anything this country has ever experienced.

The Retailer's Critics, and His Excuse for High Prices

The retailer has had only one substantial reduction, namely, in wholesale prices. "But what does he want?" is the hasty exclamation. It is commonly forgotten that the cost of his goods is only one of many items, and that the nearer you get to the final consumer the more the other items—that is, the overhead—mount up. There is a hotel in Atlantic City which cost \$10,000,-

000 to build. A man who buys a dish of prunes or a cup of tea in that hotel is not paying for prunes or tea at all; what he is paying for is the carrying charge on a \$10,000,000 investment. The hotel may make 2000 per cent. profit on the tea in a cup or six prunes in a dish, and yet lose out on the year's business.

The retailer may be getting goods cheaper at wholesale, but his labor, rent, heat, light, advertising, taxes, freight and express charges, interest on borrowed money, and miscellaneous expenses are all more. Of course it is up to the retailer, just as it is to the manufacturer, to get his costs down. But several items of cost are not under the retailer's control at all.

If the manufacturer finds he is losing money he closes down. He lets all his labor force go except a few clerks, and waits for better times and lower wages. So does the coal or copper-mine operator. The farmer finds he is losing money. He lets his extra help go, lives as well as he can off the farm, and waits for higher prices before increasing acreage. But the retailer cannot close down. If he does, that is the end of him. He cannot open up again when business is better.

The retailer alone of many persons in the process of furnishing the consumer with goods comes in direct contact with the consumer. The whole 100 per cent. of the final accumulated price is contained in what the retailer charges. The manufacturer may have profiteered, but the consumer has no way of knowing. The retailer gets the blame for the whole price, although his expense and profits make up only part of it. Then, too, the manufacturer can explain to the retailer why prices cannot come down, because the retailer knows something about trade conditions; but the retailer cannot explain to his customers in turn, because he is dealing with an inexperienced woman who simply says, "No, I won't pay that much, I'll go somewhere else."

Then, of course, in a period of falling prices the retailer always has stock which he paid for at higher prices. He hopes against hope to be able to sell the old goods at a profit. He may have bought garments at \$1.50 to sell at \$3, although the replacement wholesale price is now \$1. He refuses to buy goods at \$1 or to reduce his retail price. In other words, he hangs onto his "stickers," a practice which the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Trade Commission, the banks, the manufacturers, the

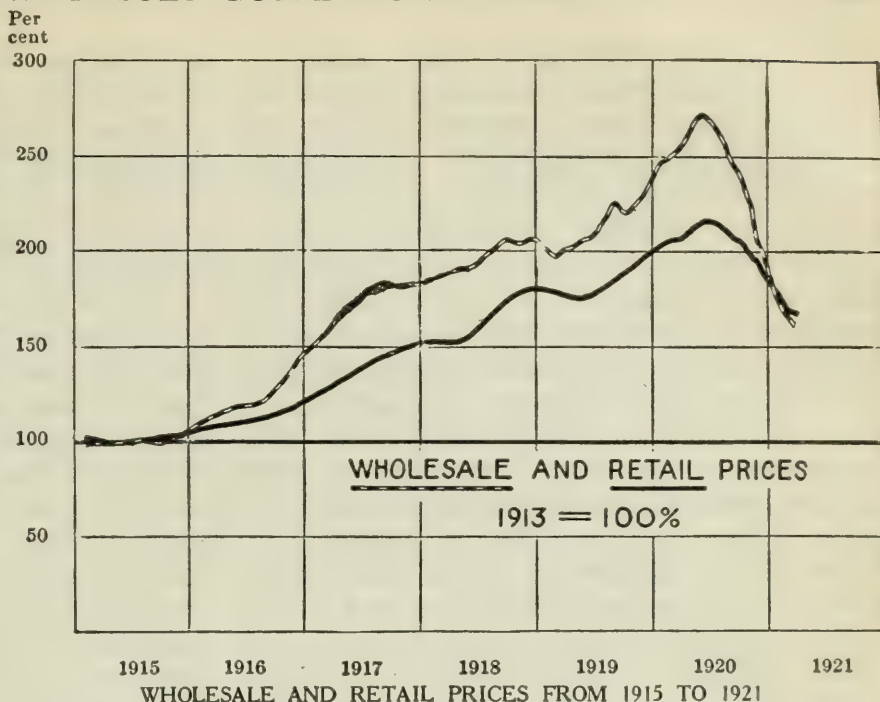
wholesalers, the wholesalers' associations, even the retailers' associations and many of the big retailers themselves have objected to and protested against as holding up liquidation and as blocking the procession back to normal.

Of course it has blocked the procession, but let us look at an actual case. A retailer in the South bought some low spring shoes in October, 1919, for delivery in the following February or March. The shoes were not received until May, after the spring sales were over. The manufacturer's rule was, "No countermands nor returns after shoes are cut"; but they were cut almost immediately on receipt of order. As a consequence the retailer had to carry the shoes to the following year, with loss of profit, interest, and loss in reduced prices.

Will Retail Prices Decline Farther?

Such cases can be multiplied many, many times. One department store in New York City took reductions in a single month of half a million dollars, in order to anticipate replacement prices. Retailers bought enormous quantities of goods at high prices which prevailed in 1919 and the early part of 1920. It takes time to work off all these high-priced goods. But the tendency is constantly toward an elimination of the laggards. The retailer realizes more thoroughly every day that he cannot hope to dispose of all goods in accordance with the price he paid for them. Competition will force him, if it has not already done so, to meet the market. As this article is written the newspapers are filled with rumors of actual or impending reductions in the prices of such luxuries or incidentals as candy, ice cream sodas, shoe shines, newspapers, and theater tickets—evidence that the downward movement is permeating in many unexpected directions.

Naturally the most interesting question which can now be raised is how much farther retail prices, or the cost of living, will decline. It hardly need be said that the answer is not easy to formulate. For one thing, the cost of living has a very different meaning to the wage earner from



(From "Price Changes and Business Prospects," by Leonard P. Ayres, Cleveland Trust Company)

what it has to the successful business executive on a salary or income of from ten thousand dollars a year upward. With the first it means food, clothing, shoes, and rent; with the second the more important items relatively are service, private schools and summer camps for the children, club dues, vacation expenses, improvements on the summer home, and the like.

If the available figures and estimates be considered, such as those of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the National Industrial Conference Board, it would appear as if the cost of living for wage earners at this writing were roughly a quarter or at the very least a fifth below the high peak. Clothing has fallen some where between 20 and 30 per cent., and shoes about the same. Food has declined most of all, the reductions extending all the way from 30 to 75 per cent., in such items as coffee, cheese, oleomargarine, butter, onions, beans, flour, prunes, cornmeal, eggs, lard, rice, sugar, and potatoes. Including many items which have had little or no reduction, the average is over 30 per cent.

It must not be assumed that the food dealer is an altruist and other dealers profiteers. The turn-over in food is rapid, and the replacement of new goods at lower wholesale prices is far sooner accomplished than in the case of furniture, jewelry, and shoes, where the turn-over is perhaps only two or three times a year at the most. In certain chain stores the foodstuff turn-over may run as high as once a week.

In a general way food prices appear to have been the most thoroughly liquidated. In a few extreme cases, especially sugar and canned goods, the reductions at retail as well as wholesale, have been so great that upward reactions may be expected.

Meat prices have declined less than certain other foodstuffs such as sugar and potatoes, but then they did not rise to such extreme heights. The consumer cannot have it both coming and going. While many elements make up the price of meat, and prediction is peculiarly hazardous in this field, it seems reasonable to expect that lower grain prices will in time be reflected in lower prices for steers. It takes several years to raise a steer for market, and if the animal is raised on high-priced corn the consumer cannot expect low-priced steaks. High-priced land also makes expensive steers, and the rise in land values has been substantial. It takes a long time for land values to come down, but they generally do in any period of widely falling prices.

Shoe and clothing makers still have high-priced materials on hand, just as retailers have not as yet worked off all their costly finished goods. The turn-over in these fields is slow compared with foodstuffs, and labor is a far larger element. Women know that calico, gingham, and other similar materials by the yard have fallen practically to pre-war prices. But the raw material is such a small relative part of the final cost of a suit of clothes or a pair of shoes that I doubt if retail prices can fall more than a trifle lower on the basis of reduced material costs. There are thousands of separate labor processes in making a pair of shoes.

Any further substantial reduction in clothing or shoe prices must come mostly from lower costs of labor, rent, fuel, taxes, and transportation, on the part of both manufacturer and retailer. Both classes of dealers may doubt whether such reductions are possible, but if they take such a position they are probably wrong. These reductions will come, but they will come slowly.

Wage Cuts Versus Increased Efficiency

It may seem inhuman to talk about the necessity of reducing wages, of "liquidating labor." But many people forget that when these phrases are used labor means management as well. Salaries may fall less rapidly than wages, but in a period of general deflation they are sure to drop eventually. In reality, high wages in themselves are not

so much an obstacle to further price reductions as the inefficiency which goes with abnormally high wages and high salaries of management. If improvements in processes and in management can largely increase the output per worker, then wages will not have to decline as far or as fast as prices.

To be specific, let us suppose that two years ago a chain-store organization knew that several of its local managers were wasteful and careless. What of it? If the managers were let go their places were difficult to fill; and the men themselves did not care, because six other jobs were waiting for each of them. But now there are no other jobs to be had, and six new men are waiting for each position. Will men be more careful than they were two years ago? The question answers itself.

Outlook for Fuel and Rent Reductions

When we come to fuel there appears to be no prospect of an early reduction in the price of anthracite or hard coal. Profiteering there may be, but if so it is too scattered to be subject to control, and thus nothing is accomplished by railing at it. The big factors in the present high cost consist of wage schedules and freight rates. Wages cannot be changed until next spring at the earliest. But bituminous or soft coal and kerosene have already had a big drop.

The tremendous decline in fuel oil has already brought some savings to the consumer in the case of gas companies which on this account have been able to begin price reductions. In the same way the low prices for bituminous coal should soon be reflected in many lowered manufacturing costs. Gasoline stays up because the demand has continued unabated.

Finally we come to the very large and important item of rent. Despite all the efforts of politicians and tenants' committees, the laws of economics cannot be repealed, and as already stated the fact that rents were last to go up will make them the last to come down. But that is not the whole story. The building industry was more disrupted by the war perhaps than any other. It has suffered transportation, fuel, and labor difficulties, and our system of income taxation has forced capital out of home building. Only as taxation is revised, as labor and transportation become more efficient and less costly and as fuel becomes cheaper, will building revive. All this will take time, but it will gradually come about, and as buildings increase, rents will fall.

THE TARIFF-MAKING PROCESS

THE FORDNEY BILL, AND THE SERVICES OF THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION

IT is creditable rather than otherwise that a change in the legislative program at Washington has brought taxation to the front as the immediate issue, and postponed the completion of the Senate's study and discussion of the Fordney Tariff bill. The criticisms of the tariff revision, as the measure passed the House of Representatives on July 21, had been so sweeping and so violently hostile that many readers of the metropolitan newspapers have been led to think of the work of the Ways and Means Committee as crude and unintelligent. The new tariff is stigmatized as a fanatical return to extreme protectionism. Moreover, it is declared that in particular schedules the bill sacrifices the American consumer to the demands of lobbyists for special interests.

It is well known by all students of the subject that tariff-making—when a general revision of all the schedules is under consideration, together with the administrative features—is complicated beyond the possibility of a complete understanding by any one or two human beings. If certain special interests have at times been able to secure approval of their own demands as regards discriminating rates on competing imports, it has been due to the fact that these interests, whether textile or chemical or agricultural or metallurgical, have been able to present so much technical knowledge regarding schedules as to convince puzzled members of the Ways and Means Committee. The idea that protective rates are mainly formulated by corrupt lobbies, working against the interests of American consumers, is not justified by the facts.

It happens, however, that the present Ways and Means Committee of the House under the Chairmanship of Hon. Joseph W. Fordney, far from being dependent upon various protected industries for facts and figures, has had the benefit of more extensive information of a technical and expert kind, prepared impartially for the assistance of Congress, than has ever been at the disposal of any previous Ways and Means Committee in the construction or revision of a general tariff bill. The Tariff Commission has

worked so quietly, and with so little attempt to secure publicity or newspaper credit, that not one intelligent reader in a hundred is aware of the great assistance that this new agency has rendered in supplying Congress with facts and with comparative statistics as a basis upon which to proceed.

For many years it had been strongly argued by many authorities in the business world, in politics, in the press and in the circles of trained economists, that the time had come for putting the business of tariff-making upon a more scientific basis, and for taking it out of its old-time place as a burning party issue. There was a time when the doctrinaire Free Traders and the doctrinaire Protectionists were arrayed against each other as scornful enemies, like two hostile religious sects of some former period of religious fanaticism. But the maturing of American industry, together with the development of manufacturing in the West and South, has wholly changed the character of tariff discussion.

As a matter of tradition, the Republicans are still a little more favorable to protective tariffs, and the Democrats a little more prone to consider the consumer and to favor competitive imports. But, as the general rule, every Congressman's tariff opinions are in accord with the industrial conditions existing in his own State or district. The Underwood Tariff of 1913, while reducing the average of rates and somewhat extending the free list, was for all working purposes a high protective tariff, and it was accepted in a non-partisan spirit by the entire country.

It was understood, with the adoption of the Underwood Tariff, that there ought to be a continuous study of industrial and trade conditions as affecting general policy and particular schedules, and that such study ought to be carried on by a permanent non-partisan group of competent investigators, who would produce special reports from time to time as desired by Congress or the President. The act creating a United States Tariff Commission was finally passed by Congress and approved September 8, 1916. The following explanation of its



THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION

(The members seated, from left to right, are: David J. Lewis, Thomas O. Marvin [vice chairman], Thomas Walker Page [chairman], and Edward P. Costigan. Standing, from left to right, are: John F. Bethune [secretary], William Burgess, and William S. Culbertson)

functions is contained in the *Congressional Directory*:

The law directs that the Commission shall put at the disposal of the President, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and the Finance Committee of the Senate, whenever requested, all of the information at its command, and make such investigations and reports as may be requested by the President or either branch of Congress.

The Commission has power to investigate the tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries, commercial treaties, preferential provisions, economic alliances, the effect of export bounties and preferential transportation rates, the volume of importations compared with domestic production and consumption, and conditions, causes, and effects relating to competition of foreign industries with those of the United States, including dumping and cost of production.

The board entered upon its work under the able chairmanship of Professor Taussig, of Harvard University, who had been known as a special student of tariff problems for more than thirty years. In spite of the war emergency, which devolved special duties of one kind or another upon members of the Commission, the board has been able during the five years of its existence to organize and carry out an enormous amount of investigation, and to put the results of its studies in such form as to be highly pertinent to the business of tariff revision.

After the retirement from the board of Professor Taussig, the chairmanship was conferred upon Professor Thomas Walker Page of the University of Virginia, an economist of wide experience and high prestige. One has only to read the report made by Mr. Fordney in submitting the general tariff bill to the House on July 6 to understand how extensive have been the labors of the Tariff Commission in respect to practically every one of the schedules and classifications. The report fairly bristles with recognition of the work of the Tariff Commission.

In reply to an inquiry from the Editor of this periodical regarding the nature and extent of the coöperation received by the Ways and Means Committee in formulating the pending measure, Mr. Fordney has sent the following letter:

DEAR MR. SHAW:

Replying to your favor of July 9, I believe I express the opinion of the entire Committee when I state that the Tariff Commission rendered very valuable assistance to the Committee on Ways and Means in the preparation of the new tariff bill.

In the spring of 1919, the Committee undertook the preparation of a tariff handbook, entitled, "Summary of Tariff Information." The book compared the 1909 and 1913 acts, giving pertinent definitions, customs and Treasury decisions, and general information regarding each paragraph. The Tariff Commission did the major



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THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(The Constitution prescribes that "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives," and the rules and customs of the House provide that revenue bills—which include tariff measures—shall originate in the Ways and Means Committee. Chairman Fordney can be recognized in the center of the group, with the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, at his right)

portion of the work in connection with the compilation of this publication.

The Commission at the same time prepared a document showing imports and duties collected for a period of years, and also furnished the Committee a large amount of information in the form of Tariff Surveys on various subjects. The criticism of the Surveys, as far as I can find, has been very favorable. People engaged in various industries have made frequent reference to statements by the Tariff Commission in their Surveys regarding such industries. Technical men employed by the Tariff Commission have been called in by the Ways and Means Committee and their services to the Committee have been of much value.

Briefly speaking, the Committee used the services of the Tariff Commission to the fullest extent, and is gratified over the result. I do believe, as in the past, that the Tariff Commission should not recommend rates or fix rates. Some occurrences during the preparation of the new bill have served to strengthen my belief, that the function of the Tariff Commission should be to gather information to guide the Committee in establishing rates.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the report accompanying the bill. In this report the Committee makes some references to the work of the Tariff Commission, and I agree very heartily with the statements in that regard contained in the report.

I do not consider the Tariff Commission infallible, nor do I place the significance on the words "non-partisan, scientific, expert" and so forth, which seems to have been placed on them in the minds of some people. I consider the members of the Tariff Commission as being very capable and efficient, but they are human like the rest of us, and of course are subject to some of the human frailties. I consider the Tariff Commission a very valuable adjunct in tariff legislation, but do not contend that everything was wrong in the past and that everything is perfect now.

The Committee has received very willing cooperation from the Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Agriculture, the Government Printing Office, and other Government departments and agencies, and under separate cover I am sending you a Committee publication on wages, the information for which was secured by the Department of Commerce through its foreign representatives.

Trusting this explanation of my views is satisfactory, I remain, with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FORDNEY.

Thus it is clear that the informational foundations of tariff policy henceforth are to be laid by the continuous work of a permanent United States Tariff Commission, studying the whole field of international production as to wages, raw materials, transportation, taxation, and so on.

The recognition by Mr. Fordney and by the entire Ways and Means Committee in this first testing out of the efficiency of a Tariff Commission is as gratifying as it is conclusive.

In further explanation of the work already done and that which is in process but not finished, we have obtained in response to an inquiry an admirable summary from Mr. John F. Bethune, the capable Secretary of the Commission. Mr. Bethune's review and synopsis forms a statement well worth printing in full, and is here given:

July 13, 1921.

The frequent references to the Tariff Commission in the report of the Committee on Ways and Means accompanying the Fordney Tariff bill indicate that Committee's appreciation of the

effective work of the Tariff Commission. Among the other references made the following is of a summary character:

... During the consideration of rates, as well as during the hearings and previous thereto, the Tariff Commission has supplied the committee, in the form of tariff surveys, concise and comprehensive information on various subjects. In addition to this, the staff of the Tariff Commission was placed at the disposal of the committee and has been called upon to work with the committee in the drafting of the various tariff schedules. Through these efforts the bill herein recommended proposes many desirable changes in arrangement and classification.

The Tariff Commission had nothing to do with the determination of the policy underlying the proposed tariff bill nor with the fixing of protective rates. In general, its activities have been as follows:

1. The Tariff Commission was practically the only agency which was in a position to furnish the Committee on Ways and Means with well-rounded and relatively complete information on the various items under consideration. The data gathered by the Commission, by research and field work both in the United States and in foreign countries, were presented for the most part in the form of industrial surveys in which were set forth all available information on the subject, not only in the form of statistical tables, but also by statements of technical processes, market and general competitive conditions bearing on the tariff problem. These surveys were not published until needed by the Committee and were, therefore, strictly up to date. They covered practically every one of the thousands of items enumerated in the tariff act.

2. The Tariff Commission has on its staff chemical, textile, metal, agricultural, and other experts and these experts have been constantly in touch with the subcommittees of the Committee on Ways and Means framing the different schedules of the tariff act. They sat informally in executive session with these subcommittees and gave them expert advice on classification, phraseology, compensatory duties, and similar scientific matters. In addition, they served as media for interpreting information gathered by the Commission.

3. The Tariff Commission furnished to the Ways and Means Committee a complete recodification of our customs administrative laws. This was the first time that these laws had ever been codified. The Committee embodied the Tariff Commission's codification with very little change in the bill which it reported to the House.

4. In the case of several of the schedules the Committee on Ways and Means referred the entire question of classification and compensatory duties to the Tariff Commission, and the Commission, after careful consideration, made its recommendations to the Committee. In particular, the classification of the chemical, wool, and agricultural schedules are the work of the Tariff Commission. In these cases the Committee retained the right to fix the amount of protective duties, but the Commission contributed the scientific structure and classification of the schedules.

5. From time to time the Committee on Ways and Means and individual Congressmen have requested that parties interested in duties on par-

ticular commodities submit their case to the Tariff Commission for consideration, and the Commission has then advised the Committee as to the facts relating to the industry affected.

6. In general, the Tariff Commission is a constant source of reliable, impartial information on all matters relating to the tariff, and those interested are able through it to obtain information uncolored by local and personal interests.

In addition to the work which the Commission is doing for the Committee on Ways and Means and for individual members of Congress, it is carrying on at the present time the following lines of work:

- a. A compilation and digest of the commercial treaties of the world between all nations.

- b. A history and analysis of the colonial tariff systems of the world.

- c. A detailed analysis of imports into the United States for the purpose of determining the exact character of goods imported with particular reference to their competition with American industries.

- d. A study of the effect of foreign exchange and depreciated currency upon the tariff.

- e. A tariff dictionary.

- f. A study of preferential land and ocean transportation rates as related to international trade.

Perhaps the most drastic attacks upon the pending tariff measure are those directed against the new plan to assess ad valorem rates upon a fair American valuation of the goods imported, rather than upon the cost price of the goods in the exporting country. This is a very radical innovation. It is justified, in the report of the Fordney committee, first, on the ground that the change will do away with the practice of fraudulent undervaluation, and second, that fluctuating currency conditions now existing in different countries constitute a new factor of so important a character as to make the proposed change very desirable.

It should be stated that the Tariff Commission itself drew up for the Ways and Means Committee the changes in the administrative features of the law that would be made necessary by this new policy of placing American valuation upon imported goods. It does not follow, of course, that the members of the Tariff Commission favor the proposed change. Mr. Page, the Chairman of the Commission, appeared before the Senate Committee late in July and argued against the immediate adoption of this change, although he supported it from the standpoint of principle and believed that it should be put into effect at some future time. On the other hand, Mr. Burgess, also a member of the Tariff Commission, did not agree with Mr. Page and supported immediate adoption of the plan of American valuation.

The ferocious attacks upon this plan in some of the editorial utterances of newspapers is in marked contrast to the careful, temperate and well-informed discussion of the question that is going on in official circles at Washington. Naturally, American manufacturers favor the proposed change, while American importers and the agents here of foreign industries prefer to retain the present system. There are strong arguments on both sides, and there are also highly fallacious arguments. The interests of the American consumer would be more affected by the rate of the ad valorem duty than by the method of valuation. Obviously, specific duties rather than ad valorem should be favored as extensively as possible.

The tariff makers have encountered special problems, like that relating to the dye industry now under discussion. In these cases the Tariff Commission is able to render great assistance on the informational side. The War Department and the Navy Department have come to the support of the plan to continue the embargo on foreign dyestuffs, on the ground that we must build up our chemical industries because of their vital relationship to new modes of warfare. This dye question has so many bearings that it is hard to find the lines of true policy. Thus, by a rather close vote, the House on July 16 sustained the embargo on foreign dyes. But when the bill was finally passed in the House on July 21, the embargo was rejected and a schedule of rates was adopted. Secretaries Weeks and Denby early in August endorsed the embargo, and the discussion was likely to continue in the Senate for some time.

A duty of about thirty-five cents a barrel on crude oil and twenty-five cents on fuel oil had been in the bill, but President Harding sent a letter to the Committee explaining why this would embarrass the Government

in its negotiations over oil rights in foreign countries; and by a large majority the House voted to place all kinds of oil on the free list. Asphalt, cotton and hides were added to the free list by vote of the House in amendment of the original bill, and other changes were made in response to public demand.

It is well worth while that the country should take advantage of the postponement of final tariff action, and study the pending bill as carefully as possible. It is reported that the Democrats intend to base their congressional campaign next year upon tariff and taxation issues; but the Republicans will be able to reply to Democratic attacks by showing that economic conditions in the world have been more profoundly affected by the recent war than by any other experience in the history of international trade. And for this reason any tariff made previous to the war—whether by a Republican or a Democratic majority in Congress—would have to be overhauled from beginning to end to meet radically changed conditions.

However numerous and important may be the miscalculations embodied in the Fordney Tariff bill, there is no disclosure of partisan motives in its construction. Nor is there any evidence that its framers have at any point been aware of favoring particular interests in a way to subject the American public to disadvantage. Obviously the intention of the bill is to promote normal economic conditions in the United States, during a period of international trade chaos. A partisan attitude will not help to correct the mistakes of the bill, which doubtless exist; and sweeping attacks are not evidence of an ability to deal wisely with the intricacies of tariff legislation, but point rather to the use of prejudice as an easy substitute for the kind of argument that is based upon knowledge of the subject.—A. S.



COLONIAL TARIFFS A MENACE TO PEACE

BY THOMAS WALKER PAGE

(Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission)

A HUNDRED years ago it seemed that the colonial system under which a few nations of Europe controlled the destinies of vast regions in other parts of the world was approaching its end. Thomas Jefferson's last letter was written to express his regrets that he could not attend the celebration in Washington of the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. In it he says, "The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the Grace of God."

The next half-century was marked by the process of liberalizing colonial governments and relaxing restrictions on colonial trade. Great Britain led the way and went farthest in this course. The other powers followed, slowly at times and with evident reluctance to pry open the ancient and rusty, but still heavy, shackles that bound their dependencies; and indeed in many instances the process was never altogether completed.

Naturally this growth of colonial freedom brought into question the profits of colonial enterprise. The cost and risk of governing, defending and developing outlying dependencies were obvious, and wherein lay the recompense if there were to be no exploitation and no trade monopolies? The lack of a satisfactory answer to this question goes far to explain the slower growth of colonial expansion during that period. Even Great Britain, the greatest colonial power the world has ever known, refused a number of petitions to establish protectorates and extend her rule over remote territories. Indeed, she actually disowned certain unauthorized annexations effected by British subjects in Africa and Oceania, and among these, it is worthy of remark, was Hawaii.

France alone among the great powers substantially added to her possessions through

the acquisition of Algeria, Cochin-China, New Caledonia and other regions. But her divergence from the general attitude toward colonial expansion was due in great measure to the unsettled state of her domestic politics. The repeated revolutions through which royal, republican, and imperial governments rapidly followed each other showed an uncertain and inflammable temper for which successive rulers tried to find a vent abroad in order to prevent explosions at home.

The Recent Race for Colonies

It was not, therefore, until the present generation that a general renewal of colonial expansion occurred. It is within the memory of men still in middle age that Italy and Belgium have become colonial powers, that Great Britain has enormously extended her empire, and that the three great nations—Germany, Japan, and the United States—have established their rule over outlying regions. This recent movement has been singularly swift, and when the World War began more than a third of the human race was living in some form of colonial dependence. Eight European nations covering less than a million square miles and with a combined population of about 130,000,000 held colonies embracing more than twenty-one million square miles of territory and with about 525,000,000 inhabitants. Adding the colonies of the United States and Japan, the youngest of the colonial powers, would increase these figures by about a quarter of a million square miles of territory and thirty-five million people.

The race for colonies, therefore, has been more strenuous in this generation than in any previous period. But this does not mean that there has been a reversion to the autocratic and utterly selfish policies that once prevailed. On the contrary, the gains in self-government that were made in the 19th century have been maintained, consolidated and even extended. In some cases, in-

deed, it is hard to distinguish a "colony" from an independent nation. Except on historical and sentimental grounds there is little reason for regarding Canada and her sister Dominions as "colonies" of Great Britain. In other cases the so-called "colony" has been for most purposes completely assimilated by the sovereign nation. Thus Algeria has been formally recognized as merely a part of France, and Porto Rico has been "annexed" to the United States and its inhabitants have been declared to be citizens of this country.

At the other extreme, however, it must be admitted that there are still colonies that have no voice whatever in their own government. For the most part the inhabitants of such colonies are either barbarous or so little civilized that they cannot be trusted to maintain a government that will enforce order among themselves or protect them against encroachment from without. Between these two extremes are many scores of colonies, dependencies, protectorates, "mandated" territories and "spheres of influence," and the degrees of their dependence show an almost infinite variety. To all these regions the term "colony" is generally applied, sometimes because it indicates a historical development and more often because it is a convenient word to indicate some form of political dependence. "It is unwise," says the Tariff Commission, "to attempt an arbitrary or a hard-and-fast classification of dependencies. Official classifications are frequently out of date or euphemistic in arrangement. Treaties declarative of the protectorate relationship frequently emphasize the sovereignty of the weaker state at the moment when that sovereignty is being infringed by the stronger. Radical writers inveighing against the acquisitive greed of the powers frequently employ the term 'colony' or 'protectorate' on flimsy grounds and in an attitude of gloomy prophecy." On the whole, even in its extreme form, the political subjection involved in the colonial status with some exceptions does not carry with it to-day an important sacrifice of either civil rights or material interests.

Motives Behind Colonial Expansion

One of the most important facts of recent history has been this extension by the great powers of their control over territories often remote from them geographically and sometimes still more widely separated from them by race, civilization, material conditions, and

practically everything else that can make one group of people differ from another. What is the explanation of it?

It is often taken for granted without further consideration that colonial expansion is due to unholy greed, to the lust for wealth, to a grasping, predatory instinct that

"He shall take who has the power
And he shall keep who can."

This interpretation of history is both false and harmful. It throws suspicion on every measure of the ruling nation and is a serious hindrance to efforts for developing, organizing, civilizing and improving the condition of territories and peoples that are most in need of help. It is all the more dangerous because it has the color, though not the substance, of truth. For self-interest has been in fact the leading motive with most powers and has not been altogether absent with any of them. But the kind of interest involved has rarely been the sordid one loosely imputed to them. Material profits have usually been subordinate to higher aims, and the achievement of those aims has commonly proved more beneficial to the colonies than to the sovereign nation. Domestic politics, international relations, social forces and moral influences have been interwoven in intricate and ever-varying manner with purely economic considerations in colonial acquisitions, and viewed simply as "good business" such acquisitions in this generation have seldom looked attractive.

No man with common sense who knows the facts believes, for example, that this country took control of the Philippines and Porto Rico for the purpose of making money out of them. Our interest in them was of quite a different sort. Our vital concern lay in putting an end to Spanish rule in the West Indies, because it had degenerated into turmoil, cruelties and hatreds that showed no prospect of peaceful adjustment, shocked our moral sense, and damaged our relations with the islands. It was only as a war measure that we seized Spain's colonies, and at the end of the war it was with a feeling akin to dismay that we found ourselves responsible for their protection and well-being. Thus far we have tried to meet that responsibility honestly.

But even if it be granted that the motives for recent colonial expansion have in most instances been blameless and that at the present day the treatment of colonial populations is just and beneficent, may it not still

be questioned whether the policies of the colonial powers are fair and equitable toward other nations and toward each other? May not a sovereign nation shut out all others from opportunity or enterprise in its colonies; and if it does this, even though the colonial inhabitants be abundantly compensated, is not the exclusion a just grievance to other nations? This is now the most questionable feature of colonial policies. We no longer hear much of tyranny, extortion, forced labor, the slave trade, corrupt governments and similar abuses once practised on the colonies. But complaints are numerous about the discriminations and exclusions enforced or threatened by the ruling powers against one another.

Controlling the Commerce of Dependencies

Of all the forms that discrimination may take in colonial control the most usual and the most resented is discrimination in trade. It is true that there are none of the crude and rigid trade monopolies that prevailed under the old colonial system of the 18th century. Nor are restrictions now imposed entirely without regard to the interests of the colonies. But with a few notable exceptions each of the colonial powers has taken measures that aim to secure the greater part of the commerce of its dependencies.

The measure in most common use is the enforcement of a preferential tariff. That is to say, lower customs duties are collected on the trade of a colony with its mother country than on its trade with other nations. The amount of this tariff preference varies between a small fraction of the full duty, as on some British goods imported to South Africa, and the total elimination of all duties, as in the case of American goods imported to the Philippines. Sometimes, so far as the tariff is concerned, the colony has been completely assimilated to the mother country. Trade between them is free in both directions, and the tariff of the mother country is enforced in the colony on all imports from other nations. This preferential system has been spreading rapidly in recent years, but there are some powers that still maintain the "open door." With their dependencies all nations may trade on exactly the same terms as they do themselves.

Thus there is the widest possible divergence of policy among the powers, with effects that might vary all the way between absolute free trade and a practical trade monopoly. No general understanding has

been attempted, much less actually reached, as to the justice of the restrictions imposed. Indeed, few have known what the restrictions are. Until the United States Tariff Commission made its recent report on "Colonial Tariff Policies," there was no complete description in existence of the situation as it now stands. That report furnishes the information needed to appreciate the grave nature of present tendencies and the necessity of taking measures to check them.

Britain's Vast Empire

The Tariff Commission shows that of all colonial empires that of Great Britain contains about 60 per cent. of the area and 70 per cent. of the population. She holds more colonies by far than all the other powers together. Not only is she the greatest, but also she has been the most successful in governing and developing the regions that have come under her rule. It is to her undying credit that until two years ago she maintained for generations, as far as her control extended, an open door for the trade of other nations and set up no special preferences for herself. In all the British possessions British merchants and manufacturers enjoyed under British law a free field and no favor in competition with the merchants and manufacturers of other nations. But her control does not extend to the tariffs of the great self-governing Dominions and only in modified degree to those of the more highly developed Crown Colonies. Four of the Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—long since abandoned the free-trade policy of the mother country and adopted a system resembling in some respects that of the United States. But they do not apply their tariffs equally to all the world; they provide a substantial preference for the United Kingdom and smaller preferences, under reciprocity agreements, for each other. Similar preferences have recently been arranged under Canada's leadership by all the British West Indies except Bermuda, by British Honduras and British Guiana. As yet Cyprus is the only other Crown Colony that has established a full preferential system, although India and some African colonies have made a few significant preferences on some commodities that they export.

For many years Great Britain not only refused to favor, but even actively opposed, the discriminations enacted by the colonies in her behalf. But quite recently the Imperial Government appears to have accepted the

principle that trade within the Empire should be promoted by a preferential system and even the revenue duties maintained in the United Kingdom are reduced on imports from the colonies.

*The Colonies of Continental Europe
and Japan*

France ranks next to, though far behind, Great Britain as a colonial power, and her policy is distinctly less liberal. All her colonies of substantial importance in trade and development have been assimilated; that is, they have free trade with France and the full French tariff applies in them on imports from other countries. She exacts, however, only a moderate preference for her trade in Senegal and Guinea, in French Oceania and in the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; and in French India, Morocco, Somaliland, and other wide undeveloped African territories she still maintains the open door.

Compared with the colonies of England and France, those of Italy, Spain and Portugal are at present of little commercial importance, though some of them give promise of future growth. Each of these countries still maintains the open door in such of their possessions as have too little trade to make discrimination worth having, and Spain also extends it to the Canary Islands. As to their other colonies, their tariff provisions show a wide and perplexing variety. On the whole, however, all of them are dominated by a policy of discrimination, and they enforce preferences that give a distinct and sometimes a determining advantage to the trade of the mother country.

The only countries that make no tariff distinction between themselves and foreign nations in the commerce of their colonies are Holland and Belgium. As the former is a trading, rather than a manufacturing, country, she would find discriminating colonial duties of little benefit; while the latter is prevented by the terms under which she acquired the Congo, her only colonial possession, from imposing preferential restrictions on its trade.

Outside of Europe the only colonial powers are Japan and the United States. The Japanese policy shows none of the confusing variations and exceptions so frequent with the older powers. It consists simply in the complete assimilation of the territories which have come into her possession. She did, indeed, keep the pledge she gave to

maintain the open door in Korea for ten years after it was annexed, but at the end of that period the Japanese tariff was extended around Korea as it had been already around Formosa, Saghalin and the Pescadores. This policy does not apply to the so-called "leased" territory taken away from Germany in China, as it is not yet classed among the Japanese "possessions."

Uncle Sam's Colonial Dependencies

In the case, finally, of our own country it is found that in all our colonial dependencies except Samoa and the Canal Zone, where the open door is guaranteed by treaty, discrimination is as complete as tariff regulations can make it. For commercial purposes Porto Rico, like Alaska and Hawaii, has been assimilated. The trade of the United States with the Philippines, the Virgin Islands and Guam is as free from customs duties as is trade between the different States of the Union. None of our possessions has the power exercised by the Dominions and many of the Crown Colonies of Great Britain to tax or in any way to regulate its trade with the mother country. The Philippines are permitted, however, subject to approval by the President, to fix the duties on imports from all other countries, and in the Virgin Islands the same tariff is temporarily retained that was in force when they were purchased from Denmark.

After its survey of the policies of all the colonial powers the Tariff Commission names the United States, along with Japan and France, as enforcing the greatest discriminations. They are followed in descending order by Portugal, the self-governing British Dominions, Italy, Spain, and finally those British Crown Colonies that have preferential tariffs.

Clearly in this 20th century equality of opportunity in colonial trade is not the rule but the rare exception.

It is true that we have none of the old-fashioned monopolies and exclusions against which wars were once waged and revolutions fomented; nominally all nations are free to engage in commerce with all colonies. But in practice this "freedom of trade" is not effective, and in the guise of tariffs most of the present colonial powers are seeking much the same thing that was sought by the cruder methods of former centuries. How serious a menace this policy offers to world peace is seen from the growing importance of colonial trade.

Expanding Trade of the World's Colonies

When the recent war began, the commerce of the colonies was nearly a fifth of the whole international commerce of the world. Measured in dollars the world's commerce was about forty-two billions and that of the colonies amounted to almost eight billions. And it is even more significant that during the preceding decade the world's commerce had increased less than 80 per cent. while colonial commerce had more than doubled. The trade of no mother country grew as fast as did that of its colonies, and it is practically certain that for many years to come the relative rate of growth will continue to be in favor of colonial commerce. Furthermore, the character of colonial trade is fully as important as its volume. The colonies export chiefly foodstuffs and raw materials. They produce all of the jute, Manila hemp, and some other commodities and a very large part of the tin, asbestos, nickel, spices, camphor, phosphates, shellac, rubber, copra and a long list of other necessary materials. Equal access to the supply of these things is a matter of grave concern to every industrial nation.

On the other hand, the colonies report most of the manufactured goods they consume, and thus furnish a steady and growing market for the products of the more highly-developed countries. Nations, therefore, with few or no colonies will view with mounting jealousy and disfavor discriminations that put them at a serious disadvantage in so large and so important a part of the whole trade of the world. And indeed even among the great colonial powers, since the distribution of colonies is unequal in both area and importance, ill-feeling and recriminations are bound to arise.

Colonial Tariff Restrictions a Source of Ill-Will

The somewhat sullen and resentful acquiescence in the restrictions now enforced may be mainly attributed to the fact that the discriminations thus far adopted have been worse in spirit than in effect. Colonial tariffs as a rule are quite low in comparison with the protective tariffs of most industrial nations. Even when they are high, as in Australia or Canada, the fractional preference they give the mother country, though it affords an advantage, by no means confers a monopoly. The highest discriminations that exist, those namely of the United States, France, and Japan, fall

far short of altogether shutting out from their colonies the trade of other countries.

Our own trade shows clearly the limited effect of the regulations now in force. Just before the war a fifth of our imports came from the world's colonies, and a fourth of our exports went to them; together they were valued at nearly a billion dollars. During the war our commerce grew by leaps and bounds, and last year our trade with the colonies amounted to about three billion two hundred million dollars and embraced nearly a third of our imports and a fifth of our exports. By far the greater part of this enormous commerce was with the colonies of other countries, for neither before nor since the war have our own possessions accounted for more than 3 per cent. of our total trade. These figures not only show the limited effect of the present restrictions but, what is equally important, they also show how deeply this country's interests are concerned with the possibility of those restrictions being tightened. The policies of the colonial powers affect practically a fourth of our whole foreign trade, and we cannot afford to ignore the tendency of these policies to become increasingly restrictive.

If Restrictions Should Be Removed

If "good business" alone were considered it ought not to be hard for the powers to agree on repealing all discriminations. For the United States this should be peculiarly true. As Secretary Hay and others pointed out after the Spanish War, we have much more to gain from the "open door" elsewhere than from the "closed door" in the Philippines and Porto Rico. Even to-day after twenty years of discrimination our trade with the colonies of other countries is more than seven times greater than our trade with our own possessions. Far greater benefits are offered by equal opportunity in our traffic and intercourse with the 550,000,000 people that inhabit the colonies of other countries than by preferential trade with the 12,000,000 inhabitants of our own possessions.

In this regard most of the other powers are situated much as we are, since trade with their own colonies is a small fraction of their whole commerce. Indeed only for three of them, that is, Great Britain, Portugal and Japan, does their colonial trade exceed one-tenth of the total. In the case of Portugal this larger proportion is due rather to the small amount of her total trade than to the importance of that with her colonies.

This is not true, however, of Japan, about a sixth of whose rapidly-growing commerce is with her outlying possessions. There is little doubt that in the absence of restrictions, Japan would lose a substantial part of her own colonial trade, and it is questionable whether she would be compensated merely by admission on equal terms to the trade of other colonies.

Britain Would Profit Most by Restriction

But it is Great Britain and not Japan that would seem to profit most by systematic discrimination. Before the war the trade of the British Colonies made up three-fourths of the whole colonial commerce of the world, but not more than a third of it was with the mother country. It would appear, therefore, that she has more to gain by a policy of restriction than all the other powers put together. Yet in spite of this fact it is Great Britain who for several generations has been the foremost champion of free and unrestricted commerce and who until two years ago permitted no discrimination that it was in her power to prevent. This policy of the Imperial Government did not rest on any idealistic attachment to free trade. It was maintained for the very good reason that it was considered the best policy for British business. There were good grounds for believing that attempts to discriminate would be met by retaliation from other countries.

This reasoning of the British Government was sound in the past and would be equally sound to-day. Moreover, it is even more applicable to other powers than it is to Great Britain. It is simply inevitable that a further growth of restrictions, preferences, exclusions, and partial monopolies would diminish commerce and would damage the industries and reduce the business of every nation engaged to any substantial degree in foreign trade. It is true, of course, that so long as the United States, France, or Japan can enforce their discriminations without meeting retaliation from England and other powers, they will profit by retaining them. But it can hardly be expected that such a one-sided practice will continue to be tolerated.

The "Open Door" Policy Losing Ground

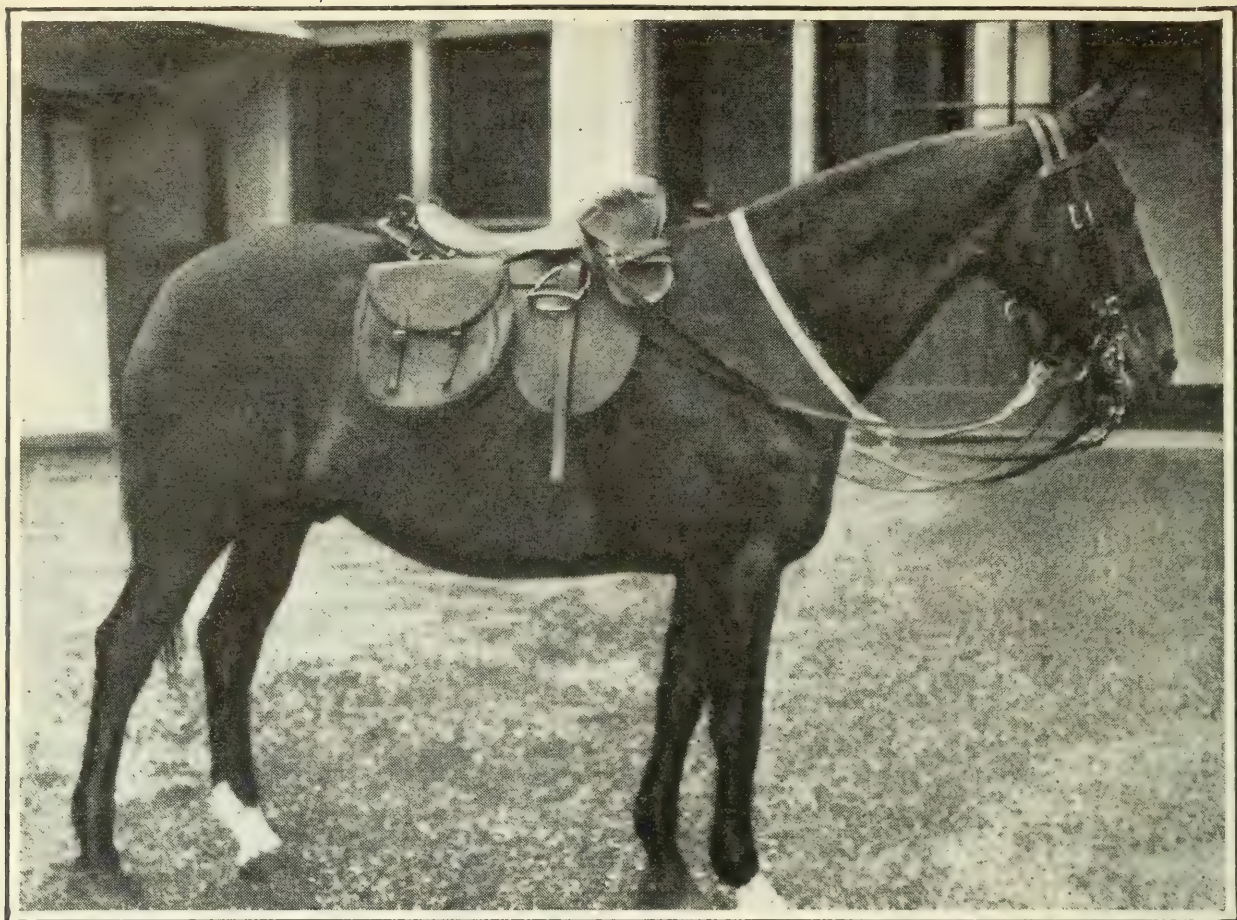
But in spite of its obvious merits the policy of the open door has been losing ground for twenty years. That is because purely business considerations have been frequently outweighed by others of a different sort. Naturally the material interests of the rul-

ing power are never entirely overlooked, but they do not always dominate. The change, for example, in Great Britain's attitude toward an Imperial Preference does not seem to be based on the expectation that it will increase the amount of her trade. Rather it is due, as far as can be judged from the expressions of her public men, to a wish to strengthen the bonds between the mother country and her colonies and to make the Empire as a whole more self-sufficing in time of war and less dependent on trade with other countries, even if this can be done only at a loss. Again, in the case of our own country, we became responsible through an unsought and unexpected destiny for the welfare of the Philippines. To meet that responsibility, and because it was to the interest of the islands rather than to our own, we have established free trade between them and the United States. But we could not at the same time declare trade free between them and the rest of the world for the reason that the government of the islands cannot do without the revenue a tariff yields.

These examples suffice to show that discriminations in colonial trade are not always the result of sordid interest. Sentimental attachments, political necessities, treaty relationships, moral obligations, sometimes naval and military considerations and many other things affect the policy of a ruling power toward its colonies. Trade is only one of the things with which this policy has to deal. No nation, therefore, is free to regulate trade solely with a view to gain. Each nation must adjust its trade restrictions not only to business profits but rather to the fulfilment of all the interwoven purposes its colonial policy aims to accomplish.

It follows that a general agreement to abolish restrictions is not so simple as it would be if only business interests had to be considered. But at least they can be ameliorated and the necessity for them explained. Even if some discriminations cannot be removed they can be held within limits and the true purpose of their retention admitted and made clear. In international affairs as in domestic law the "rule of reason" is a mighty force, and appeals to it cannot be safely ignored.

The United States Government through the Tariff Commission has now published the discriminations at present actually enforced by all the nations. It remains to be seen what further will be done about them.



THE BEST TYPE OF CAVALRY HORSE

(By a thoroughbred sire out of a "half" bred mare. Height, 15-1½ hands (unshod); 8½ inches of bone below knee; 9½ inches below hock; girth 6 feet 4 inches and weight 1250 pounds—in "fit" condition, 1040 pounds)

BREEDING HORSES FOR THE NATION

BY MAJOR L. A. BEARD, U. S. A.

ONE hears constantly that cavalry is an obsolete arm, and that therefore we need not concern ourselves further about breeding horses for the Government. The dominance of trench fighting in the Great War and the enormous extension of the use of motor-driven military vehicles have easily given this impression. It is forgotten that millions of horses were needed—for operations in the first stages of the war, for various activities behind the lines even after the era of trench fighting set in, and throughout General Allenby's brilliant Mesopotamian campaign.

It will astonish nearly everyone who reads this to hear the plain fact: The proportion of horses used during the World War was approximately the same as held during our Civil War, when the cavalry arm was at the height of its importance. In the World War one animal was used to every four men;

in the Civil War, one animal to every three and three-quarters men.

The broad explanation of this continued need for horses in the face of the extraordinary amount of work done by gas engines in lorries, trucks, motor-driven gun carriages, tanks, and the like, is simply that the general business and processes of making war have expanded even faster than the uses of the gas engine, so as to need not only the motor-driven implements but the horse as well; while there still are certain special services, particular kinds of terrain, and unusual emergencies that find the horse more suitable than the motor.

Riding horses are used in many other military activities than cavalry. Over 2000 are required for each *infantry* division; so, even though forces are deadlocked, with the cavalry held in readiness behind the lines, many riding horses are still necessary to have a

large unit function efficiently. Again, the average life of a horse at the front is limited to a very few days, and large replacements are quite necessary. These facts are vouched for by experts who study actual conditions, and who realize the necessity for immediate action to assure a supply of suitable animals for the future.

The supply of the cavalry-type horse in all countries proved very inadequate for the needs of the World War. Our allies were forced to buy in American markets, even though their Governments had made efforts to encourage the breeding of a cavalry type. How they fared in our markets is suggested in an extract from the report of General Bates, of the British Remount Service: "Of the animals in the United States, the draft horses and mules are excellent; probably no better in the world, but the proper type of cavalry or riding horse does not *exist* in any appreciable numbers. In the purchase of the latter type of animal we could only endeavor to secure a substitute."

Horses cannot be secured as easily as trucks and other motor vehicles. An automobile can be turned out in six minutes in Mr. Ford's plant, but it takes from five to six years to raise a horse to the point when it can be put in hard training for constant use. So the necessity of looking forward several years confronts those interested in this work. Reports from the American Horse Association, and from horse buyers in general, indicate that breeding practically stopped during the period of the World War. This being the case, there will be a further scarcity of mature horses from about 1921 to 1926. It is to prevent such shortages that the Government is entering the breeding field.

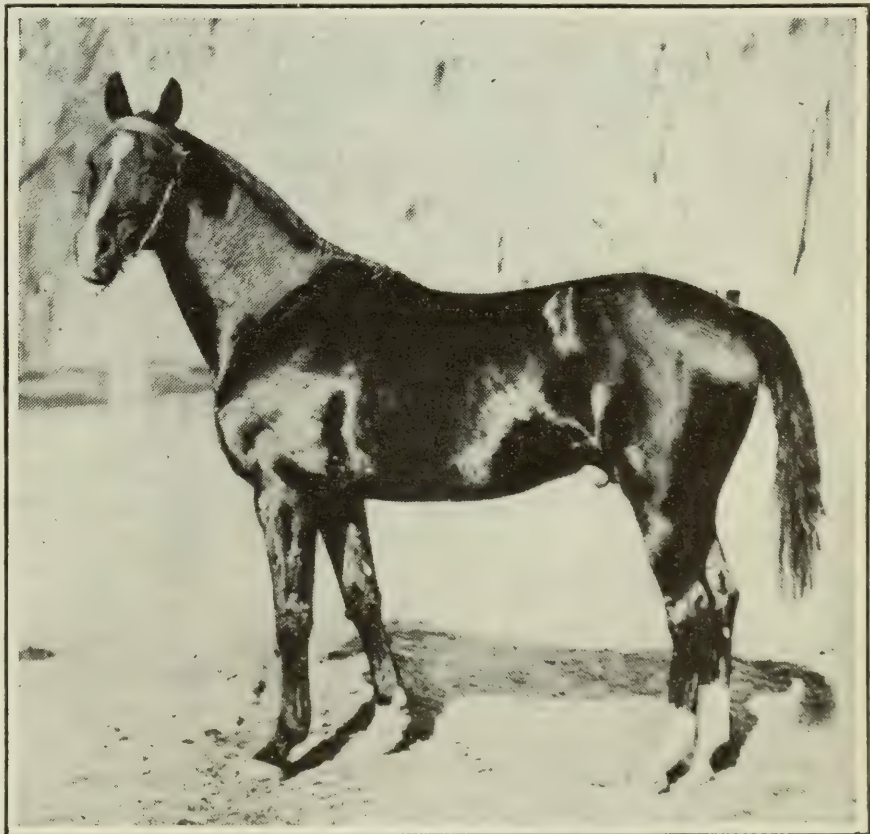
So, through the American Remount Association, the Government is providing thoroughbred stallions of the correct type and stationing them in various parts of the country where conditions promise the best results. The aim of the Government in establishing this breeding work is in the words of the Remount Association: "To

encourage the breeding of better types of horses and mules, particularly the riding or cavalry horse, and other animals needed for use in case of war and for national defense."

Every farmer and stock-raiser recognizes the value of the pure-bred top cross in *all* animal breeding. The Government hopes to be able to furnish this top cross for a riding type horse. Many farmers breed good mares to some "scrub" stallion, pay just as much to raise the colt as a really good one would cost, and in the end find that they have a third-class animal on their hands, of no salable value. Had the sire been a pure-bred, the colt would, in the majority of cases, have been salable at a profit for the breeder.

It is not the intention of the Government to compete with private interests, or to discourage the breeding of draft animals and mules; rather the idea is to enter the field to improve wherever it can be done. No competition with private owners of stallions is allowed, and the Government stallion is required to stand on the same basis as the private stallion. So it comes to the point that the Government is simply trying to put a dying industry on its feet.

At last reports, the Government had the following pure-bred stallions: Arabs, 8; Morgans, 6; Saddlebred, 5; Standardbred,



A WESTERN CAVALRY HORSE SIRE

("Duke of Ormond," at Valley Falls, Kansas. Notice the powerful forelegs of moderate length and unusual substance of the animal, fitting him to transmit to his descendants the power and endurance needed in cavalry horses)



GOOD TYPE OF THOROUGHBRED TO SIRE CAVALRY HORSES

("Ganadore," stationed at Middleburg, Virginia. A short-backed, compact thoroughbred, built not too high from the ground)

7; Thoroughbred, 138; Hackney, 1; total, 165. During the breeding season these stallions are placed throughout the country, in practically every State. In each vicinity a farmer or breeder is chosen as the "local agent."

Stallions are placed where they will not interfere with the draft-horse and mule-breeding activities of the country, but rather in localities where the light utility horse is still being bred and used—such as farming areas, ranches, etc. Efforts are being made to stand stallions wherever the light-horse breeding has deteriorated, with the idea of rehabilitating that horse area.

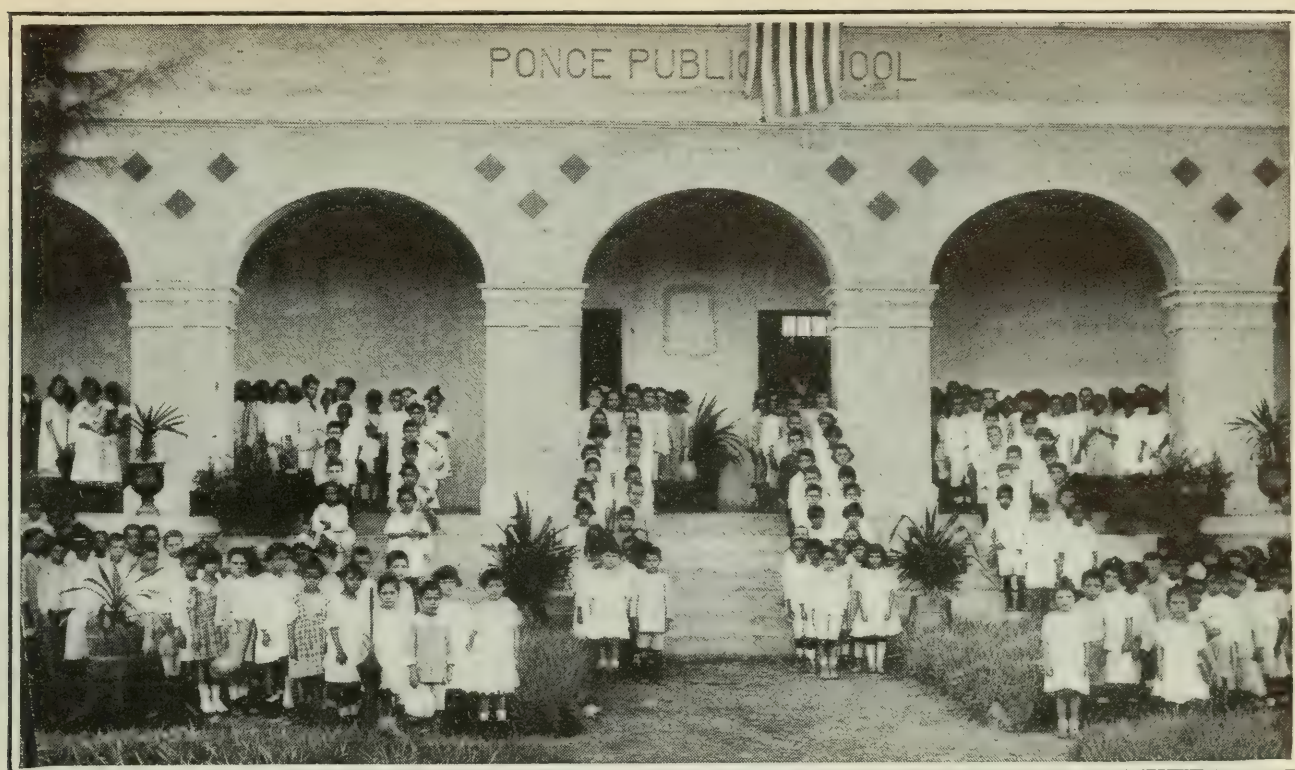
Most of the marketable horses of this type are bred by farmers who own a few mares each, and not by persons in wholesale breeding business. Every farmer and rancher must have a certain number of work-horses in use. These should be good mares which should be bred to *pure-bred* stallions, thus giving the breeder an extra source of income. It is frequently stated that a farmer will lose money in horse breeding, as the cost of raising exceeds the market price. Statements of this kind are misleading and detrimental. The cost of raising a colt should not be figured at the top price of forage or labor; but rather should be looked upon as a side line in which farm by-products are used together with a small amount of the farmer's time.

Recent reports from the headquarters of the American Horse Association show a steady decline in the number of stallions standing in various States for siring light utility horses. This shortage shows as high as 48 per cent. in one middle western State, and in no State is the number holding its own. Within the next year or two, it is hoped that the Government will be able to stand 250 such stallions. As to the breeding of the stallions, there is still much discussion, with the majority in favor of the Thoroughbred.

The picturesque annual 300-mile endurance ride, which is scheduled this year for the current month of September and which proceeds from northern New Jersey to Washington, D. C., has prac-

tically developed into a test of the different breeds for sire purposes. Originally conceived as a test of the cavalry type itself, the race has gradually become a competition among the enthusiasts in the Arab, Morgan, Standardbreds, and Thoroughbred families. Just as the race-track is the test for sires of race horses, so can this endurance race be taken as a competition tending to show the best kind of sire for breeding a horse to be used in military work. As conducted at present, the race lacks the element of a troop test, principally because of the better class of rider and the care given each mount.

To be a test for cavalry horses, a troop should be organized of even personnel in regard to riding ability, care of the horse, and all elements essential to the make up of a cavalry soldier—in other words, a good troop of cavalymen. Mount these men on the various breeds which pretend to be cavalry mounts; such as half-thoroughbreds, half-Arabs, half-Morgans, etc., all horses to be conditioned alike and to carry the soldier's equipment. After conditioning, a properly conducted march could be started and a careful check kept on the horses, eliminating as called for until a *definite* decision is reached on the best breed in the troop. This would be a service test, with service personnel, giving the same attention to all mounts—and really would be a fair test of a cavalry type.



SOME OF THE YOUNGER BOYS AND GIRLS AT THE CASTILLO SCHOOL IN PONCE

EDUCATION IN PORTO RICO: PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS

BY PAUL G. MILLER

(Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico)

FACING San Francisco Plaza, in the city of San Juan, stands the Román Baldorioty de Castro Graded and Technical School. From the standpoint of architectural design, equipment and quality of work done by teachers and pupils, it might well occupy a place in any leading city of the United States. Here seven hundred girls and boys belonging to the seventh, eighth and ninth grades carry on their academic work. The girls also take courses in home economics, cooking, sewing, designing, drawn work and embroidery under special teachers, and in rooms specially equipped. The whole first floor is given over to shop work and drawing for boys, where in addition to mechanical drawing they are free to elect courses in woodwork, printing, plumbing, or machine shop practice. In the evening workmen representing the various trades pursue courses which qualify them better for their daily tasks and lead to promotion and higher wages.

This school is one of the best material evidences available to all visitors to Porto

Rico of the educational transformation wrought in the brief span of two decades, under the sheltering folds of the American flag. On this very spot there stood until recent years the famous Artillery Barracks, where until October, 1898, Spain housed a part of the garrison that was stationed here to hold in check one of the most peaceable peoples on earth and to drive off any possible invaders. Spain built spacious barracks for her troops, but did not build a single school-house for Porto Rico's children, from the coming of Columbus and Ponce de León to the coming of General Miles.

Schools there were, but not a school system properly coördinated and directed. Schools were conducted in rented buildings that served primarily as teachers' residences. They were ungraded. Religious instruction formed the core of the curriculum. There were few well-trained teachers, few modern text-books and no modern furniture. During the last year of the Spanish régime there were 313 rural and 212 urban schools in operation. In the capital city there were



THE WILSON CONSOLIDATED RURAL SCHOOL AT AGUIRRE

(There are now 125 consolidated rural schools in Porto Rico, with from two to six rooms)

also a Civil Institute and two normal schools, one for young men and the other for young women. Separate schools were conducted for girls and boys, and there is one municipality on record where no girls whatever were enrolled in school. The total attendance was 21,873. Such, in brief, were the school facilities and conditions of a population approaching a million.

These facts are stated not by way of disparagement, but rather to mark the foundation and starting point for the developments and the accomplishments of the past two decades.

The people of Porto Rico are doing reasonably well in the matter of providing educational facilities for the children of school age, who constitute one-third of the total

population. It is true that the appropriations made by the insular legislatures and municipalities have been and are to-day far from adequate, but it is also true that the budget for education has been uniformly larger than that of any other department. Furthermore, in making comparisons, one should bear in mind that the per capita wealth of the people of Porto Rico is only \$204, or about one-tenth of that of the people of the United States.

Present-Day Aspects

In contrast to the ungraded one-teacher school, in vogue during the Spanish régime, there has been established a school system founded on American principles and based on American models. The system comprises rural, elementary graded, continuation, and high schools, as well as a university. Visitors often express surprise that the schools of Porto Rico should have the same organization, follow similar courses of study, and enjoy the same advantages of modern equipment, text-books, and supplies, as those found in the States. One of them remarked: "I am impressed by the absence of the schoolroom smell. Everything is fresh and open." There are marked differences, as, for example, in the absence of artificial heating systems, in the physical characteristics of teachers and pupils, and in the bilingual system of instruction. The general neatness and cleanliness of dress shown by the children, their bright and eager faces, and their courtesy of manner impress the visitor and reflect the influence of the school on home conditions.



A RURAL SCHOOL AT JUANA DIAZ



THE TEACHING STAFF OF THE ROMAN BALDORIOTY DE CASTRA GRADED AND TECHNICAL SCHOOL, IN THE CITY OF SAN JUAN

(Where 700 Porto Rican girls and boys in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades carry on their academic work. In addition to the regular courses, there is special instruction for the girls in sewing, designing, and so forth; and for the boys there is shop work, mechanical drawing, and instruction in various trades)

Expressed in figures, one may judge the material advances made in education from the following table, which gives the data for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, as compared with those of Spain's last year, an interval of twenty-one years:

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN PORTO RICO			
	1898-99	1919-20	Increase
Population	953,243	1,299,809	346,566
Of school age.....	322,393	438,743	116,350
Attending school	21,873	184,991	163,118
Of school age, not in school...	300,520	253,752	¹ 46,768
Teachers	525	3,286	2,761
District supervisors	16	41	25
Rural barrios without schools...	426	12	¹ 414
Public school buildings.....	0	569	569
Rented buildings	all	1,334	...
Total schoolrooms	525	3,096	² 2,571
School expenditures	\$288,098	\$3,150,761	\$2,862,663
For elementary schools.....	274,203	2,818,709	2,544,506
For high schools.....	0	143,168	143,168
For university	0	188,884	188,884
Expenditure per inhabitant.....	\$0.30	\$2.42	\$2.12
Expenditure per pupil enrolled ³ ..	\$13.12	\$17.03	\$3.91

¹Decrease.

²Includes rented rooms.

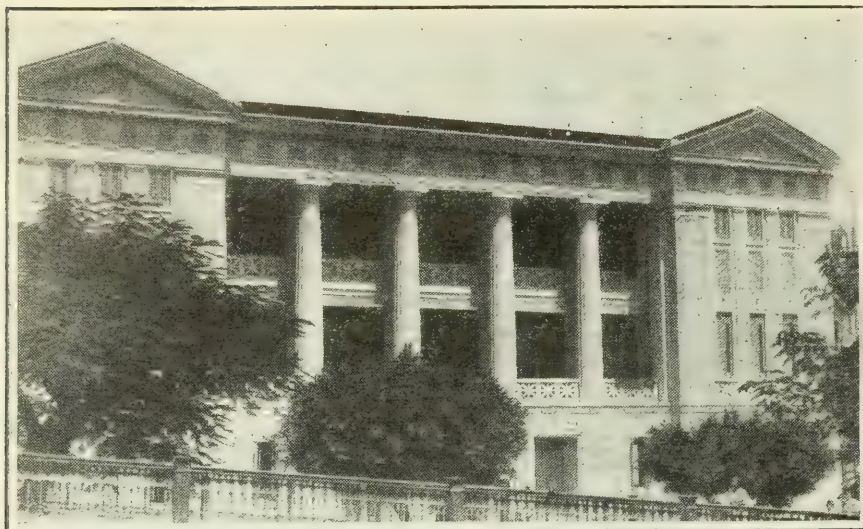
³Includes expenditures for University and Secondary Schools.

Administrative Control

The work of the Department of Education is characterized by a high degree of centralization. Under the terms of the organic act

the commissioner of education is given ample powers and wide responsibilities. All expenditures, whether from insular, municipal, or university funds, are subject to his approval; all special teachers are appointed directly by him; and all elementary school teachers nominated by the municipal commissioners of education must have his approval to make their appointment complete. It has sometimes been charged that this centralized scheme of administration lends itself to abuses. Undoubtedly mistakes have been made, but probably none of them purposely. The commissioners have assumed the large responsibilities entrusted to them cheerfully and have realized the wide opportunities offered for leadership in educational

affairs. It is largely through this centralized control that the progress attained in education during the past two decades has been accomplished. The work of education is not



THE BALDORIOTY GRADED AND TECHNICAL SCHOOL IN SAN JUAN

(On the site of which, under Spanish rule, stood a famous artillery barracks—a striking example of what American administration has meant for Porto Rico)

the task of one factor or agency, but of many. Due credit must be given to the various legislatures for the enacting of beneficial legislation and the voting of appropriations for carrying on the work of the department. Likewise the coöperation of school boards, other municipal officials, and the people as a whole must receive proper recognition.

School boards were definitely abolished in 1919. A municipal commissioner of education, chosen by the Municipal Assembly, is in charge of local school affairs. He is a member of the Council of Administration under the new commission form of government in vogue in all municipalities. Municipalities make provision for the material needs of the schools and in a few cases they pay salaries of teachers. However, nearly all teachers' salaries are paid directly from the insular treasury.

School Buildings

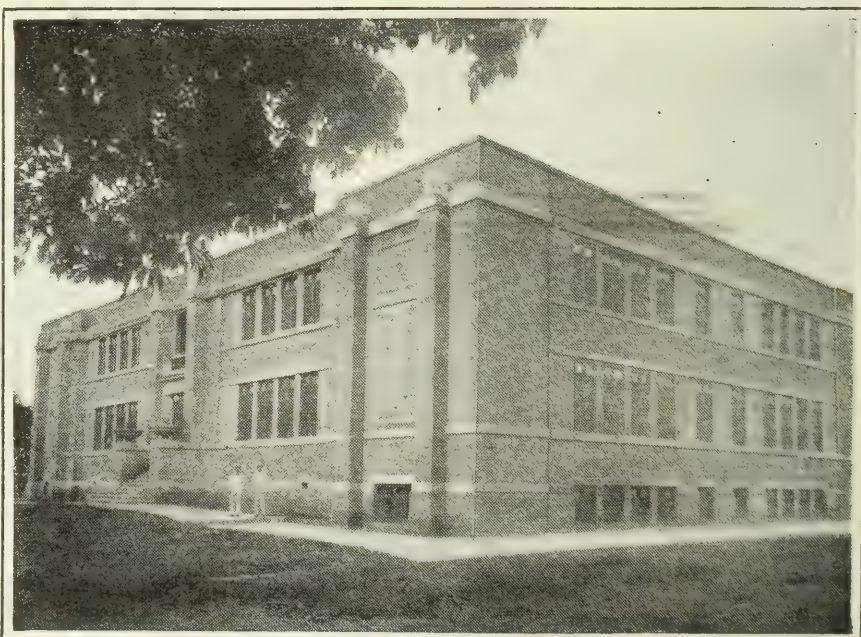
The increase in the per capita expenditure per pupil is small indeed, when one considers that the figures for 1920 include expenditures for secondary and higher education as well as the erection of buildings and the purchase of modern equipment.

The first real steps toward securing school buildings were taken in November, 1900, when President McKinley caused

to be transmitted to the Treasurer of Porto Rico the sum of \$200,000 to be used for school extension. This money represented part of the funds collected by the Federal Government in the form of custom house duties on Porto Rican products entering the United States, which were returned to Porto Rico for the construction of schools and roads. Subsequently there were added by the Governor of Porto Rico an allotment of \$15,000 for general school extension and one of \$35,000 for the construction of a normal school. Upon the

recommendation of Commissioner S. M. Lindsay, the Governor made a further allotment of \$150,000 for school buildings. These funds, aside from the Morrill-Nelson funds for the support of the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, are the only moneys directly allotted by the Federal Government for aiding public education in Porto Rico.

However, the funds returned by the Federal Government were exhausted in time, and it became necessary to devise other means for providing school buildings. In 1907 the legislature passed an act providing a school building fund of \$80,000 subject to increase and replenishment by further appropriations. In 1908 and 1911, respectively, further sums



THE MODERN HIGH SCHOOL AT MAYAGUEZ



A RURAL SCHOOL GARDEN AT LLANOS, NEAR COAMO, IN THE PONCE DISTRICT

(Three-fourths of the population of Porto Rico are of the peasant class, and the public-school system has recognized the value of teaching the elements of agriculture. Last year instruction in practical farming was given in 1667 schools throughout the island)

of \$40,000 were added. From this fund loans were made to school boards on condition that only half of the total amount borrowed was to be returned to the insular treasury.

In 1908 the legislature set aside the sum of \$40,000 as a fund for the purpose of aiding school boards in the construction of rural schools, on condition that the total amount contributed from insular funds for any one building was not to exceed \$250. School boards were authorized to make up the necessary amounts for the construction of buildings.

The burden of providing school buildings was gradually assumed by municipalities with occasional help from insular funds. During the fiscal year 1917-18, \$325,557 was expended for new buildings from municipal funds. This amount is more than twice the sum paid out in 1902, which was a year of special building activity, when \$156,549 was used from funds returned by the Federal Government.

The early schools erected from 1900 to 1903 are now excelled by far in every essential. The people soon learned that a modern school building should possess many facilities and conveniences in addition to classrooms equipped with furniture and blackboard. At

the present time buildings are provided with an office for the principal and in some cases for the municipal commissioner of education, with a storeroom for books and supplies, with a library room, with appropriately equipped rooms for work in home economics and manual training, and in some instances with an assembly room where not only the pupils and teachers, but the public in general, may gather. Needless to say, proper provision is also made for sanitary facilities, and lighting for night classes or public meetings held in the evening.

The Rural Uplift

The school authorities have recognized that the development of rural education is of prime importance in any effort to bring about a higher standard of living amongst the peasantry, which constitute 73 per cent. of the total population of Porto Rico. During the current year there are 1700 rural schools in operation, and a great majority of them are conducted on the double-session plan; that is, the teacher has one group of pupils in the morning and another group in the afternoon. Last year the average enrollment per teacher in the rural schools was 67 pupils. In Porto Rico there is no complaint about the dwindling in the number of pupils in the



A SEWING EXHIBIT IN THE RURAL SCHOOL AT SABANA YEGUAS

one-room rural school because of the trend to the city and the consequent need of consolidation. Nevertheless, consolidation of rural schools has been introduced and at the present time 125 of this type of school, with from two to six rooms, are in operation. These schools follow, in the main, the graded course of study, but special attention is given to the practical teaching of the elements of agriculture and the making and cultivation of vegetable gardens.

Last year instruction in agriculture was given in 1667 schools and about 40,000 home gardens were promoted through the leadership of rural teachers and supervising teachers of agriculture. Plain sewing and other forms of elementary handwork were taught in 835 rural schools.

Several years ago the Department of Education started the so-called *Rural Uplift*, the extension of the work and service of the rural school to the community and the making of the school the community center. The masses of the peasantry now understand that the schools belong to them and are primarily conducted for the benefit of their children, rather than a thing imposed by governmental authority. The rural home—in many cases a shack—and the family therein have been brought into closer relation with the school through the efforts of the rural teachers who make systematic visits to the homes of the parents. Last year over 142,000 visits were made to rural homes.

In the campaign for the

improvement of conditions in the rural districts, the parents' associations, of which there are 1300, have been very helpful and have worked in constant coöperation with the schools. The rural gatherings at the schoolhouses, which are usually held on Sundays, have resulted uniformly in higher enrollment, better attendance, repair of old roads, opening of some new roads, repair of bridges, repair and painting of many schoolhouses, and the installation

of water-tanks. In addition thereto, a public spirit has been aroused which affects favorably both the school and the community. Hygienic conditions have been improved through the efforts of the school. In view of the lack of medical facilities in the rural barrios much good has been accomplished through the school medicine chest or "Botiquin Escolar."

Reading centers and small libraries have been established and in many rural schools teachers have conducted night sessions for illiterates without extra remuneration. In fact, in many distant rural communities, the only source of information as to the outside world is the school.

School Exhibits

One of the best means toward promoting the proper understanding and appreciation of school work is the school exhibit. The parents and the public in general are thus enabled to see at least part of the results



A CLASS IN COOKING IN THE SCHOOL ON THE ISLAND OF VIEQUES

of the schools—those things that can be expressed through material evidence. During the latter part of the school year exhibits of this kind are held in every district and are community events of great interest. As a rule, the academic work does not occupy the proportional importance given to the work in agriculture, manual arts and home economics, as it is along these special lines that the products of the schools can be shown concretely. In addition to the regular school work oftentimes the boys

and girls place on exhibit the products of their home gardens which have been promoted through the schools. Farmers are invited to contribute products, such as coffee, corn, vegetables, and live stock, as object lessons to the community. Public-spirited citizens take a leading part in contributing money for prizes.

The Junior Red Cross

One of the most effective supplementary agencies of the school work in Porto Rico and one that has rendered a real educational and social service is the Junior Red Cross. This organization has a membership of 134,178 and is on a good financial basis. The total receipts this year were \$28,804.99. The activities of this organization are manifold. The Junior Red Cross has been instrumental in securing the coöperation of parents in all school and community work. This organiza-



OPEN-AIR PHYSICAL EXERCISES ON A SCHOOL PLAYGROUND AT PONCE
(Baseball, basketball, and field and track events are favorite sports of Porto Rican youths. Their records compare favorably with high- and grammar-school boys in the States)

tion is circulating and exhibiting educational films for the instruction of school children at large. The juniors have done much toward the promotion of good attendance and efficiency in the schools by providing shoes and clothing and contributing substantial sums toward the maintenance of free lunchrooms for poor school children. They have distributed medicines and have helped to provide rural schools with medicine chests. They have established and are supporting five dental clinics. Immediately following the earthquake of 1918 and the epidemic of influenza, this organization did effective relief work. Liberal sums have been contributed for relief work in the Near East. In addition to the many cases of local relief, the Junior Red Cross maintains a scholarship in the Normal Department of the University of Porto Rico and is also supporting Edmond Gruber, a French orphan boy, while pursuing his studies in Paris. The Junior Red Cross of Porto Rico is doing more than its share in carrying on the Peace Program outlined by the national authorities.

Illiteracy: The Story of the Census

The population of Porto Rico has shown a rapid increase from 1899, when there were 953,243 inhabitants, to 1920 when the total numbered 1,299,809. In this same period the total num-



ber of persons between five and seventeen years of age increased from 322,393 to 438,743, or a total increase of 116,350 children of legal school age.

In 1920 the total urban population amounted to 283,934, and the rural population to 1,015,875. The census of 1899 showed that 79.6 per cent. of the people of Porto Rico ten years of age and over were illiterate. This figure was reduced to 66.5 per cent. in 1910 and to 55 per cent. in 1920. In 1899 only 8 per cent. of the persons from five to seventeen years of age were attending school; in 1920, 45.2 per cent. are reported in school, as is shown by the following table:

Census of	Total population	Total No. of persons 5 to 17 yrs.	Total No. of persons attending school	Percentage of persons 5 to 17 yrs. attending school	Percentage of illiteracy in population 10 years and over
1920	1,299,809	438,743	206,533	45.2	55.
1910	1,118,012	361,967	132,349	35.2	66.5
1899	953,243	322,393	26,212	8.	79.6
Increase from 1899 to 1920.....	346,566	116,350	180,321	37.2	24.6 decrease

The Teaching Personnel

The present body of teachers presents a marked contrast to the teaching force employed during the last year of the Spanish régime. The rapid extension of the school system after the change of sovereignty made necessary the certification of many persons, mostly young men and women who possessed greater zeal and ambition than learning. Of professional training they had little or none. Their academic preparation in many cases did not extend beyond the work of the sixth or seventh grades. Consequently the examinations were made relatively easy after the first one, in which only three candidates were successful. During the early years much disparaging criticism was heaped upon the department and these untrained teachers by some of those who had acquired their *títulos* during the previous régime. An examination of trustworthy testimony, however, goes to show that on the whole these fledglings in the teaching profession were as well, if not better, prepared than the mass of teachers in the service prior to the year 1899.

A rapid transformation has taken place in the teaching force. With the establishment of higher grades in the elementary schools, high and continuation schools, and the normal school, the standard for entering the profession was gradually raised. At the present time a high school diploma is demanded for entrance to the regular normal course, and a ninth grade certificate for entrance to

the rural school course. With the introduction of special courses for training rural teachers in high schools, many rural schools are now in charge of teachers holding high school diplomas.

Taken as a whole, the teaching staff does not, as yet, possess high academic and professional education. Relatively few hold degrees from a college or university and most of those who do hold such degrees are from the States. About 30 per cent. of the teaching force have received normal training and hold normal certificates or diplomas. Over 60 per cent. obtained their teachers' licenses upon examination, usually after attending a

brief normal summer course. The proportion of teachers with professional training is steadily increasing.

What teachers may have lacked in the way of preparation and experience has been made up to a considerable extent by an unusual degree of loyalty, industry, devotion to duty, and a spirit of coöperation. They rendered a signal service in connection with all war work; and rural teachers particularly contributed materially to the agricultural propaganda carried on by the food commission during the war.

Bilingual Instruction: The Status of English

There is no country in the Western Hemisphere where the people are being offered the same opportunities as in Porto Rico for acquiring the use of two leading world languages, English and Spanish. The authorities and the people from the very start realized that the introduction of English was of vital importance. Since Porto Ricans were made American citizens by virtue of the Jones Act, in 1917, the study of English is even more essential. At no time has there been a tendency to suppress Spanish. Because of geographical location, the ancestry and traditions of the people, from the standpoint of business, and particularly because of the Pan-American relations of the United States, there is every reason for continuing the study of Spanish in the schools. In fact, the teaching of cor-



FACULTY GROUP AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PORTO RICO

(The educational system of Porto Rico reaches its culmination in the university which has been established at Rio Pedras, not far from the capital city of San Juan. The university's future is bright for Porto Ricans, but it also promises well for the promotion of good understanding between the peoples of North America and those of the Spanish-speaking republics. The dream of a Pan-American University may well become a reality there. Even now the university offers advantages unsurpassed in the Caribbean, with colleges of liberal arts, law, pharmacy, agriculture, and mechanical arts, and a normal college for the training of teachers)

rect Spanish has perhaps never been as effective as at the present time.

Some adverse criticism has been expressed because the results attained in English have not been better than they are. These criticisms are unreasonable and unjust. They are made without a proper understanding of conditions. To begin with, Porto Ricans do not live in an English-speaking environment. The number of Americans from the continent is negligible. Critics are apt to forget that there are six times as many persons in continental United States who do not speak English as there are in Porto Rico; that many communities in Pennsylvania continue to speak German dialects; and that thousands of New Mexicans speak Spanish. In the course of events it is entirely reasonable to presume that Spanish will be the language of the Porto Rican home a hundred years from to-day, but practically all persons who have had the advantages of an education will be bilingual. The Porto Rican will continue to make love and to say his prayers in Spanish, but his reading will be largely in English. This is a situation that is not to be

to-day, as is apparent from the large quantities of American papers and magazines sold at the news-stands.

It is fair to state in all frankness that the schools have not made the progress in English that had been expected. Nevertheless, the quantity and quality of practical English possessed by the Porto Rican elementary school graduate probably exceeds by far the ability of the American high school graduate to express himself either verbally or in writing, in any one of the modern languages taken up during his high school course, whether Spanish, French, or German.

Porto Rico needs many more well-trained and devoted teachers from the continent. The proportion of American teachers from the United States to the total number has grown alarmingly small in recent years. Low salaries, high traveling expenses and inability to get transportation to Porto Rico and back have made it increasingly difficult for the department to secure teachers from the States. Aside from all discussion of method and procedure, the improvement of English, from

require a liberal increase in the number of competent teachers from the mainland, or the training of Porto Rican teachers in the United States.

The teaching of English in the grades has fallen largely to Porto Rican teachers. All things considered, they have done remarkably well. They not only teach English, but in English. In the first and second grades English is taught orally. The ear and tongue are trained first. Reading and writing are begun in the third grade. The eye and the hand are trained after the ear and tongue have mastered the rudiments. Spanish is used as a medium of instruction in the first four grades; English is taught as a special subject, but by Porto Rican teachers. The fifth and sixth are the transition grades. Certain subjects are taught in English, others in Spanish. In the grammar grades and in high school English is used as the medium of instruction and Spanish is taught as a special subject. The few teachers obtainable from the States are assigned to the higher grades where the departmental plan is used.

The University of Porto Rico

Ever and anon the idea of a Pan-American university is advanced for the purpose of promoting and cementing cordial relations between the Anglo-Saxon Americans of the North and the Latin-Americans of the South. This idea is not a mere dream of the enthusiast. At a reasonable expense it could be turned into reality. The basis for an institution of this kind already exists. The University of Porto Rico, with its colleges of liberal arts, law, pharmacy, agriculture and mechanic arts, and the normal college for the training of teachers, now offers advantages to students unsurpassed in the lands of the Caribbean. The Institute of Tropical Medicine and the Insular and Federal Agricultural Experiment Stations offer additional opportunities for study and research.

Here is the place where students and professors from both North and South America will find a Latin environment greatly influenced by the Anglo-Saxon spirit. Here is the proper meeting ground of the ideals of the South with practical ideas of the North. Here instruction and research may be carried on either in English or Spanish. Here the student will find a unique system of laws, the monumental Civil Law, "the essence of jurisprudence," and the English Law, embodying the rights and liberties of the individual, in criminal codes and procedures.

Unsolved Problems

The greatest educational need is the provision of school facilities for the thousands of children who have never been in school. The census figures indicate that there are 13,695 children in urban communities and 102,160 in the rural districts who are between ten and twenty years of age and who are illiterate. In San Juan, the capital city, where the percentage of illiteracy is 26 as against 55 for Porto Rico as a whole, over 1400 children who applied for admission last September were turned away for lack of schools and teachers. To provide additional facilities means primarily greater resources on a permanent basis.

Additional schools require additional buildings with modern equipment. The hundreds of rented buildings should be replaced as soon as possible by properly planned and adequately equipped publicly owned buildings that meet modern sanitary requirements. The provision of modern school buildings is a matter of sanitation and health as well as of education. An insular bond issue of \$3,000,000 would go far toward providing proper sites and buildings.

The physical well-being of school children should receive greater attention. The present sporadic attempts at medical inspection and physical examination should be generalized and systematized. The school physician and the school nurse deserve a place along with the school teacher. School lunchrooms, wherever established, have improved attendance and school work.

Porto Rico needs many more well-trained teachers. Most of them should be recruited and prepared for their work in the Normal Department of the University, and in the special training courses established in high schools. A far larger proportion of teachers than is at present the case should come from the Continent, in order to give a greater impulse to the study of English and to those special subjects for which local teachers are not yet available.

In all matters of federal legislation on education, Porto Rico should be included. Porto Ricans are American citizens. As such they deserve attention. The Federal Vocational Education Act should be made applicable to Porto Rico, where vocational education is a great need. Any pending legislation looking toward federal aid to the States should apply to Porto Rico as well. This is a matter in which Uncle Sam can well afford to be generous.

ENRICO CARUSO

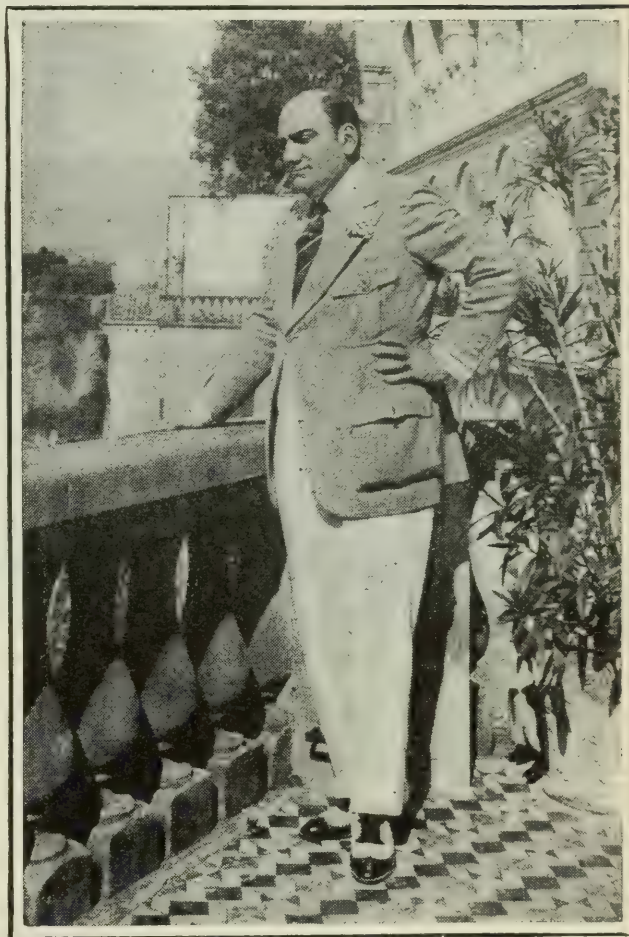
WHAT made Caruso what he was, a singer known to all the world, moving all our day as has no other?

Voice Caruso had and the actor's presence, power and personality. The artist's vision was his and he poured himself into each new character, formed in his imagining, as molten bronze fills and makes eternal the mold shaped by wax in the sandy husk. His images stand alive, vigorous, eternal in the memory of those who saw that long procession of all the greater figures of the lyric stage. These subtle conceptions of the artist, shaped to the fingertip, were so full of that inner human life all share, that these monumental creations builded with a newer might were to those who heard him:

Nothing novel, nothing strange,
They were but visions of a former sight.

To the finest fine art of the artist, he joined somehow a share of Shakespeare's creation, known alike to Prince Henry and the Merry Wives of Windsor, large as a mountain, open, palpable. His humor and his humours, his good fellowship, his wide range of desires, the sheer powerful frame of him, filled the stage, filled the opera house, filled the wide world itself—a world known to him in all its open roads. He, too, had seen the seven stars, the sisters three. The nine worthies, all and sundry, were his. These he made visible by sheer bulk, body, brawn, and brains. Other men's creations were weak, colorless, ineffectual, mere shadows, limping behind his substance. As for the vices of men, his art gave "a globe of sinful continents," nor less the bravest and best virtues of heroes.

He was an Italian. This speaks the full and resounding word. For there are two Italys. The Italy of Dante, of the spirit, in a long line from the Mantuan to Mazzini, and that other Italy, full of mirth and war, of battle, murder and sudden death, of a thousand triumphs on the sacred way and the profane, an Italy, loved of men; "wooed not wedded, laid to their hearts instead." So, while he was a citizen of the world, and his greater fame won in this new world, when death came Italy claimed him and he was Italy's alone.



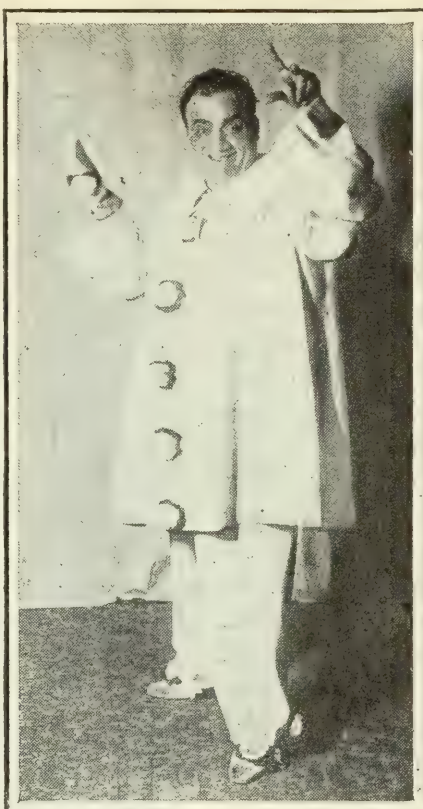
SIGNOR CARUSO AT HIS HOTEL IN SORRENTO,
ON THE BAY OF NAPLES

Limitations there were in all this last. Great as he was, there was that about him which chilled many a man and woman of a colder North, less hospitable to the foaming tides of passion and the thundering, if musical, surf of emotion. "I feel," said an American woman as we watched that other, if lesser, Italian, Salvini, in "Othello," "as if he might devour Desdemona instead of making love to her." But when the great moment came, Caruso drove all these doubts in faithless, ignominious flight.

This was not to be explained by his voice. There have been voices of a wider range, a sweeter tone. His acting, his personality, his manifold powers, rising in a supreme crescendo from the perfect mime to the final height of tragedy, have each been separately matched by one and another in the past of memory. No one given to the watchful analysis of the critic, trained by manifold experience, ever heard his triumphs without



In "Carmen"



In "I Pagliacci"



In "La Bohème"

ENRICO CARUSO IN THREE OF HIS MOST FAMILIAR ROLES

divining there was a mystery in this Samson, never explained by note, method, range, capacity, impersonation and all the tools and trappings of a dramatic singer, foremost in his day and in any day to which current memory returns. Something more was present in the thunder of his power.

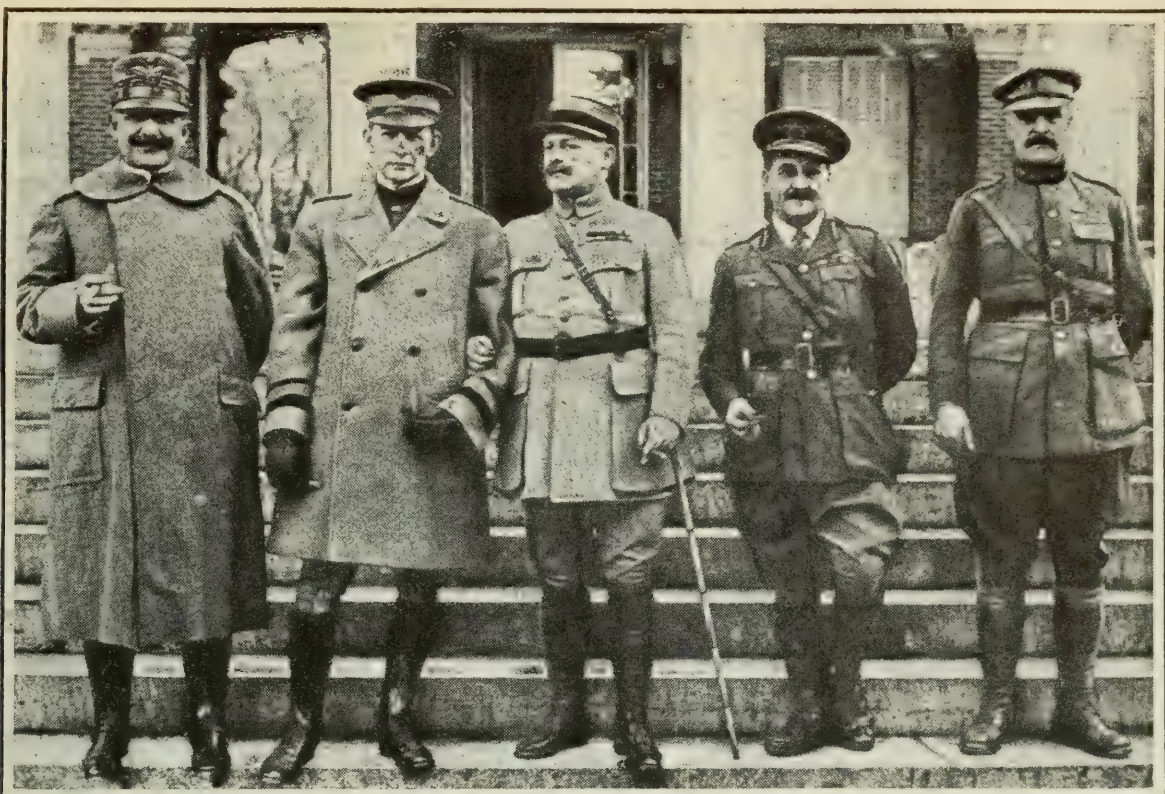
The voice of man is, after all, the one means and instrument by which humanity as a whole in all its forms comes to know itself, to feel, to follow, to act and to be as one. The hoarse, inarticulate cry of the tree-tops began the first mutual action from which was to grow all the ways and work of the human herd, in all its acts, singly and jointly. Nothing takes the place of the voice to stir, to fuse, and to unite. Not statue, nor painting that lives, nor words that burn, nor all the fashionry of all the arts so moves as a voice poured on the free winds far.

Some voices there be that have the strange power to awake all the subliminal echoes of the aeons in which cry, call, song and speech has each been fashioned. Gladstone's was such a voice. It was no exaggeration when Justin McCarthy, in the "History of Our Own Times," spoke of it as moving one like the wind among mountain pines. I have

heard a wide range of men who moved, from Phillips, Everett and other men who survived from a greater past in the sixties, here or in England. None remotely approached Gladstone. Of all the Americans I have heard, for over fifty years, there is only one who had even a hint of this strange power to stir the inner echoes—Henry Ward Beecher. No man living to-day does. Even Beecher only approached and did not attain. No English or American actor for fifty years has had this touch. Salvini and Sully lacked it. Castelar, I have been told, had it. Daudet in his merciless portraiture of Gambetta, in "Numa Roumestan," gave him this at his rare and occasional highest. Now and then, once or twice in his work, some speaker in a favored moment of great opportunity seems to pierce all fleshly stuff and go beyond to that elemental moment when hoarse cries become voice.

But Caruso had this strange power at all times, the cry that in that distant unknown past first made common action and emotion possible. He plumbed these ancient depths and awoke echoes long dead. This put him apart and gave him a universal empire.

TALCOTT WILLIAMS.



THE MILITARY BOARD OF ALLIED SUPPLY, ON WHICH GENERAL DAWES REPRESENTED THE A. E. F.
 (General Enrico Merrone, Italian Army in France; Brig.-Gen. Charles G. Dawes, American Expeditionary Forces; Brig.-Gen. Charles Jean Marie Payot, French Army; Major-General Reginald Ford, British Expeditionary Forces; Major Cumont, Belgian Army)

THE WAR EXPERIENCES OF GENERAL DAWES

THE present energetic and efficient Director of the Budget at Washington was, during the war, Chief of Supply Procurement for the A. E. F. under General Pershing. The publication of General Dawes's "Journal of the Great War"¹ will, we believe, accomplish at least two distinct results: It will make clear beyond all question the need of coördination at the rear as well as at the front of allied armies in action, and it will give the American people what they have never had till now—a realistic portrait of General Pershing as he carried himself in those momentous days when the success of American arms depended as much on him as it had ever depended on any single commander since Washington.

A book written consciously for publication might have achieved one or both of these ends with more subtle art as regards the literary clothing of ideas, and yet might have been decidedly inferior to this journal, written often at the end of busy and dreary days, sometimes late at night, when the Allied cause

seemed hanging in the balance, in bringing to the reader a sense of what was actually going on in France during those troublous times. For the writer of this journal was so powerfully impressed by the vastness of the war and the crucial importance of the problems that pressed for solution day after day that literary form was perhaps the last thing in his mind. In many instances he wrote only because he feared that if he put off composition to a later time the record might never be made, and his vivid sense of the gravity of conditions and problems made him realize that for the benefit of posterity, at least, some statement should be preserved.

General Dawes went to France in the summer of 1917 as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventeenth Engineers. He had been a banker in Chicago for many years, and before that had served as Comptroller of the Currency in the McKinley Administration. In the early '90s, while practicing law at Lincoln, Nebraska, he had known General Pershing, who at that time was an army lieutenant, designated as military instructor at the University of Nebraska. After his arrival at Paris in August, 1917, he found

¹A Journal of the Great War. By Charles G. Dawes. Houghton, Mifflin Company. Volume I, 344 pp., ill. Volume II, 283 pp., ill.

that General Pershing had planned to make him General Purchasing Agent in Europe for the A. E. F. in France. He was given full discretion and authority to devise a system of coördination of purchases, to arrange liaison connections between the French and English army boards and our own, and to use any feasible method to secure supplies for the Army in Europe, and thus relieve American shipping. (As a matter of fact, General Dawes did finally secure 10,000,000 tons of material in Europe for the American Army, as against 7,000,000 tons shipped to it from the United States.) Upon Dawes devolved the task of building up an organization within the Army and at the same time establishing such contacts outside as would secure these unprecedented results. The story of how this was done is told in the notes that he jotted down from day to day, supplemented by the official communications which are printed in full.

It was his experience and observation as Chief of Supply Procurement in bringing about centralization and coördination of authority over services in the rear of our own Army that made General Dawes, in the spring of 1918, an ardent advocate of an extension of the centralization plan over the rear of the three Allied armies in France. Marshal Foch took supreme command on March 27, 1918, and at once it became evident that his power did not extend over any lines of communication except those of his own army. As Dawes puts it: "With the central command he could fight the three armies as one army only so far as the rigid supply organization of the English and American armies, of which he had no control or essential knowledge, would allow of their movement."

In seeking the unification of the Allied supply systems at the rear of the armies General Dawes, who had the hearty support of his commander-in-chief, had in mind a coördination of effort and an economy of production that would extend to the home countries—England, the United States, and the South of France. He saw that unnecessary supplies were continually coming to each army and that many of these were carried in

ships that should have been used for the transport of soldiers. This resulted, as he says, "from lack of any bird's-eye view of the supply situation of the three armies considered as one." Centralized control, in his view, was the essential method of preventing incalculable waste of lives and property. His book abounds in illustrations of this principle, which he regarded as fundamental in modern warfare.

The unification proposed by General Dawes at that time was not brought about, but a "Military Board of Allied Supply" was created and placed in control of the Allied rear. This board could issue orders to the Allied armies by unanimous agreement. General Dawes himself is convinced that if this board had come into existence in the beginning, instead of within four months of the end of the war, far greater results might have been achieved. The reader, however, will be impressed by the brilliant success, all difficulties considered, with which the enormous task of the A. E. F. Supply Department was accomplished. Beside such an achievement, nothing in our Civil War experience seems worthy of comparison. The American public knew little of this effort at the time, and it was not until after the Armistice that facts and figures began to be disclosed in the newspapers.

General Pershing figures in this journal as his friends would wish him to go down to history—the alert, capable, far-seeing commander, tactful in all his relations with the Allied generals, resourceful in bringing into action the best that America had to offer in the common cause, relentless in demanding of his subordinates the very utmost of effort. Yet to Dawes the "C-in-C." is always "John." The old days in Nebraska are ever in the background. We may well believe that the playful Western camaraderie of "John" and "Charley" did something to relieve the tensivity of tragic situations, and we shall always be thankful that in those "times that tried men's souls" afresh the direction of America's war effort was entrusted to men whose Americanism was so rugged and thoroughgoing that none could call it in question.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WHERE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS FALLEN SHORT

LESS than a month before the unexpected decision of France and England at the Paris Conference to refer the Silesian dispute to the League of Nations, a correspondent of the *New Statesman* (London) contributed to that journal a review of the achievements of the League during its eighteen months of existence, in which he declared that the Foreign Offices of Europe do not believe in the League and are fighting hard for the old order. In the first paragraph of his article, however, he replies to those critics of the League who have asserted that it is not a practical executive body.

Noting the fact that the Assembly of the League is to meet for the second time in September, that the Council has met thirteen times, that it has held a financial conference at Brussels and a transit conference at Barcelona, this writer reminds us that the League has settled a serious dispute between two nations—Sweden and Finland—that threatened war, and that it has averted another war between Poland and Lithuania. Furthermore, it has repatriated more than 350,000 war prisoners, has initiated an anti-typhus campaign in Eastern Europe, and is successfully administering two internationalized areas—Danzig and the Valley of the Sarre. Where the Supreme Council failed in the rehabilitation of Austria the League seems in a fair way to succeed. Finally, all the preliminary steps toward a permanent Court of International Justice have been taken.

This record, however, good as it is, has failed to satisfy those upholders of the League who still cherish hopes that were formed in 1919. Admitting that the League in its brief existence has done well, it is asserted that it ought to have done very much better.

In his analysis of the situation the *New Statesman* correspondent begins by making clear the fact that the League is two things:

a piece of machinery, and a body of individuals. As to the machinery—consisting of the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat—it seems to be agreed that while there is room for improvement, it is well conceived and capable of doing all that need be asked of it. But the machinery must be worked in the right spirit by the right men, and this brings us to the real core of the discussion.

After all, if there is anything wrong with the personnel, the blame lies with the governments that compose the League. This writer combats the notion that the League is an independent entity, extraneous to governments. It is, of course, an association of governments,

brought formally and deliberately into being by them by an instrument as binding as the four or five treaties which severally embody it. It is the forty-eight governments concerned that appoint



ANNIVERSARY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
DOCTOR: "Parents! I am afraid your child will come to nothing!"
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)

the members of the League Assembly. It is the eight governments concerned that appoint the members of the League Council. It is the governments which, by executing or failing to execute individually the decisions they take collectively as League members, make the League an effective force or a mere object of derision to the world.

How, in point of fact, are the governments treating the League? Take the eight Council Powers. The Council is the standing executive instrument of the League. If the League is to fulfil its functions with the smallest hope of success, the Council must be staffed with the ablest statesmen the nations represented are in a position to nominate. Normally, the Prime Ministers or Foreign Secretaries should sit in person. They can attend the Supreme Council of the Allies; it should not, therefore, be impossible for them to attend the Council of the League, which at present meets only four times a year. In the case of three of the powers concerned—Japan, China and Brazil—there are difficulties that have to be recognized. Distance forbids the frequent attendance of a Cabinet Minister at Geneva, and the expedient of representation by ambassadors already stationed in Europe must be accepted. But consider the other five members. Great Britain sends—whom? Never the Prime Minister. Never, except on one purely formal occasion, the Foreign Secretary.

It is contended that neither Mr. Balfour nor Mr. Fisher has the indispensable qualification of a Council member of possessing sufficient authority with his government to carry it with him in any decision that he approves.

So much for Great Britain on the League Council. France sends habitually M. Léon Bourgeois, worthy, venerable, a profound believer in the League, but without the smallest connection with, or influence over, French foreign policy. At the last Council there sat as substitute M. Hanotaux, who having been Foreign Minister over twenty years ago has never had a place in a French Cabinet since. Spain sends an ambassador; Italy a retired ambassador, the Marquis Imperiali, a highly decorative figure in society, and distinguished at the last meeting of the Council for

the zeal with which he consistently combatted the attempts of Mr. Fisher, Dr. Wellington Koo and the Secretary-General to substitute publicity for secrecy.

Yet the Council has done good work. This is attributed by the writer to two or three of the members, notably the Belgian representative, M. Paul Hymans, reinforced by the permanent officials on the Secretariat. Nevertheless—and this applies to both Council and Assembly—whenever the League is most determined to go forward the governments are most resolved to pull it back. The International Court is an instance.

On the question of mandates the activities of the League have thus far been practically fruitless, and this, too, is charged to the negligence and obstinacy of the various governments concerned.

From the British viewpoint, the writer discerns one ray of hope:

Why trouble to discuss further what is wrong with the League? What is wrong with the League is the governments that compose it, the governments that solemnly enter into obligations one year and diligently dishonor them the next, the governments that send their first-rank men to sit on the Supreme Council and their third and fourth and fifth-rank men to represent them at Geneva. The outlook is depressing enough, for there can be no hope of a good League till there are good governments in the countries associated in the League. But even bad governments will do under menace what they are never likely to do from sound motives. And if one great power can be compelled to do its duty by the League the others will be bound to follow suit. That is the hopeful feature in the situation. No man has his ear more perpetually to the ground than the Prime Minister, and if once the millions of voters in this country—for that is not putting the figure too high—who made war and made peace for a League of Nations world, not a secret-diplomacy, balance-of-power world, can make themselves felt at elections the government will change front fast enough.

THE RUSSIAN PEASANT

IN view of the intense and world-wide interest at the present moment in Russian agricultural conditions, the article in *Asia* for September on "New Peasants of New Russia," by Moissaye J. Olgin, has special timeliness. This writer, although Russian by birth, writes English with all the vividness and force that could be desired. Here is his report of a conversation about food held in the house of a peasant in a Russian village:

Crops were bad that year. The rainfall had been poor. In the fields much of the rye had

dried up before it began to ear. No surplus had been left from the crops of the year before. "And the commissar," went on the master of the house, "he does not care. He comes in the name of the state and demands 'according to assessments.' He wants sixty *pood* of rye when all that was harvested amounted to little over seventy. [A *pood* is forty Russian pounds, a little over thirty-six pounds.] Strange that such assessments should be made! It was good the *volost* Soviet intervened. [A *volost* is a territorial administrative unit embracing ten to fifteen neighboring villages.] Higher up they do not think much of the *volost* Soviet; yet, when it sent representatives to the country-seat and made it



From the William A. Wovschin Collection

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC RECEIVING REPORTS OF NEEDS IN A UKRAINIAN VILLAGE
(President Kalinin is fifth from the left of the picture, and is leaning on a cane. Third from the left is General Budeny, of the Red Army)

clear that the village was in bad plight, a commission arrived. It opened hearings and took stock and cut down the rates more than half. Still, life is hard. Toward spring it will be harder. Of course, everybody knows that the city has to live. Poor devils, they do not have it easy, either. How can they get along without the food from the village?"

And then a long conversation ensued as to the needs of the "people." Salt came first. Salt was just as necessary as bread. The government, it appeared, did not furnish enough salt. Nails and kerosene were needed badly. The government was in arrears with nails and kerosene and calico and most of the other things. "Maybe it is nobody's fault," my host commented, philosophically. "If the factories do not manufacture on account of the blockade and the war, who can be blamed? *'Na nyet i sudá nyet.'* Where there's nothing to be had, the judgment of the court stops. But is there nothing to be had? Look at the profiteer. The government says there is not enough salt. Yet you go to town, to the secret merchant, and for twelve hundred rubles a pound you can get as much salt as you please. Now, where does the profiteer get his salt? He cannot manufacture it himself. He must get it from a government agent. This means that the government is corrupt. Instead of giving the salt to the people, he sells it to the profiteer for good cash. That hurts. What guaranty have we that our grain goes to the people and not to the profiteer? Why should we work in the sweat of our brow to make the merchant rich?" [Both a fixed percentage for taxes in kind and free trade for the peasants were introduced in Russia early this spring.]

It is Mr. Olgin's belief that much time must elapse before the Russian village emerges as "a place of labor, enlightenment, and happiness." Still the human material is there, and the work of regeneration has begun:

The village is not isolated from national life, as it was in former days. Coöperation between city and country is the great theme of discussion at every village fireside. After the end of civil war, toward the beginning of the current year, the demobilized Red Army man came home. He brought with him tales of battles, pride in heroic deeds accomplished, confidence in the existing order and a new desire for creative work. He is interested as never before in the output of industries, in transport conditions, in questions of war and peace. The central government is doing its utmost to utilize this new, vivid sense of responsibility. Peasants' conferences are a frequent occurrence. Peasants' representatives are called to the seat of the province and even to the capital, where they confer with the highest state officials.

On the other hand, guests are coming to the village from the wide world. The city worker comes home for a brief stay or for a long vacation when he is out of work; he brings with him the revolutionary spirit and the Socialist faith. The propaganda-train stops at the village, gives a few cinema shows, organizes talks on the best methods of tillage, distributes posters and leaflets, shows samples of seeds, vegetables, fruits—in general, it gives the village a "shake-up." Once or twice a year a "Peasants' Week" is

organized. Hosts of city people, skilled and unskilled workers, men and women rush to the village. The blacksmiths, the carpenters, the plumbers help repair the implements and the wagons and the houses of the peasants; the unskilled help gather the harvest; girls who have been trained take care of the peasants' babies and give the mothers lessons in nursing or scientific cooking. "Peasants' Week" breaks the monotony of the village life, introducing a holiday spirit and showing the peasant how much city folk are concerned with his well-being.

Before the coming of the present food crisis the Russian peasant was provided with

the most primitive necessities of life. Mr. Olgin thought that perhaps he was rather better supplied with food than before the war, but he was in sore need of clothing, implements, fertilizer, wagons, iron and steel products. Not only primary, but secondary schools have been opened for his children, but there are not enough teachers, and text-books, paper, pencils, and pictures are pitifully lacking. In cold weather many pupils cannot come to school for want of boots and coats. The school buildings are old.

THE COLLEGE CLOSED BY KEMAL

IN the city of Marsovan, Anatolia, two days' journey from the south shore of the Black Sea, is Anatolia College, an institution which is described by the *Missionary Herald* (Boston, Mass.) as "larger than Middlebury of Vermont, than Beloit of Wisconsin, than Elmira of New York, or than Williams of Massachusetts." This college was founded thirty-five years ago. It is incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts, and in its faculty are ten Americans, including the president, Dr. George White. Up to January, 1921, it numbered among its students Russians, Armenians, Greeks, and Turks. The story of what has happened recently to Anatolia College is thus related by the *Missionary Herald*:

With America's entry into the war, all Americans were sent away from Marsovan. A group of five returned in a few months and held the ground till President White and others of the

college faculty and mission force returned after the Armistice.

The college began at once to function again; students returned; a faculty was collected; one student was graduated in 1920, and by the end of that year there were peacefully at work in Marsovan, in the college, more than 200 students; in the preparatory department and orphanages, which were a war product, 200 boys; in the two institutions for girls, one an orphanage, the other the Marsovan Girls' School, about 400; so that 800 young people were being educated on the premises.

Then, out of a clear sky, came the accusation that Anatolia College was a source of political propaganda, and the order to close college, girls' school, and hospital; and for all Americans to leave the city and country except three, who were allowed to remain and guard the property. What became of the students or the children we do not know. Neither has anything been heard from the young trio left in charge of the college plant. The faculty and workers who were turned out are in Samsoun and in Constantinople, working and hoping that they may get back to Marsovan.

This was the beacon light upon which the

Turkish Nationalist leader put the extinguisher. Anatolia College is closed, Marsovan Hospital commandeered, Marsovan station scattered. But things are never settled until they are settled *right*. The official seal of Anatolia College shows the breaking up of heavy clouds over a dark land as they are touched by the rays of the rising sun. Anatolia College's motto is, "The Morning Cometh."

It is impossible to hold back the morning, and the spirit of this college is not dead. Its future will be as bright as the present seems dark. Indeed, the very word "Anatolia" means "Land of the Rising Sun."

So far as known, the college buildings remain intact.



BUILDINGS AND CAMPUS OF ANATOLIA COLLEGE

(Grouped around the main building—the one nearest the clock tower in the picture—are other buildings, new or under way, such as library, gymnasium, science buildings, hospital, and chapel)

A JEW'S CRITICISM OF ZIONISM

SO many articles have been published in recent years in advocacy of Zionism that it causes some surprise to see in print a severe arraignment of this cult as "the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history." This opinion is expressed by no less a personage than Mr. Henry Morgenthau, former American Ambassador to Turkey, writing in the August number of the *World's Work* (London).

Mr. Morgenthau has known the Jew intimately in all the lands where he dwells in large numbers, and has studied his problems on his own ground. As Ambassador to Turkey he came into daily official contact with the Jews from all parts of the Near East, "not only the Jews of Turkey and of the Turkish protectorate in Palestine itself, but also the Jews of Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria, to say nothing of the accredited representatives of the Zionist Party in Constantinople."

Later, as the head of President Wilson's commission to investigate the alleged pogroms of Poland, following the armistice in 1919, Mr. Morgenthau spent several months on the ground in Poland and Galicia and talked with thousands of Jews in every walk of life. He says:

I speak as a Jew. I speak with fullest sympathy for the Jew everywhere. I have seen him in his poverty—despised, hated, spat upon, beaten, murdered. My blood boils with his at the thought of the indignities and outrages to which he is subjected. I, too, would find for him, for me, the way out of this morass of poverty, hatred, political inequality, and social discrimination.

But, is Zionism that way? I assert emphatically that it is not. I deny it, not merely from an intellectual recoil from the fallacy of its reasoning, but from my very experience of life: as a seeker after religious truth, as a practical business man, as an active participant in politics, as one who has had experience in international affairs, and as a Jew who has at heart the best interests of his co-religionists.

As to the economic aspect of the Zionist program, Mr. Morgenthau declares that it is impossible. After working for thirty years with the aid of millions of money supplied by philanthropic Jews in France, England, Germany, and America, the total result of Zionist operations at the outbreak of the World War was the movement of 10,000 Jews from other lands to the soil of Palestine. In the same period, as Mr. Morgenthau points out, a million and a half Jews migrated to America.

Mr. Morgenthau proceeds to show that Palestine cannot support a large Jewish population in prosperity. Of the 13,000,000 Jews in the world, the Zionist organization claims for Palestine a maximum possible population of five millions. After careful study on the spot, Mr. Morgenthau estimates that Palestine cannot support more than 1,000,000 additional inhabitants:

Palestine is in area about equal to the State of Massachusetts; and that New England State, blest (as Palestine is not) with plentiful water, ample water-powers, abundant forestation, and a good soil, supports only four million people. This bald comparison, however, does not begin to tell the story. Massachusetts is an integral part of a tremendously prosperous nation of one hundred million souls. She enjoys all the advantages of a highly industrialized community, and of established commercial intercourse with the rest of the most progressive nations in the world.

This is the condition of Palestine: not only must agriculture be pursued under the greatest possible handicaps of soil and water, but it is subject to the direct competition of far more favored lands in the very agricultural products for which it is distinctive.

Not only is the Zionist project economically unsound, but, according to Mr. Morgenthau, it is politically impossible and spiritually inadequate. He condenses his affirmative arguments against Zionism in the following paragraphs:

We anti-Zionist Jews have found that the spiritual life, after whatever formula of faith, in modern times can be most fully enjoyed by those people who accept the beneficent progress which the world at large has made in science, industry, and the art of government. We have learned the folly of persisting in the sanitary regulations taught by Moses, in this age when all civilized peoples have the benefit of the more advanced sanitary knowledge of Lister, Pasteur, Metchnikoff, and Flexner. We have learned the folly of persisting in a distinctive style of clothing, beard, and locks (imposed upon the Jews extraneously as a badge of slavery and oppression), and of ascribing a spiritual significance to such a costume in this age when saints like Montefiore and Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the great patron of Palestine, find sanctity not incompatible with the ordinary dress of those about them.

It follows, then, that the Jew everywhere (in Poland and Russia, as well as in Great Britain, France, and America) can acceptably serve the God of his fathers and still enter fully into the life about him. We refuse to set ourselves apart in a voluntary ghetto for the sake of old traditional observances.

Therefore, I refuse to allow myself to be called a Zionist. I am an American.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

FOLLOWING is the introductory paragraph of Dr. Eduard Bernstein's article on "The Evolution of the German Republic" in the *Contemporary Review* (London) for July:

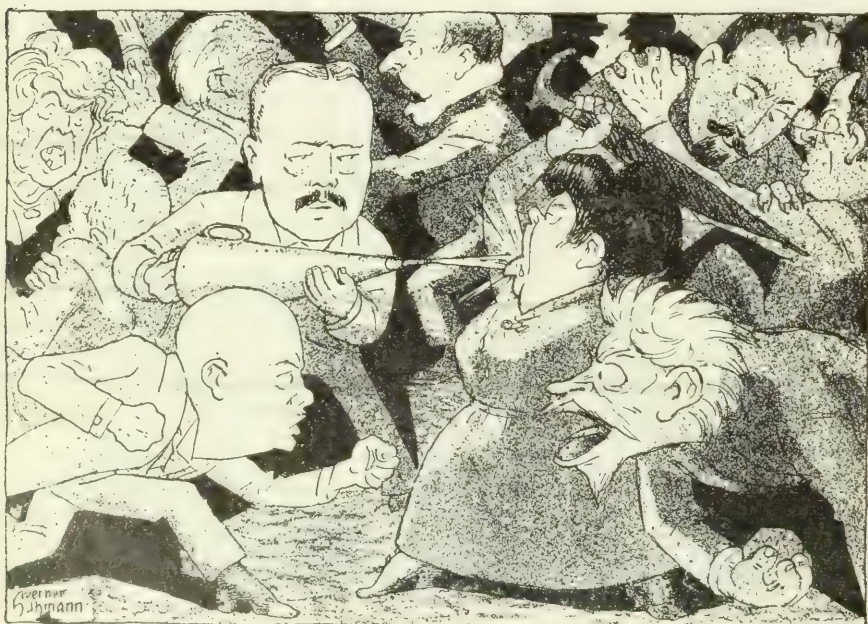
Up to the first week of May, 1921, the evolution of the German Republic has been an almost uninterrupted descent from the position of a working-class democracy, with decidedly Socialistic tendencies, to an almost purely middle-class republic. To the government of the Council of Commissaries of the people, composed of an equal number of members of the two Social Democratic parties that had been nominated by the Berlin workers on November 10, 1918, the day after the proclamation of the Republic, had followed at the end of that year a government of only members of Majority Socialists, to be followed, on February 13, 1919, by a coalition of Majority Socialists, Democrats, and Center Party, until, after the general election of June, 1920, a coalition had been formed that counted amongst its members not one Social Democrat, and only three members of the so-called German People's Party, a new edition of the National Liberals, republican only *pro tempore*.

His explanation of this change is that the principle of constitutional democracy, based on universal suffrage, having been accepted, a Socialist government was only possible with the majority of the nation behind it, and the election of January, 1919, to the Constituent Assembly showed that such a majority did not exist. Of a total of over 30,000,000 votes, less than 14,000,000 were given for Socialists. By June, 1920, the Socialist vote

had fallen to 11,000,000. There can be no doubt, then of the reaction in German politics.

On the surface there are in the present Reichstag of 469 members only 76 declared enemies of the constitution—viz., 71 members of the German National People's Party (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*), which is, in fact, only the old Conservative Party plus the declared Antisemites and some political sectarians, and 25 Communists who swear by the Bolshevik doctrine of Soviet dictatorship. But the remaining 373 members are by no means all thorough republicans. The Populists or National Liberals, with 65 members, have accepted the Republic only because it is there, with the proviso of the Vicar of Bray, "until the times do alter." The two middle-class democratic parties, the Centrum with 72 members, and the Democratic Party with 40 members, go further, and stand by the Republic as a necessity under the circumstances, and the 20 members of the Bavarian People's Party take a similar attitude. These three parties have voted for the republican constitution after having participated in its elaboration, and will not support or favor movements for its overthrow. But whether they and their followers would in cases of emergency fight for it is doubtful.

Only the Majority Socialists with their 108 and the Independents with their 61 members could be relied on. But the latter, though determined to combat with the utmost energy any attempt to reestablish the Monarchy, have not yet resolved to allow the Republic in its present shape the means of living. They have accepted the Soviet doctrine, and refuse to support any government not solely composed of representatives of organized labor. The two general elections and subsequent local elections have shown that Germany for some time to come can only exist as a democratic republic, that it will depend for its government on a coalition, and that a determined Republican coalition can only be formed if the Social Democrats are ready to combine with the middle-class Democrats. This the Majority Socialists have seen, and they have acted accordingly. It necessitated many sacrifices in the shape of concessions to their middle-class allies, and has exposed them to all sorts of denunciations as traitors from Independents and Communists. But they have proved their insight into the political necessities of the commonwealth, and earned the claim to call themselves the pillar of the Republic.



"WE HAVE NOT PEACE IN OUR FOREIGN POLITICS BUT AT LEAST WE HAVE IT IN OUR INTERNAL POLITICS"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

Dr. Wirth is the head of a minority government.

TIDINGS FROM THE SEA

THE venerable gentleman who is prince of oceanographers as well as Prince of Monaco recently visited this country to receive the Agassiz medal of the National Academy of Sciences. At the annual meeting of the Academy, in Washington, the Prince delivered an address in which he gave an interesting summing-up of his researches carried out on his admirably equipped yachts; viz.,—in order of construction—*l'Hirondelle*, *la Princesse Alice*, *la Princesse II*, and *l'Hirondelle II*. The address is published in the current number of the *Scientific Monthly* (Utica, N. Y.)

Unquestionably one of the most striking results of these investigations was the discovery that there is a diurnal vertical migration of a large part of the oceanic fauna. Creatures that live at enormous depths during the day, and are therefore almost inaccessible to the oceanographer who dredges only in the daytime, rise by night close to the surface, where they are easily captured. The Prince says on this subject:

I was able to make a net, the opening and closing of which could be controlled on board the ship. This ensemble of improvements enabled us to establish, by means of operations carried out by day and by night at various depths, that there exists in those vast spaces a whole bathypelagic world undergoing vertical oscillation by which some individuals are dragged up from the lowest level at which they live to within fifty meters of the surface, the process occurring only at night. Consequently, we now find at about midnight, quite close to the surface, strange animals which we formerly, when operating in broad daylight, had to seek through most elaborate means at a depth of several thousand meters. Hence we know that those animals live in a state of perpetual vertical oscillation the period of which is twenty-four hours. We have also found that such animals as are able to undergo this enormous displacement more frequently belong to the species provided with luminous organs.

Besides making notable contributions to the biology of the sea, the Prince and his collaborators have solved many problems relating to physical oceanography, have sounded the depths of the atmosphere over the ocean with kites and balloons, and have gathered much highly practical information regarding marine currents, fisheries, etc. As an example of an interesting physical investigation the following may be quoted:

With regard to phenomena relating to light, Messrs. Bertel and Grein have pursued very

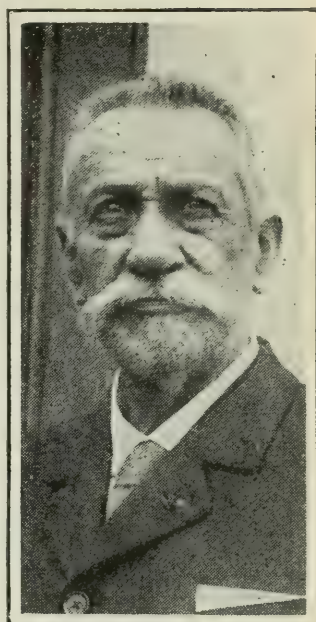
important investigations at the Monaco Oceanographical Museum concerning the penetration of the various light radiations into the depth of seawater. Mr. Grein in particular has succeeded in securing a photographic print on highly sensitive plates exposed between 10 A. M. and 1 P. M., at a depth of 1500 meters.

The main results may be stated as follows: If we set down as 1000 the amount of light radiations reaching 1 meter down, we find that there remains at 5 meters but 3.7 of red and at 50 meters but 0.0021; at 5 meters there remains but 2.5 of orange-yellow and at 100 meters but 0.001. For green the figures are 230 at 5 meters and 0.0003 at 1000 meters; for blue they are 450 at 5 meters and 0.0001 at 1000 meters; for violet blue, 866 at 5 meters, 0.003 at 1000 meters, and 0.00001 at 1500 meters. It was already known that the light radiations were absorbed in the above order but in what ratios they reach various depths was not known.

A result of the Prince's long studies of ocean currents, quite undreamed of when these studies were in progress, is thus described:

Having for a score of years observed the currents of the North Atlantic Ocean by means of extensive experiments based on organized flotation methods, I was, when the war broke out, quite prepared for the question of what becomes of the wandering mines drifting from the mine fields which were soon placed near the coasts of both continents. I again took up my previous formulæ which had enabled me to draw a chart of the great currents sweeping along or connecting Europe and America, and owing to the similarity between the drifting of mines and the method I had used during my earlier investigations it became possible for me recently to present the navigators on the North Atlantic Ocean with a very accurate chart of the course followed by those formidable engines. On this chart one can see an immense circle, whose center is indicated by the Azores, described by the mines in a period of about four years, such being the space of time necessary for the completion of their voyage from the English Channel to the Canaries, the West Indies and back.

My calculations for this work are accurate with respect to the direction and the velocity of the currents, for the hydrographical and meteorological officers on both sides of the ocean observe the passing by or meeting of mines in the manner I



© Paul Thompson

PRINCE OF MONACO

had announced to navigators. The two sets of results mutually confirm each other after thirty-five years' interval.

Concerning the results of excessive fishing in certain parts of the ocean, and especially the damage wrought by the fleets of steam trawlers, the Prince says:

The latter now graze the very soil of continental plateaux, plucking off the seaweeds and ruining the bottoms that are fittest for the breeding as well as the preservation of a great many species. So much so that in a few years' time the means of maintenance of hundreds of thousands of fishermen and their families on the coasts of Europe will have disappeared.

The trawlers steadily work farther and farther, deeper and deeper, in ever increasing numbers; and wherever their devastation is possible a waste is involved which certainly exceeds 50 per cent. of the edible produce they seek. For we must include in this summary valuation the young the trawl maims and kills as it passes, and those that reach the ship in such condition that they are useless and in some cases untransportable. Near the Arguin bank on the west African coast a still more intensive waste occurs, which is owing to purely commercial causes.

In order to check this evil, I suggest the meeting of international conferences possessing the most drastic powers to enforce the decisions that are to be arrived at. I would recommend the adoption of the reserved district principle, which has always been very efficient for the preservation of wild terrestrial species, because it rests on logic and simplicity. Besides, it is now showing its value in those parts of the sea where the war raged and fishing was held up for a few years; as soon as fishing was resumed plenty of fish has

been found, some specimens being of a size unheard of for thirty years.

Toward the close of his address the speaker describes what is, perhaps, from a scientific point of view, his most important undertaking, and one in which he now enjoys the coöperation of hydrographic and oceanographic centers all over the world; viz., the publication of a bathymetric chart of the oceans on a scale of 1 to 1,000,000. In connection with this task an ingenious new method of sounding has been developed, as thus described.

If we had no more rapid system for taking soundings than that which requires each time the stopping of the ship to send a lead to the bottom, many years would still be required for the completion of such a task; but the method of M. Marti, a hydrographic engineer in the French navy, will doubtless soon enable us to take lines of soundings with almost the usual speed of a ship under way.

M. Marti obtains the marking upon a very sensitive recorder of a slight explosion produced always under the same conditions. This record, being repeated in like manner by the echo sent back from the submarine floor, allows of a measurement of depth with greater precision than by any other procedure. The principal experiments have been carried on at the Oceanographic Museum of Monaco, and it is to be hoped that M. Marti's method of sounding will be employed everywhere. When applied to slight depths it would render great services to navigation; and as for my bathymetric map, it would very soon be completed.

ART IN SOVIET RUSSIA

A GREAT deal has been written about the status of art under the Bolsheviks. The opinions of foreign observers who have had the good fortune to be admitted to the Soviet land differ widely, as in everything else concerning the Bolsheviks. It is, therefore, interesting to read the view of Boris Sokoloff, a Russian journalist, who has recently left his native land. In an article written for the *Volia Rossii* (Prague), Mr. Sokoloff divides the history of Russian art during the three years of Bolshevik rule into three periods. The first period was

a protest against academism; a protest against routine and opportunism in art; a protest against the domination of a group of old artist academicians, who long ceased to produce but who had the authority. It was, lastly, a protest of the young against the old, the hungry and the beginners against the prosperous and the successful.

And having overthrown the old gods, having

seized the academies and art schools, having introduced into them a number of young or rather "Left" artists, the artistic fraternity of Russia in the first year of the Bolshevik revolution lived through a period of feverish and intensive quest. In this wave of peculiar and revolutionary creativeness were artists of all schools, of all possible tendencies. There were realists and impressionists, but most of all there were futurists and cubists. And this is easily explainable: they were the most "Left," the most revolutionary in art. And thus there was gradually established the dictatorship of the "Left" artists, the futurists and cubists. All posts, the most responsible in the realm of art, were filled by artists of the most pronounced "Left" school—the futurist Tatlin, the futurist Steinberg, and many others. Absolutely alien to communism, they were summoned to reign because of their "Left" tendencies, their modernism in art. In their hands were the museums, exhibitions, and, the most important—appropriations and money.

Hundreds of thousands and millions of rubles were given by the government to the artists. About a hundred busts were ordered in the first



Photograph from Dr. Wovschin's Collection

CLASS OF RUSSIAN CHILDREN RECEIVING INSTRUCTION IN SCULPTURE

year of the revolution by the Soviet government. The orders were given, as a rule, almost without exception, to young artists and sculptors. At the anniversary of the October revolution in 1918 many hundreds of thousands of rubles were given to the art association for the decoration of the capitals—Moscow and Petrograd.

It must be noted here that if most of the orders for busts and monuments were given to the "Left" artists; the museums likewise acquired almost exclusively the paintings of "Left" artists.

But the reign of the futurists and cubists was of short duration. The Bolshevik government had its own views and showed an inclination to shape art according to its own plans. This is seen from the utterances of Kameneff, then President of the Moscow Soviet, in 1919. Mr. Sokoloff quotes him as follows:

Enough of this clownish performance! The worker-peasant government must decisively stop the support which is given all kinds of futurists, cubists, and imaginists—all these contortionists—they are not proletarian artists and their art is not ours. They are the product of bourgeois corruption, bourgeois degeneration. We want a real proletarian art, comprehensible to workmen and peasants, such as is near and dear to them. Such art we must create, and we will create.

Another prominent Bolshevik and art critic thus expressed his conception of art:

Bourgeois art must perish. Those artists must

thing they call beauty. There are other artists, and to them belongs the future in the proletarian state. These can do something bigger. They can turn out artistic works. These artists paint that which is needed by the proletarian state. To-day they paint pictures, tomorrow, posters, placards or signs. It depends upon the need. And only such artists are wanted by the commune. For they perform a definite, socially useful service. Only such work gives the artist a right to be on the same level with the other laboring groups of the commune—the shoemakers, carpenters, tailors.

As the result of these theoretical discussions [continues the writer] there began a campaign, a logical and inevitable campaign, against bourgeois art. The dictatorship of futurism and cubism is abolished, for they are declared bourgeois parasites. The credits, appropriations, for them are canceled, and all subsidies to non-proletarian artists in general are cut off. The busts and monuments erected in 1918 cannot be made in marble or copper in 1919, because there are no means. The clay products gradually crumble and perish. And only two or three monuments, made of marble, remained the sole relics of the period. Artists but recently prosperous again are falling into poverty, are compelled to get employment in various institutions as clerks and typists, to work there where it is warmer and where there is more food. And only those who were ready to paint placards and posters, who were imbued with the practical spirit of the period, only those were generously and richly subsidized. A street propaganda poster was paid for during that period four or five times

The Soviet government during that period attempted to create its own art. It set tasks, put certain conditions, dictated the general scope of art. And in its desire to have art products intelligible to the proletariat, it . . . brought about a return to naturalism in art, and in its desire to combine practical problems with art it called into life the primitiveness of the poster, the placard-advertisement.

In 1920 Russian art entered its third period:

The year 1920 shows a curious picture of the confusion of Russian art. The futurists and cubists, who were so largely represented in the first year of the revolution, are now silent. . . . There are no gatherings, no discussions, recently so numerous. Neither Moscow nor Petrograd has now any exhibitions. One hears nothing about new pictures of the "Left" artists, about new works of modern sculptors. They have faded in the heavy atmosphere of the contemporary Soviet materialism, having been disappointed with the Soviet revolution and the Soviet government. They cannot renounce their native individualism, of which they have a great measure, and therefore they are—and in a sense they are not.

Proletarian art! That remained an unrealized dream. Perhaps in another country or at another time, but in Russia, where the proletariat is so closely intertwined with the people, in no way differing from them and sharing their tastes, the organization of a proletarian art proved an impossibility. With this view the Soviet government also had to agree. With it, after disputing a little, Lunacharsky agreed. And the twentieth year brought the liquidation of the "Proletcults," institutions in which they attempted to create a proletarian, their own, class culture,

in which they wanted to bring forth their art, their own theater.

Says the *Theater Bulletin* (Petrograd):

The "Proletcults" have demonstrated their total incapacity. They have cost the government enormous sums of money and they gave nothing in return. Instead of a genuine proletarian theater, they created primitive performances, and instead of proletarian art they gave us posters and placards in which there is no art whatever and proletarian are only the figures of the workmen painted on them. No, not in such way can the development of proletarian art progress.

Mr. Sokoloff goes on:

And the proletarian art did not manifest itself during that year. Neither exhibitions nor paintings nor sculpture which could be considered as coming from the "proletariat" were in evidence. . . . Instead, there were a number of exhibitions, interesting and many-sided. . . . But they all were made up for the most part of productions of former years, only finished now. What strikes one particularly is the absence of "revolution" at those exhibitions. It is not represented, it is not reflected . . . two or three portraits of leaders in the Bolshevik movement—those are all that any of these exhibitions can boast of.

The writer concludes with the following words:

And now, in the dusk of Russian art-life, from the loud words, from the many dreams, from the clay busts, there have remained shattered hopes and rain-soaked pedestals in the streets of the capitals.

WHY FRANCE WANTS A GREATER POLAND

AT the meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris the extremes of French opinion on the Silesian question were disclosed. Mr. Simonds has considered these radical views in this month's article, as well as in earlier numbers of the REVIEW. The French magazines have given them much prominence.

The *Mercure de France* for July 15 has a long article by M. de la Revelière which reveals clearly the wide gap that has threatened to open between the French and the English, or indeed between the French and all their recent allies, not wholly excepting ourselves. Mr. Lloyd George is accused, at the outset, of "seeking new friendships," in siding with Germany on the Silesian problem. The French "dropped the substance

for the shadow when they yielded to the plan of an idealistic and dictatorial transatlantic professor. We have seen a large part of our indemnity, our claims, our rights, vanish."

We Americans, it seems, came into the war merely to get rid of Germany as an economic and commercial rival, and invested our "tens of billions" in the war to secure in Europe customers compelled indefinitely to buy of us, on credit, at oppressively high profit. Italy was equally deliberate and cold-blooded; Russia merely wobbled from her traditional subservience to Germany, to which she is already returning. Belgium was France's only sincere ally, and both are being sacrificed to prevent any rivalry with British commerce. It is even declared that

France's troops are being craftily kept busy, for that same end.

The democracy and the passive submissiveness of Germany are alike mere temporary camouflage. Many of the royal personages are still living in honor among their own people. A very interesting footnote runs:

The Congress of German geographers, just held at Leipsic, decided to keep unchanged the ante-war atlas for school use. The lands lost by Germany as a result of the war, such as Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig, Posen, West Prussia, with Danzig, and the foreign colonies, will still appear in this atlas as parts of the Empire.

The writer seriously fears the reunion of Bohemia as well as Hungary with Austria, the restoration of Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, the revival of the whole "Mittel Europa" combination, and a crusade of revenge for the destruction of France. The addition of a willing Russia would renew the Holy Alliance and make this mass irresistible.

The creation of a Greater Poland as a buffer state can alone keep Russia and Germany apart. The whole story of the three historic partitions of Poland is retold in detail, to emphasize the theory that she should have all the territories she ever held



JOHN HAS HAD ENOUGH OF THIS GAME

(France is itching to get into a scrap again, in Silesia or elsewhere; but Great Britain is not going to accompany her this time)

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow)



"CAN IT BE YOU, LLOYD GEORGE—ASSASSIN OF THE FRENCH IN SILESIA?"

(The shade of the Maid of Orleans is represented as arresting the hand of the British Premier, turned against her country)

From *Le Rire* (Paris)

and that the denial to her of Silesia is but a renewal of the same tripartite plot, to which the English lend themselves for fear of Danzig as a serious commercial rival.

The writer has little hope as to the financial future, or of any adequate payments on the German indemnity. The larger finances of Europe he sees absolutely in Jewish hands, and still controlled "from Frankfort" (that is, by the German Rothschilds).

A very impressive list also parades the Germanic queens, prince consorts, and so forth, still wielding strong influence from most of the European thrones. Among these, Wilhelmina's husband and Constantine's wife are naturally prominent, though Rumania, Bulgaria, Luxemburg, Denmark, Spain, the "Coburg-Gotha" line in Great Britain, and even the ill-fated Czarina Alice swell the list.

Under all these conditions, the only hope is to strengthen Poland, even at the cost of Britain's friendship. It is bitterly regretted that the unrivaled French army did not at once proceed alone to seize the Sarre valley and occupy the whole left bank of the Rhine, as the minimum of just conquest.

That the greater Poland would have a very mixed population is conceded, but the similar origin of each European power is recalled, even France having Celtic, Roman, German, Italian, Spanish, and Scandinavian elements with varying proportions in its several domains.

An apparently accurate and valuable detailed statement as to the extent of forests, acreage, agricultural and mineral products and manufactures of Poland (pp. 308-10) is fully credited to a report, in *La Pologne*, April, 1920, by the "general secretary of the Franco-Polish Chamber of Commerce"—in itself an interesting title. Such items as 3,000,000 tons in known deposits of petrol in Galicia, and 13,000,000 acres of highly valued forests, chiefly resinous, in Poland generally, are impressive. The million and a half tons of iron and steel produced in 1912 is typical as to the possibilities of export, particularly to France. But a real

port is indispensable; and "England, whose capitalists encircle Lenine, wishes also to control Danzig, and will not be resigned."

That such utterances as this are serious, and widely listened to by the French public, is of course a real menace to world peace and cause for anxious thought. The summing up of this article faces solemnly the worst possibilities:

In general, the interior and exterior situation is not unfavorable to the rulers of Warsaw, provided the policy of certain allies—who require one knows not what, cutting down the guarantees and payment of the war-indemnities—does not contribute to the rapid restoration of Prussia, and so to a German revival. That is the peril. The possibility of a Russo-German attack remains more acute than ever, because of their common desire to recover, as their first base for the assault, the old Eastern frontier, in order next to seek revenge in the West, and lay their hand on Europe anew, in the name of a Kaiser restored to the throne of his glory and warlike national traditions.

THE SILESIAN QUESTION AND THE ENTENTE

IN the course of an editorial discussion of the differences between France and Great Britain on the eve of the Supreme Council meeting in Paris, the London *Spectator* dwells on the fact that French policy is logically directed toward a thorough physical security against German aggression. The British conception, on the other hand, is stated as follows:

We maintain that the fundamental disagreement between France and Britain must be rediscussed on first principles. We are frankly tired of these compromises which never go to the root of the matter. The root of the matter is that we and the French have strictly opposed opinions as to how security is to be obtained for the world. France, as we have said, believes in the possibility of a physical security. We do not. We recognize that war has been reduced to a tragic absurdity. The next great war would mean that every man, woman, and child, and every resource of the country to the last half-penny, the last piece of material, and the last ounce of effort, would be engaged from the first moment. And nobody could win—at least if the losers were extinguished the winners would be bankrupt and dying. Aircraft, whatever conscientious objectors might think, would make everybody a soldier against his will. Capitals, hundreds of miles from the nominal fighting line, would be laid in ruins, and perhaps some of the safest places might be at the nominal front where it would be the custom to guard by every kind of ingenuity the persons of valuable officers. If

we are to assume that it is necessary to prepare for war on this scale, every great country will accept bankruptcy in the present in order to avoid the danger of ruin on some future occasion.

Englishmen as a whole, therefore, have come to believe, if not in the League of Nations, at all events in some kind of international coöperation such as President Harding has in mind. Over-ambitious schemes are always likely to fail. But, without overreaching, it is quite possible to get nations of good-will together, to insist, for instance, on the sanctity of treaties, to require that a definite period of notice should be given before denouncing treaties, and to agree to send to Coventry malignant nations which disregarded the public law of the world. There is nothing Utopian in such ideas as these. The Disarmament Conference at Washington itself presupposes and exacts this spirit. Every other line of action is to provoke the reign of insanity and with our own hands to write the doom of our civilization.

America and Britain are evolving a plan. It may receive checks, but its future is certain because the determination and the spirit are there. We want to help France and to give her the security she desires and deserves. But we cannot help her by means of physical force not provided for in treaties and frontiers arranged by stratagem unless we are to sacrifice the great principle plainly accepted by the English-speaking world. France has been in the past the greatest liberalizing force on the Continent of Europe, and unless we have her ready coöperation there will be another sowing of dragon's teeth, and the danger of war will be much greater than it need be. Germany cannot really be kept weak, for her strength lies in the energy of her people.

A FRENCH SCIENTIST ON BOXING

IN the *Revue Des Deux Mondes* for July 15, Mr. Charles Nordmann, an eminent physicist, writes most interestingly under the general heading "Revue Scientifique," on "La Boxe," apropos of the "knockout" administered by Mr. Dempsey to M. Carpentier. The general interest excited in the entire French nation, and indeed throughout the world, by no means indicates a "barbaric degeneracy of humanity."

The definition of the great Littré dictionary: "Boxing, a form of English fist-fighting," is by no means approved. It is recalled that at Olympia, in the golden age of Hellas, boxing held an honored place. Still earlier, in the athletic games with which Patroclus's funeral is celebrated, Homer includes a boxing match. The victor receives a mule, the vanquished a cup. Replace the patient mule with some \$300,000, put in the round cup \$200,000 of the same, and will you not have an exact picture of what occurred at Jersey City, U. S., on July 2?

Virgil in the "Aeneid" follows Homer closely, when the first anniversary of the hero's loss of his father is solemnly honored. But while the Roman poet moralizes the combat, by reversing the result and defeating the boastful champion who thinks no one will dare face him, here is added to the horrors of the fight a detailed description of the gauntlets "made of seven thick leathern straps seven times interlaced," and already bespattered with blood and brains from former victories.

This sport Lord Byron and his countrymen have revived in an infinitely humaner form. The padded gloves are so bulky that no harm is possible to the eyeball, and a blow below the waist forfeits the contest at once. The blows fall, then, on the upper chest and the head. The decisive victory is won by the "knockout," when the contestant is unable to rise within ten seconds after being prostrated. This is normally accomplished by a blow on the point of the chin.

At this juncture the writer appeals to, and quotes, a specialist in physiology, Professor Gley, and this statement is formulated:

The force of such a blow is communicated directly to the part of the cranial cavity which is in front of the ear. Here the bones at the base of the cranium are pierced by passages which multiply the vibrations, like the sounding board of the violin. Furthermore, the liquid of the inner

ear is disturbed, which affects vitally the equilibrium of a man on his feet. Hence the "knockout" produces momentary unconsciousness and inability to stand erect.

In thirty seconds all these effects vanish, without further harm.

The national pride of the author's people is soothed thus:

Very rarely—and this is the circumstance that explains Dempsey's victory, indeed, his victories—the fatal blow meets a refractory jaw, an inner ear that no shock disturbs.

That is, Carpentier got by Dempsey's guard and showered him with a succession of blows each one of which would have felled any normal man—and finally exhausted himself in the hopeless effort, thus bringing on his own defeat.

The result is accepted as a national misfortune:

It is an undoubted fact, whether deplorable or not, that the recent victory of Carpentier over Beckett, the English champion, has done quite as much for our prestige in Great Britain as many folios of diplomatic correspondence.

Any hasty notion that a real racial superiority has been demonstrated, however, is cleverly warded off by incisive remarks on the long and glorious career of another American champion, Mr. Jack Johnson. The victories of Racine, Descartes, La Voisier, Pasteur, Foch and others are held up as still unsurpassed in America.

Nevertheless, boxing is put on a superior level to wrestling, running, or any athletic test, as perfecting the command of all the muscles and organs of an ideal physical type. The great superiority of the English in vigor and lasting power into extreme old age is frankly conceded, and also that the best work in literature, art, and the higher life generally requires a perfect body. It is remarked that many masterpieces of ancient and modern sculpture were either portraits of boxers or modeled more freely after them.

The hope is forcibly expressed that all young Frenchmen will devote themselves to this most useful and least dangerous form of physical exercise, inexpensive, productive of perfect health, and most useful in putting a slender man on full terms of equality with any burly butcher or desperado who may attack him.

DISTRIBUTING POWER FROM A COAL MINE

THE price of coal has doubled within the past four years, and during the same period an immense amount of publicity has been given to methods whereby a given amount of coal can be made to yield far more power and other service than is now generally obtained. In spite of these two facts the colossal waste of coal is still the rule, intelligent economy the rare exception. Commenting on this paradoxical situation, the *Scientific American* says editorially:

Cheap mechanical power is the greatest material need of the human race at this moment. It would set to work the idle factories and the millions of idle laborers. It would abolish the high cost of living. And it is perfectly attainable by the application of knowledge now in the possession of engineers.

Here and there pioneers have set the example which all must eventually follow. Two or three coal mines have been equipped to distribute their output in the shape of electricity instead of coal. Why are there not such mines in all parts of the country where deposits of coal occur within a couple of hundred miles of a profitable market for power? The present practice of shipping coal from a mine by rail for power-production at points within range of electrical transmission is the height of grotesque absurdity. A coal mine is exactly as logical a place to generate electricity as a waterfall. The intervention of the railroads, with their high freight rates and notoriously inadequate service, is the greatest single factor in making electrical power expensive. The erection, on a general scale, of central power plants at the mouths of coal mines is capable of revolutionizing the industrial life of this country.

What is true of electricity is likewise true of gas. The natural gas industry has fully developed the technique of distributing gas to points hundreds of miles distant from the place of production. Now that the supply of natural gas is on the verge of exhaustion it is high time for the coal mines to take up the task of the expiring gas wells; to generate gas at the mine mouth, and supply it for industrial and domestic use in the surrounding regions. Here again is an opportunity for the coal operators to serve their country and their own pocketbooks at one and the same time.

The same editorial emphasizes the well-known advantages of burning coal in pulverized or "atomized" form instead of in lumps. Coal in this state is handled like a liquid and burned like a gas, with the complete and instantaneous combustion of its carbon content and without producing any smoke, soot or cinders. It saves labor as well as heat units, because the flame is as easy to regulate as a gas flame and there is, of course, no stoking.

The subject of mouth-of-mine power plants has been much to the fore in the engineering journals during the last few years. Several papers bearing on the question appear in a current number of the *Electrical Journal* (Pittsburgh). Concerning such plants, of which two already exist in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Mr. A. H. McIntire writes in one of the papers above mentioned:

Such locations are desirable from two viewpoints. They eliminate the necessity of paying a profit to coal mining and transportation companies, and afford added assurance of continuity of service, as there is no possibility of interruption of the fuel supply, due to strikes or other difficulties on the regular transportation lines. There is also the further possibility of increased economy due to the continuous use of a uniform grade of fuel whose characteristics can be thoroughly analyzed by the operating forces; whereas with purchased coal it is necessary to make use of whatever fuel the railway or water transportation companies are able to deliver. The central station industry as a whole is vitally interested in the development of these mouth-of-mine super-power plants.

The generation of gas at the mine mouth for general distribution has not yet been realized anywhere in this country, though the project has been advocated by engineers both here and abroad. Sir Arthur Duckham is one of its leading proponents in England. Such undertakings are especially opportune in those large areas of the "Gas Belt" where the supply of natural gas is on the verge of exhaustion, and where an elaborate system of mains, compressor plants, etc., is now in place, ready to take care of the distribution of artificial gas to the host of industrial establishments equipped for burning this kind of fuel, as well as to hundreds of thousands of domestic consumers throughout the region.

According to press reports a large concern domiciled in Columbus is planning to equip its coal mines in eastern Ohio to produce both electricity and gas on a very extensive scale to supply the busiest manufacturing district of that State.

It is apparent that revolutionary events are in progress in the power industry of this country, even outside of the so-called Washington-Boston Super-Power Zone, in which the Government at present takes a fostering interest.

IS LEPROSY CURABLE?

FOR centuries chaulmoogra oil has been used in the East in the treatment of leprosy. Until lately, however, it has generally been described as merely a palliative, for the dogma prevailed that this dread disease was incurable. Moreover, when the oil is used in its crude form, as has heretofore been the ordinary practice, it is nauseating and offensive to the stomach, even when taken in slowly increasing doses by capsules, so that it cannot be administered continuously for any great length of time. When given intramuscularly, it is painful and slow of absorption.

Last year Dr. J. I. McDonald, director of the Leprosy Investigation Station in Hawaii, and Dr. A. L. Dean, president and professor of chemistry at the University of Hawaii, published in *Public Health Reports* (Washington) an account of their successful use of certain chaulmoogra oil derivatives; and, although they were conservative in their claims at that time, it appears from subsequent publications, official and otherwise, that their method of treatment is now regarded as a permanent cure for leprosy. Under the heading, "Leprosy, Now a Curable Disease," an article in the *American Journal of Clinical Medicine* (Chicago) describes the new treatment and tells of its prospective use in Porto Rico. The article says:

Plans are well under way to use the new anti-leprosy treatment for the lepers on the Island of Cabras near San Juan, Porto Rico. This work is being undertaken by the U. S. Public Health Service and will result in the cure of many of these unfortunates who, for centuries, have been shunned as "unclean."

According to Mr. A. Fernos Isern, Assistant Commissioner of Health, in a letter to the manager of the Insular and Foreign Division of the American Red Cross, in Washington, D. C., groups of lepers will be brought in from the Island to the Quarantine Hospital, and there given the new treatment, which was discovered by the noted leprologist, Dr. J. I. McDonald, director of the Bureau of Scientific Investigation at Kalihi, Hawaii. This treatment is the last word of science on this matter, and has been tried with most satisfactory results in Hawaii. The preparation used is a derivative of chaulmoogra oil, which, owing to the processes used in its production, has no toxic effect on the organism, as in the case of crude oil. In the U. S. Health Department, there is enough of this medicine to treat the thirty-one lepers on the Island of Cabras for about three months.

In view of the publicity which chaulmoogra oil is now receiving it is interesting to

learn from the *Weekly News Letter* of the United States Department of Agriculture that the first photographs ever exhibited of the tree, *Taraktogenos Kurzii*, from which the oil is obtained, were shown in connection with a lecture before the Botanical Society of Washington on June 27 of the present year by Prof. J. F. Rock, one of the Government's agricultural explorers. We read:

Professor Rock has just returned from an eleven months' exploring trip through remote portions of Siam, Burma, Assam, and Bengal. He was one of the few white men ever to see *Taraktogenos Kurzii* growing, a remarkable circumstance in the face of the fact that the oil from the seeds of the tree has been prized as a leprosy remedy for hundreds of years. The explanation is that the trees grow in the fastnesses of the jungle in regions infested by various wild animals, and hitherto the seeds have been brought out only by natives, who collect them at no specific times; hence the uncertainty as to a regular supply.

The principal immediate result of Professor Rock's exploration was the sending of enough of the seeds to the United States Department of Agriculture to assure the establishment of a considerable plantation under American jurisdiction. The Hawaiian Government has set apart 100 acres of ground for the purpose. The trees, while they attain great size and age, come into bearing, it is believed within eight years after the planting of the seed.

Because of the inaccessibility of the forests producing the oil, no European people made any effort to study and apply the remedy until 1856, and then the British scientists who undertook the work distributed seeds of an entirely different tree, which have not the same curative properties, and it was not until 1899 that the mistake was discovered.

In 1902 investigations were begun by Dr. Frederick B. Power, then director of the Wellcome Chemical Research Laboratories of London, and now engaged in research work in the Bureau of Chemistry, Department of Agriculture. Dr. Power and his co-workers isolated some new physiologically active acids from chaulmoogra oil and the same acids were obtained from the oil of certain species of *Hydnocarpus*. He also prepared the ethyl ester of these acids in which form the remedy can be injected into the muscles, and a sufficient quantity can thus be introduced into the system to effect a cure. It is in this form that the oil has been used with the Hawaiian lepers, 200 of whom have apparently been permanently cured.

Professor Rock said that the news of these cures had had the result that persons who had previously concealed their disease came forward and acknowledged being leprosy victims in order to receive treatment. Realizing that world-wide circulation of the fact of these cures would result in a heavy demand for the very meager supply of *Taraktogenos Kurzii* seeds, certain interests in Hawaii arranged with Professor Rock to obtain seeds from their native source for propagation.

BUSINESS CONDITIONS IN ITALY

THE period of business depression through which the whole world is now passing has made itself very notably felt in Italy, and its phases are well described in an article contributed by Gino Olivetti to *Nuova Antologia*. The war having ended, and the industries being freed from the requirements for war products, they appeared to receive a formidable impulse from the immense demand for the needs of peace times, as the peoples of all countries had been forced for several years, on account of the scarcity of goods, to leave their wants unsatisfied, more especially in the case of those countries which had been almost entirely cut off from international traffic during the war.

At the outset, the satisfaction of those needs produced improved conditions, and for about a year and a half after the armistice no signs of economic depression could be discerned on the horizon; everywhere there was an encouraging revival of business, accompanied by rising prices, at once a cause and an effect of the inflation of credit. It seemed as though the only preoccupation was to heal the wounds of the war.

Generally speaking, if any apprehension could be said to dim the roseate-hued prospect, it was the fear that production, because of the insufficiency of raw materials, and because of the restlessness of the working people, which caused the loss of innumerable days of labor, would not be able to satisfy the new and urgent demands of the consumers. Soon, however, only too soon, the situation changed completely, and it was found that instead of a crisis of insufficient production there was a crisis of over-production, or rather of under-consumption. The popular needs were indeed great, but the ability to satisfy those needs was much restricted. The extraordinary inflation induced by the war had created the illusion of a general well-being.

In actual fact the war, far from being a source of general enrichment, had caused the destruction of an enormous quantity of economic wealth, of the savings which humanity had accumulated in fifty years of laborious existence, and had thus reduced in great measure the purchasing power of the individual citizen and of the communities. Prices were still forced upward by the inflation of paper money and by the feverish search for raw materials and for manufac-

tured goods, and they had reached such a high level that consumers in all countries were obliged to limit their purchases to those things absolutely indispensable.

Besides this cause for a stagnation of production within the boundaries of the respective countries, another potent factor was making itself felt in the realm of international commerce. The suspension of the interallied credits rendered it impossible for most countries to finance their imports, and this in turn automatically tended to prevent them from sending abroad the large surplus of goods that had been produced in the expectation of large exports. All this resulted in a great reduction of sales, a marked stagnation in business and a downfall of prices, especially in those of raw materials.

The depression which began in the early months of the past year in Japan, in the United States and in England, and spread to other countries, was retarded in the case of Italy by the high range of prices and by the continuous rise of exchange, which for some time has operated, as an obstacle to the wave of depression. If we compare the movement of wholesale prices in the United States and England from January, 1920, to February, 1921, with the rising course of Italian exchange on London and New York, we find that while prices fell 33 per cent. in England, and 43 per cent. in the United States, Italian exchange almost doubled, thus completely neutralizing the fall of prices in the countries where the Italian imports originated. Up to a certain point the same was true of freight charges, although here the reduction was more accentuated than in the price of goods. However, as soon as the first symptoms of a fall in prices appeared in foreign countries, the Italian markets, whose purchasing power was already greatly reduced by other factors, took up an attitude of passive expectation.

The hope that the downward price movement outside of Italy would soon manifest itself in that country also, and the campaign for a cessation of purchases, so vigorously advocated by the press, have resulted in reducing to the lowest terms both wholesale and retail sales, and consequently have removed any need for stock replenishing. All this has created very complex conditions in Italy, making it exceedingly difficult to suggest any remedy that would not inflict economic injury.

THE SPANISH MERCHANT MARINE AND HISPANO-AMERICAN COMMERCE

A RECENT article in *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) by Señor Salvador Canals analyzes Spanish maritime problems and proposed cures.

By position, together with natural and industrial resources, Spain is a first-rate maritime power—yet since 1894 she has fallen from fifth to twelfth place! Despite opposition, the passage of the weak law of 1909 protected shipping against “tramp” steamers, gave slight subsidies to certain classes of vessels, Spanish tonnage increased.

The war removed German and Austrian shipping from the seas—some 6,000,000 tons. In 1915 nearly one-half the world’s shipping was unavailable; by 1916 only one-third was commercially available.

The Spanish merchant marine saved Spain from hunger and want. The submarine “blockade” (1917) and the diversion of vessels to United States transportation (1918), alike failed to affect Spain greatly. Living costs increased but 53½ per cent. against 109 per cent. in the U. S., 139 per cent. in England, 262 per cent. in France and 371 per cent. in Italy!

Though war losses reduced Spanish shipping to 800 ships (tonnage 700,000), to-day Spain has 1192 vessels (total tonnage 1,007,204).

During the war certain owners “renounced” their premiums, thus freeing themselves of national obligations and getting large profits—at the expense of Spanish suffering.

To-day the world is oversupplied with fast cargo vessels suitable for use in war only. Both France and the U. S. have lost millions through vessels of this type, built at enormous expense, which cannot realize a proper return on capital invested.

Following English data for the month of April, the losses of the United States Shipping Board during the year are in excess of 100,000,000 pounds sterling; but by the official (Democratic) North American declarations, the deficit in the exploitation of the tonnage ascribed to the Shipping Board is valued at \$134,000,000 for the fiscal year of 1920-1921.

Señor Canals questions the wisdom of subsidizing Spanish shipping built at this time of depression. He believes, however, that new vessels should be built to carry both cargo and passengers, so that travel to Span-

ish resorts may be encouraged and Spanish maritime tradition restored. Spain’s problem may be solved by the exclusion of *tramp* steamers, the adoption of reciprocity treaties and the establishment of standard fleets with fixed ports of call. To date the Cortes has not protected native shipping properly.

The guaranteeing of interest, etc., by various countries has led to abuse and large money losses. France’s railroads are in bad condition; the U. S. is paying heavily for Government mismanagement of railroads, while the English coal strike is the direct result of war paternalism. Governmental sharing of profits, with its corollary, has led to inefficiency and loss.

Spanish exports normally consist of 52 per cent. natural primary (raw or slightly worked) materials, which furnish foreign workers large profit when sold, 14 per cent. finished products and 34 per cent. alimentary products ready for consumption: the first and part of the third go chiefly to European merchants. The war stimulated manufacturing greatly, but peace resulted in reduction because trade was not held.

Trade with South America has been mishandled: witness the following table for the period of 1912-1919, showing increases in exports of U. S. and Spain:

	U. S.	Spain
Mexico	119 per cent.	50 per cent.
Brazil	116 “ “	96 “ “
Venezuela	61 “ “	82 “ “
Argentina	139 “ “	37 “ “
Colombia	81 “ “	66 “ “
Chile	337 “ “	8 “ “
Cuba	263 “ “	28 “ “

To all other Spanish-American countries Spanish exports have decreased, with the exception of Panama (113 per cent. increase, but a small money total).

The remedy for diminished trade is a new set of commercial treaties, based on a close study of common needs, and the establishment of reciprocity between Spain and the other countries. The natural tie among all Spanish-speaking peoples should result in closer commercial treaties, so that each country may profit by producing goods most suited to its potentialities, which may be exchanged for foreign merchandise of a similar character. Thus each country will profit—and a market be furnished for the goods most economically made.

Señor Canals is against the establishment of a new government department to regulate commercial treaties. This work can better be done—and with less expense—by departments already in operation if they will call in the commercial organizations of the various countries interested as well as the governmental agencies. By careful study a system may be worked out by which Spain and

the other countries may reduce prices of goods and increase production.

An interesting sidelight on the suggestion of reciprocity as a means of building up South American (and other) trade is furnished when one considers that James G. Blaine proposed this very thing to the U. S. some thirty years ago, while the tendency of tariffs to-day lies in that direction.

THE ARGENTINE AND MINERAL PRODUCTION

PUBLIC information about the mineral possibilities of the Argentine is surprisingly slight, says a recent article in *La Revista de Economía y Finanzas* (Buenos Aires). Present conditions must be overcome before the mines can succeed. The preliminary to success must be publicity.

Copper, lead, and tin are all in permanent demand and larger quantities are being used every year. With ample supplies of these metals from domestic mines the Argentine manufacturer is importing his material from abroad, at prices much in excess of the world prices: if he buys the native product, the price is even higher!

The manufacturer, the ultimate consumer, and the mining interests all suffer from a lack of coördination of resources. This has made possible the case of a manufacturer who purchased copper from the United States, received on its delivery metal that had been shipped from the Argentine to New York, and sent back to Buenos Aires without having left the vessel in which it had originally been sent!

Such a thing would be impossible in any other country. It could happen in Argentina because the producer and the buyer had no means of getting in touch with each other. Such an instance is not encouraging to mine owners or those who labor in mines—while it imposes undue costs on the manufacturer.

It is suggested that the Bank of Commerce can aid the whole metallurgic industry by listing its products in its bulletin. This will furnish an easy method of bringing producer and buyer together. Mining is so closely tied to the best interests of the country that prompt steps must be taken to correct the present situation.

Aside from those stated, what special difficulties are in the way of the mining

industry? One of the chief factors is the lack of railway facilities. A better system of spur lines must be built, which can take the ore to the main lines. The improvement of roads to permit of transportation by motor-trucks will also be necessary. Transportation is the chief necessity to-day.

Modern mining machinery is lacking. This is due in part to the war and it is hoped that with the restoration of normal conditions throughout the world, machinery can be obtained rapidly and in sufficient quantities. (Readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will recall that this lack of machinery was mentioned in an article on the oil industry of the Argentine which appeared in a former issue.)

Capital must be induced to invest, if the mines are to be brought to successful operation. Mineral richness is reported by numerous experts: general credit stagnation and timidity, due to economic conditions throughout the world, will gradually disappear and the Argentine mines will yield large returns.

Brazil and Chile are utilizing their coal and iron mines. The Argentine, with an abundance of coal, does not possess proper facilities for the reduction of iron ore! Mexico, occupying a far less prominent place commercially than the Argentine, has encouraged mining throughout its territory, with the result that its resources are adequately used.

The solution of the mining problem, then, is (1) better transportation facilities, (2) improved machinery, (3) proper financing, and (4) the establishment of contact between the producers and the manufacturers. With great mineral wealth waiting exploitation the Argentine has a bright future before it.

LABOR TROUBLE IN THE ARGENTINE

DURING 1920 Buenos Aires was the scene of 206 strikes, according to figures furnished by the National Department of Labor in its monthly report (on which is based a recent article in *La Revista de Economia y Finanzas*, Buenos Aires). Of these strikes 176 were partial and 30 general.

During 1920 there was no great strike similar to the revolutionary strike of January, 1919, in which 150,000 workers took part.

The greatest number of strikes took place in the clothing industry (51), food industries (35), metallurgic (30), and transportation (24). The industry most affected by general strikes was that furnishing transportation and communications, 13 general taking place. The clothing industry, with 50 partial strikes, headed the list of industries affected by partial strikes.

The Department of Labor gathered the following data in fourteen basic industries:

Industries	Strikes		1920 Total	No. Strikers			Strikes 1919 Total
	Partial	General			Partial	General	
1 Food	33	2	35	7,170	3,337	3,833	30
2 Tobacco	2	..	2	1,355	1,355	..	8
3 Chemical	2	1	3	1,190	90	1,100	13
4 Textile	6	..	6	805	805	..	24
5 Clothing	50	1	51	4,527	4,177	350	78
6 Woodworking ..	21	3	24	4,476	2,826	1,650	30
7 Polygraphic	3	..	3	173	173	..	18
8 Metallurgic	28	2	30	5,483	2,483	3,000	48
9 Construction	9	6	15	10,473	1,273	9,200	20
10 Transportation ..	11	13	24	46,258	908	45,350	48
11 Hides & leather.	3	..	3	166	166	..	7
12 Electric	1	1	1,000	..	1,000	5
13 Paper	2	..	2	89	89
14 Various	6	1	7	50,850	850	50,000	30
Totals	176	30	206	134,015	18,532	115,483	359

In the 176 partial strikes 18,532 workers, or 71 per cent. of the total number of workers engaged on the various jobs, were affected.

In the small strikes in those enterprises listed under paper, hides and leather, and "various," all the workers were involved; in groups 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7 the strikers were 90 per cent. of the working forces, while in

groups 8 and 9, 80 per cent. were out. Transportation and communications had 51 per cent. of the workers on strike. In group 6 some 38 per cent. struck; group number 3 was affected by 12 per cent. striking.

The large number included under the heading "various" is due to a general strike called by the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Federation, to enforce its demand that liberty be given to those detained for infraction of social laws. This strike lasted but three days and was a total failure.

Buenos Aires is faced with a serious housing problem. While the war is partly responsible, the attitude of union labor has much to do with building conditions. Just as the United States is suffering from building inactivity partly due to the greed of unions, the Argentine is held back by its working minority.

To-day the Argentine needs both capital and machinery to develop its great mineral resources. Labor is directly responsible for

the hesitation of foreign capital to invest in that field.

An encouraging feature of the labor situation in Buenos Aires is the formation of the Argentine Patriotic League, which has undertaken to repress the "Red" element in that city and throughout the Argentine, according to a recent Associated Press report.



THE NEW BOOKS

NATURE AND OUTDOOR LIFE

Just Huntin'. By Ozark Ripley. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Co. 192 pp. Ill.

Outdoor stories, as related by a man who is said to have fished and hunted from northern Alaska to the Gulf of Mexico. Along with entertaining reading the book combines accurate information about fishing and guns.

The Story of Matka. By David Starr Jordan. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co. 78 pp. Ill.

Doctor Jordan's romance of the fur-bearing seals of the Bering Sea has been read by thousands. First published in San Francisco in 1897 under the title "Matka and Kotik," the original plates were destroyed in the great fire of 1906, and the tale was reset as "The Story of Matka." The present edition is revised and printed from new plates. It fits admirably into the publisher's project of a series of books that will serve to introduce the reader to the more important animal families through the life history of one animal in the group. Dr. Jordan served for four years as United States Commissioner in Charge of Fur Seal Investigations. His knowledge of fur seals and their habits is first-hand. This little book is beautifully illustrated from photographs and from original drawings by Chloe Lesley Starks.

Reminiscent Tales of a Humble Angler. By Dr. Frank M. Johnson. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Co. 109 pp.

Short sketches relating the actual experiences of the author during the vacation days of half a century. These experiences range from Newfoundland to Florida.

Grim: the Story of a Pike. By Svend Fleuron. Alfred A. Knopf. 186 pp. Ill.

In this little book a well-known Danish naturalist relates the life history of a pike.

The Book of Birds for Young People. By F. Schuyler Mathews. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 323 pp. Ill.

Through his "Field Book of Wild Birds and Their Music" Mr. Mathews became known years ago as a skilled observer and able delineator of bird life. In this new book, as well as in the earlier volume, Mr. Mathews acts as illustrator of his own text. His drawings, both in water-color and in black-and-white, are strikingly lifelike.

Pigeon Raising. By Alice MacLeod. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Co. 113 pp.

All who are interested in breeding pigeons for the market will find this a useful little manual. It gives full descriptions of the construction of houses, care of birds, preparation for market and

shipment, and also has a chapter on the various breeds and their markings and one on the nature and habits of pigeons.

The Desert and the Rose. By Edith Nicholl Ellison. Boston: The Cornhill Company. 215 pp.

This book is made up from the journal of a ranchwoman in southern New Mexico, who several years ago went to live in that part of the world for the benefit of a rheumatic disorder. The writer not only gives a good description of the country, but offers not a little information that should prove helpful to intending settlers.

My Mountains. By Roselle T. Cross. Boston: The Stratford Company. 173 pp. Ill.

The author describes the front range of the Rocky Mountains as he viewed it almost daily for nineteen years in Colorado Springs, Denver and Fort Collins.

An Ocean Tramp. By William McFee. Doubleday, Page & Company. 189 pp.

Mr. McFee, whose "Casuals of the Sea" first made him known as a novelist to the American reading public, is himself first of all a seaman. He is now Chief Engineer of one of the American Fruit Company's ships. "An Ocean Tramp" was the first of his books to achieve publication, having been issued in London as long ago as 1908. It now appears with a new preface of forty-eight pages by the author, who employs the opportunity to give fresh expression to his enthusiasm for the subject.

First Aid to the Car. By Harold Whiting Slauson. Harper & Brothers. 225 pp.

A detailed enumeration of the various troubles encountered with an automobile, and their remedies. The author enters into every contingency in great detail and gives clear, concise advice as to prevention and cure of common motoring evils. A very valuable handbook and a good grounding in the fundamentals of "motorology." Every budding car owner would do well to glance through this little volume.

Hope Farm Notes. By Herbert W. Colingwood. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 234 pp.

This book is a reprint of twenty-five articles from the *Rural New Yorker*, covering a period of about twenty years. They deal with current country-life problems from the human standpoint.

The Borderland of Country Life. By Augusta Larned. Neale Publishing Co. 228 pp.

Sympathetic studies by a nature lover.

SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

Industrial Government. By John R. Commons and Associates. Macmillan. 425 pp.

This volume sums up the observations made in the summer of 1919 by the author and eight associates in manufacturing plants scattered from Wisconsin to Maine. The purpose of this group of investigators was to seek out the most successful methods used in dealing with factory employees. The principal cost of the investigation was borne by four leading Wisconsin manufacturers. Thirty establishments were visited, and eighteen of these are described in the present volume. After reporting upon these eighteen experiments, the authors devote the last five chapters of the book to the inferences that they have drawn from what they saw and learned. The authors are not ready to adopt the term "industrial democracy," although doubtless each one of the eighteen experiments might fairly lay claim to definite progress toward the democratic ideal. This book shows the progress in detail.

Poverty and Dependency: Their Relief and Prevention. By John Lewis Gillin. The Century Company. 707 pp.

In this book the author has succeeded in bringing together and correlating a wide range of material heretofore found only in scattered sources. Certain topics, comparatively new in treatises of this kind—"Mothers' Pensions" and "Drug Addicts," for example—are here discussed with reference to their bearing on the general problem of dependency. It is noteworthy also that the author devotes more than one-fourth of his text pages to an exposition of preventive agencies and methods.

The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France. By Parker T. Moon. Macmillan. 473 pp.

The Social Catholic movement has only recently begun to attract general attention outside of France. So rapidly has this movement expanded in the last few decades that it may now be regarded, in the words of the author of this study, as "a force comparable in magnitude and in power to international socialism, or to syndicalism, or to the coöperative movement." This Social Catholicism, said to be represented by organizations in every civilized country that has any considerable Catholic population, is pictured in the present volume. It is, perhaps, the first attempt to cover the topic comprehensively in the English language.

The Revival of Marxism. By J. Shield Nicholson. E. P. Dutton & Co. 145 pp.

A penetrating analysis of the teachings of Karl Marx by a leading English economist. Believing that the war disclosed serious weaknesses in the capitalistic system, this writer was prepared to find in Marxism some ideas that might be of service under present conditions, but the more he read of Marx and his methods, "the more hopeless and depressing was the effect. Marxism in practice on a national scale becomes Leninism."

The Economics of Communism. By Leo Paslovsky. Macmillan. 312 pp.

This Russian author's study of the workings of Communism, based upon official Soviet sources, leads him to the conclusion that Communism is impossible *without* the application of compulsion in the economic life of the country, and that economic production is itself impossible *with* the application of such compulsion. In confirmation of his thesis the author points to the Soviet decrees of the present year, permitting the peasants to dispose of their surplus stocks of foodstuffs at will, making it possible for the workmen to keep for themselves a certain part of the manufactured goods and exchange them for foodstuffs, and extending the prerogatives of the coöperative organizations. The book brings out in sharp relief the difficulties under which Communism has labored in Russia, and points to the impossibility of its permanence as an economic system.

Principles of Marketing. By Paul Wesley Ivey. The Ronald Press Company. 351 pp. Ill.

Within the past few years the study of marketing as a branch of economics has come rapidly into prominence. There are now professorships of marketing in several State universities. Dr. Ivey, who holds such a chair in the University of Nebraska, has compiled a text-book of the subject for colleges and schools of business administration. This book is intended to introduce the student to the marketing process. Emphasis is laid on the marketing of manufactured products, rather than that of raw materials and agricultural products, because it is in connection with manufacturers that a more decided "buyers' market" has developed. Here also the high costs of marketing, with which the public is most familiar, are more frequently in evidence.

Trade Tests. By J. Crosby Chapman. Henry Holt & Co. 435 pp. Ill.

During the war, when the human resources of our country were severely taxed, the Government undertook extensive researches in order to meet the problem of placement of its skilled personnel. An important outgrowth of these researches was the trade test, which was devised and constructed to make it possible for a trained examiner, unskilled in any particular trade, to measure in objective terms the trade standing of any recruit claiming skill in any of the several hundred callings necessary to the work of the army. The methods that were developed from this effort to attain the scientific measurement of trade proficiency are fully explained in this book by a man who had an important part in formulating them.

The Federal Farm-Loan System in Operation. By A. C. Wiprud. Harper. 280 pp.

In this volume the workings of the Farm-Loan System, which has now been in effect for five years, are fully explained by the vice-president of the Federal Land Bank of St. Paul. The Hon. W. G. McAdoo, who as Secretary of the Treasury put the Farm-Loan scheme in operation, supplies an introduction to the volume.

Rural Social Organization. By Edwin L. Earp. The Abingdon Press. 144 pp.

A little book of suggestions about rural schools, churches and farmers' organizations, written from the viewpoint of one interested primarily in the work of training rural ministers to see the importance of their field in relation to the nation as a whole.

New Homes for Old. By S. P. Breckinridge. Harper & Brothers. 356 pp. Ill.

In those cases where newly arrived immigrants fail in making adjustment to institutions that are strange to them the American community itself must, in some degree, share responsibility for the

failure. This is one aspect of the "melting pot" which has received comparatively little attention from writers on immigration. In this new volume of "Americanization Studies," Dr. Breckinridge points out to American teachers, settlement workers and neighbors specific ways in which they may help the immigrant in making this change in his life relationships. As in other volumes of the series, the author's purpose is to describe methods actually in use, and to show how they are applied to existing conditions. There are chapters on "Family Relationships," "Care of the House," "Problems of Saving," "The Neglected Art of Spending," "Care of Children," and "Agencies of Adjustment." Dr. Breckinridge is professor of social economy in the University of Chicago.

GOVERNMENT, CITIZENSHIP, SOVEREIGNTY

Popular Government. By Arnold Bennett Hall. Macmillan. 296 pp.

An inquiry into the nature and methods of representative government, with a view to determining its fundamental reservations. The author is concerned less with considerations of form than with the forces of human nature as they function in the forms of democracy. What and where are the limitations upon the exercise of popular control?

The State and Government. By James Quayle Dealey. D. Appleton & Co. 409 pp.

This book is intended to serve as an introduction to political science from the sociological point of view. The first part explains the relation of the state to other social institutions and traces the development of government and the gradual differentiation of state from government. The second part deals with the organization and functions of government—legislative, executive and administrative. Political theories and ideas of current interest receive due attention.

Principles and Problems of Government. By Charles Grove Haines and Bertha Moser Haines. Harper & Brothers. 597 pp.

This volume differs from other treatises of similar title, chiefly in its studied attempt to present problems and issues for discussion rather than to impart information. Instead of undertaking to train the memory by a repetition of facts about government, it encourages the formation of opinions and judgments on political issues. It is a book that may well be used to supplement textbooks already available, describing and analyzing existing governments.

Local Government in the United States. By Herman G. James. D. Appleton & Co. 482 pp.

Treating the government of cities, towns and minor political divisions in both urban and rural

aspects, the author undertakes in this book to show the essential unity of the problem of local government. A preliminary chapter is devoted to a brief survey of the local government systems of England and France, the sources for our own and for the French system, respectively. Local institutions in this country are traced from colonial origins down.

United States Citizenship. By George Preston Mains. The Abingdon Press. 296 pp.

Under this title the author discusses some of the larger relations of the citizen to his government. He traces the genesis and development of democratic ideals, defines the constitutional rights, duties and limitations of citizenship, and outlines creative and developing agencies in our national life. The book emphasizes throughout the supreme need and imperative importance of an intelligent and loyal suffrage.

The Employment of the Plebiscite in the Determination of Sovereignty. By Johannes Mattern. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 214 pp.

Apologizing for the discussions that have resulted over the plebiscites decreed by the peace treaties ending the World War, this volume in the Johns Hopkins University Studies has unusual timeliness. The author concludes that no state can at the present time, from the point of view of constitutional law, recognize the right of secession, founded upon the principle of self-determination. "By doing so it would invite its own destruction. For in every modern state there may be found, at one time or other, groups sufficiently dissatisfied with the conduct of the majority or of a ruling minority to demand a release from their allegiance. Such demands are especially likely to occur in a state which in the past has acquired, on the time-honored principle of conquest, groups of populations ethnically foreign to its own racial stock."

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

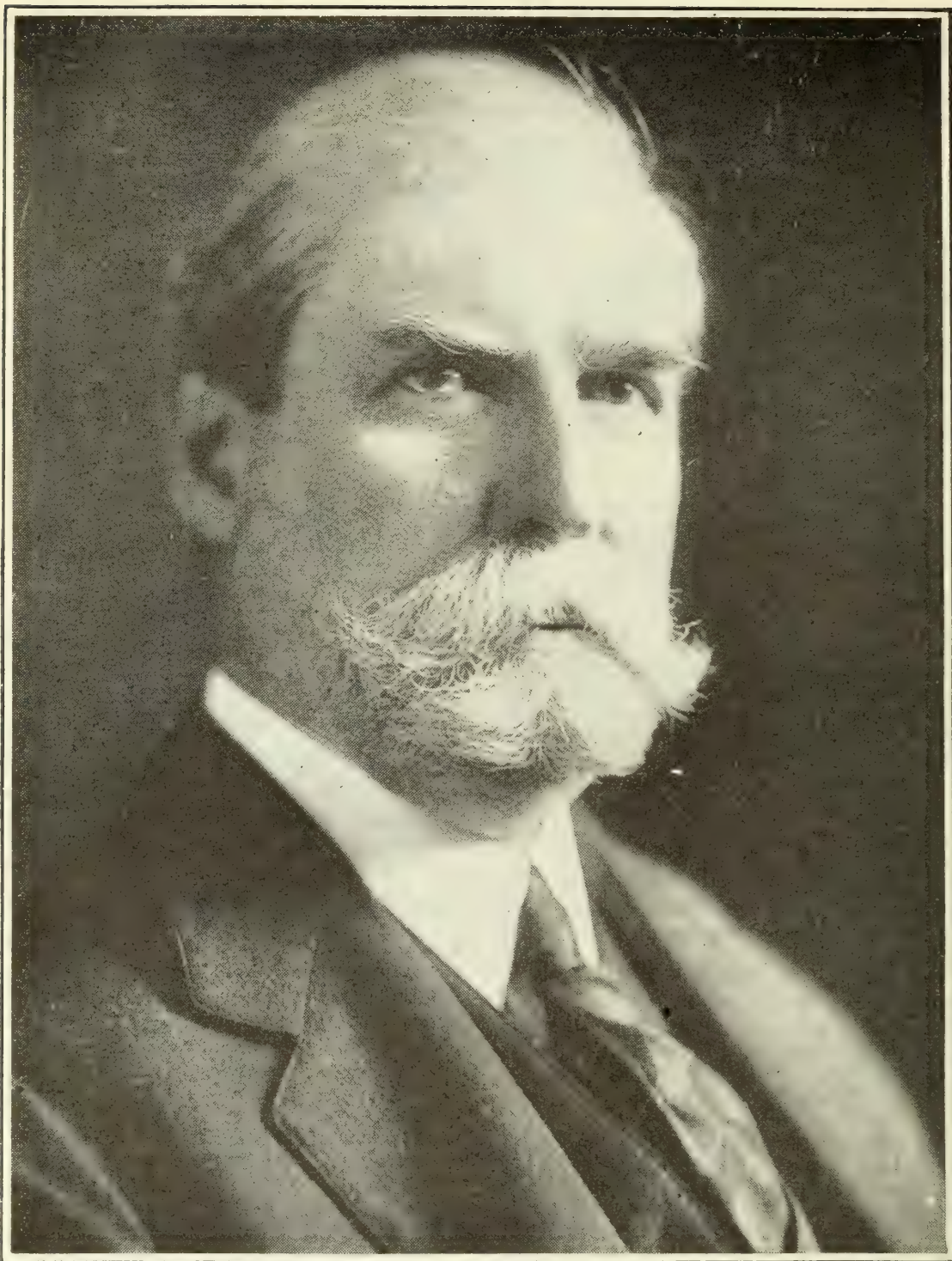
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HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, SECRETARY OF STATE

[Portraits of Mr. Hughes are appearing frequently enough to make his face as familiar as that of any other man in public life except perhaps President Harding. But public men, as they pass from one responsibility to another, often take on a new aspect; and, since Mr. Hughes is upon the whole the outstanding personality among statesmen at home and abroad during the present season, we are reproducing what seems to us his best photograph as Secretary of State. He has found a way to negotiate a peace with Germany that meets the situation. He has brought American influence again into the councils of Europe, without joining the League of Nations. He is working out plans for an international conference at Washington that will give effect, it is hoped, to some of the basic principles of the armistice signed just three years before this conference is to open. His diplomacy is restoring good relations between the United States and Mexico. He is making progress with current Japanese negotiations. He has been aiding in the stabilization of Central America. He is gently and firmly leading the principal Allied powers to a correct application of "mandates" to former German and Turkish possessions. He is cooperating with other Departments for supporting American commerce, while above all he is acting as official exponent of the principles of American justice and good-will]

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

The Return to Private Initiative

However harshly the present Republican Congress may have been criticized by Democratic or independent newspapers, there was no inclination to find fault with the four weeks' recess that Congressmen granted themselves, beginning on August 24 and ending on September 21. Much public business is pending in the shape of unfinished legislation; but wisdom is more to be desired than haste, and an opportunity for lawmakers to confer with their constituents was altogether in the interest of sound judgment, as various matters were approaching culmination. For the most part the country must work out its own salvation, irrespective of what the Government may do or leave undone. It is true, however, that certain courses of action might be adopted at Washington which would greatly aid the people of the country to recover from the slump in business that has caused much unemployment and widespread hardship. Our troubles of various kinds belong simply to the process of transition from public to private initiative. During the war period the Government was directly or indirectly an employer at high wages upon an unprecedented scale. The public authorities dominated all business, all production and exchange of goods. Shipbuilding, munition works, war transportation, the furnishing of supplies to Europe, all called for colossal effort; and the United States Treasury disbursed countless billions which became available through the sale of Liberty bonds and through drastic forms of tax levy upon profits and incomes.

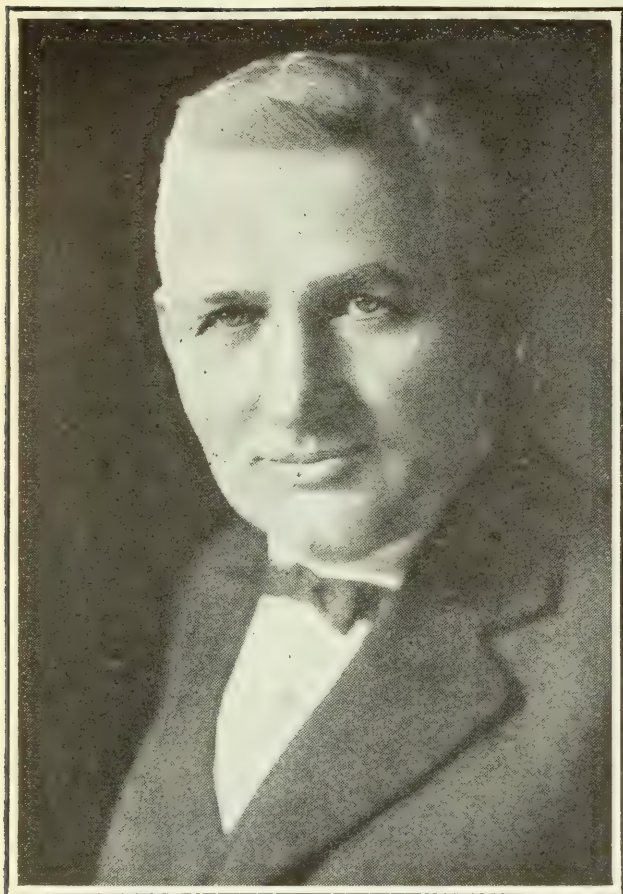
Clearing the Way for Business

Getting back from the period of Government-directed employment under those war conditions to a period of private employment means that every reasonable effort must be made

to stimulate the prosperity and success of non-governmental industries. Since Government is going out of business, it must let citizens resume business. If current capital that should go into productive undertakings continues to be absorbed by the Government through the sheer inertia of war-time extravagance, the power of private enterprise to employ labor is curtailed, without any compensating benefits from the Government's outlays. Furthermore, if the Government insists upon maintaining methods of taxation which discriminate against accumulated capital that would otherwise be used in active business, the result is to hamper and retard the process of transition from war-time prosperity, on a Government basis, to peace-time prosperity on a private basis. In short, taxation should be held down severely as regards the total amount of the nation's gross income that the Government lays its hands upon. In the second place, the taxes should be so levied and collected as not to prevent business men from doing business and from giving employment. The



CONGRESS ENJOYING A WELL-EARNED REST
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



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SENATOR HOLM O. BURSUM, OF NEW MEXICO

(Serving by temporary appointment of the Governor, Mr. Bursum, as Republican candidate, was triumphantly elected by the people on September 20)

excess-profits taxes, and the unduly high surtaxes on large incomes have defeated their own ends. They have interfered most seriously with the expansion of business and the full utilization of labor, while they have also come short of yielding the revenues to the Government that had been expected.

Economy and Reform

Congress can therefore render the country a major service by adopting current plans of rigid economy in public expenditure, and also by reforming the methods of taxation. In later paragraphs of this editorial résumé we are referring more specifically to the discussion that has been going on regarding the revision of the war system of taxation. The Administration has made an excellent record in its initial application of the new budget system, and its determination to cut down national expenditure is worthy of unanimous support. It has also done its best to aid Congress by information, advice, and suggestion as to desirable changes in the tax laws. President Harding, several weeks ago, wrote a letter, which was duly printed in the *Congressional Record*, and which became public on Septem-

ber 6, reviewing the first half-year of the present Republican régime and praising Congress for what it has accomplished since it was called by Mr. Harding to meet in extra session after his inauguration. Mr. Harding contrasts the wastefulness of war expenditure, and the meagerness of some of the results, with the program of economy that is now accepted at Washington. He does not directly ascribe blame to his Democratic predecessors for war-time expenditure, much of which would have seemed less extravagant if the war had lasted a year longer. He is merely seeking to secure public approval for what is now being attempted by way of a return to normal conditions.

Is the Party Losing Ground?

With all our burdens to bear, we are at least better off, the President points out, than most foreign countries, which even yet, since the end of the war, have not been able to make their incomes balance their current expenditures. His letter, which was addressed to Senator McCormick of Illinois, was desired in order that the Senator might use it for political purposes. A special election was pending in New Mexico to fill the Senate vacancy caused by Senator Fall's transfer to the Cabinet. There is a Republican Governor in New Mexico, and he appointed Mr. Holm O. Bursum to fill the vacant seat until the people could vote at a special election. Mr. McCormick was chairman of a committee of Republican Senators which had been endeavoring to secure a Republican victory, Mr. Bursum being the candidate before the electorate of New Mexico. A Democratic victory in that State would have been regarded as evidence of a recession from the high tide of Republican prestige; but Mr. Bursum won a decisive victory on September 20. Upon the whole, as one reads not merely the Republican party arguments but also the independent press and that of the opposition, it would seem a reasonable thing to say that President Harding and the Cabinet have grown in public confidence since last March. The so-called teamwork of the Administration has been exceptionally strong and efficient. It is not whispered in well-informed circles among politicians or newspapermen that any one of the members of the Cabinet is coming far short of the expectations of last spring, while, on the contrary, as respects some of the members, it is commonly said that they are "making good" to a degree that has afforded a surprise to critical observers.

*Prestige of
Secretary
Hughes*

The success of Secretary Hughes as head of the State Department is the subject of a bit of clear and definite testimony from the pen of Arthur Wallace Dunn, the veteran Washington correspondent, which is contributed to the present issue of this magazine. The forthcoming conference on the limitation of armament, which will open in Washington on November 11, will be more dependent for wise management and permanent results upon the American Secretary of State than upon any other individual. It is therefore a matter of supreme importance to the entire world that the head of the American delegation should be a man of strong mentality and clear vision as well as of lofty character. Mr. Dunn's article presents Secretary Hughes as a man who truly represents those qualities of the American nation that are so much relied upon in the efforts of the world to find a stable basis for future peace. It would be no kindness to the Harding Administration to overpraise any member of the official group. The Secretary of State is not a superman, but he has earned the confidence of discriminating people to a marked degree; and he is directing our foreign relations in a way that commands our respect and our grateful admiration.

*The Separate
Treaty with
Germany*

While various public personages and certain newspapers—from sincere and unchanged devotion to an earlier point of view—were continuing to say that it would be impossible for the United States to make a separate peace with Germany, and that the only practical course to be pursued would be the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, announcement was made late in August that the impossible had been accomplished without any fuss or strain. The treaty of peace between Germany and the United States was signed at Berlin on August 25 in the office of the Foreign Minister. Our Government was represented by Ellis Loring Dresel, whose title is that of "American Commissioner." The text of the treaty was at once made public. It is not a long treaty, because it is based upon other documents to which it refers. These documents are the armistice of November 11, 1918, the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, and the joint resolution ending the state of war, passed by Congress and approved by President Harding July 2, 1921. It will be remembered by our readers that this peace resolution of three months ago



MR. ELLIS LORING DRESEL (LEFT) WHO NEGOTIATED THE TREATY WITH GERMANY

(A snapshot in Berlin, with Colonel House as companion)

expressly reserved to the United States and its citizens whatever rights or advantages were accorded by the armistice, the Versailles Treaty, or otherwise as a result of the war.

*Dodging
the League
of Nations*

In this treaty of August 25, Germany fully accepts all those reservations made in the joint resolution; and a number of sections or paragraphs of the Versailles Treaty are referred to as specifying German obligations. It is declared in this new treaty also that the United States is not to be bound by any of the provisions in the Versailles document that relate to the League of Nations, nor is this country to be committed by any of the subsequent actions taken by the League "unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action." It is agreed, further, between Germany and the United States that, while this country is privileged to participate in the work of the Reparation Commission, it is not under any obligations in that respect. It will be borne in mind by our readers that Congress had entered upon a four weeks' recess beginning the day before the treaty was signed and ending on September 21. The submission of the new treaty to the Senate for ratification, therefore, had to await the reassembling of

Congress. It was hoped by President Harding that Senate action would be prompt, and it was regarded as quite certain that there would be an ample number of votes (a two-thirds majority is requisite) for giving effect to the instrument.

*Prompt
Acceptance
Likely*

It was of course well known that there would be speeches made by certain Democratic Senators, criticizing this particular way of avoiding membership in the League of Nations while accepting substantially the settlement with Germany that was made by the Paris Conference. Secretary Hughes, however, knows his ground well, and the majority of the Foreign Relations Committee under Secretary Lodge's leadership will undoubtedly secure early ratification of the treaty. It is quite possible to raise technical questions, the answers to which may not convince everybody; but that the treaty ought to be accepted, all things considered, is obvious. It is quite possible that France and other of the Allied governments may desire to have certain points cleared up by a further treaty between the United States and these Allies; but about this there has been no definite information given to the public. As soon as the treaty with Germany is duly ratified, ambassadors will be named, and it is expected that there will be negotiated at Washington between the State Department and the representatives of Germany a new treaty having to do with commerce, extradition, copyrights and trade-marks, and various matters pertaining to the intercourse of the two nations.

*America
and
"Mandates"*

It is reported that the Japanese Government is particularly anxious to have the question of jurisdiction over the Island of Yap fully settled by direct negotiation with the United States, before the meeting of the Conference at Washington in November. It will be remembered that the Yap issue gave opportunity for Mr. Hughes some months ago to write to all of the principal Allied powers discussing not merely the American view regarding the control of a little island in the Pacific which is used by us as a cable station, but also declaring our right to be consulted upon all "mandate" assignments of territory formerly belonging to the defeated powers. Mr. Hughes rested the American position upon the fact that the United States was one of the principal powers in the winning of the

war, and that we could not permit the former German colonies or Turkish provinces to be administered under mandates by any of the victorious powers, in a manner that might discriminate against our interests. The assertion that we must join a particular League of Nations, whether or not we wish to do so, in order that American citizens may have equal rights with those of European powers in Turkey or Africa or the Pacific Islands rests upon bad logic and is without moral force.

*Our Place
in the
Near East*

It was made known last month that, in accordance with the request of the principal powers, Mr. Hughes had further elaborated the American position on mandates and had given particular attention to the claim of Americans to equal rights and treatment in the former possessions of Turkey. The suggestion that we are not entitled to any influence in the adjustment of Turkish affairs on the ground that we were not directly at war with Turkey is unworthy of consideration. A German victory would have been equally a victory for Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey; and without the colossal efforts of the United States in 1918 there would have been a German victory. Secretary Hughes is not serving the people of the United States alone in his argument that mandates must not be used as a mere cloak for national or imperial expansion by the Allied governments. He is acting as the champion of honorable and right solutions as against bad ones; and he is serving the interests of the whole world, and thus aiding the cause of future peace. It is particularly desirable that our influence should be welcomed in the Near East. An article on Persia in this issue of the REVIEW (see page 415) shows how acute is the need.

*Will Hays
on National
Affairs*

Perhaps the most comprehensive review of the nation's current affairs that has been made in any recent speech or document was that of the Postmaster-General, Will Hays, at Cleveland on September 6. The opportunity was afforded by an annual convention of life insurance men, but the presentation made by Mr. Hays was for the benefit of the entire country. It was replete with information, unusually frank in expressing views upon matters of pending policy, and very felicitous in its tone of hopefulness as well as in its appeal to America's sense of justice and goodwill. Mr. Hays in this speech pays a remark-

able tribute to the qualities of President Harding, as helping to give assurance and to stabilize conditions, through the confidence inspired by a spirit of serenity and of patience, yet of common sense and firm judgment, that emanates from the White House. We must quote a few sentences from this picture of Harding as President:

In one important particular I am better qualified to give an account of the Administration's stewardship than the President himself. He, the most modest and self-effacing of men, would never tell the part that his personality has played. I can.

In its more obvious sense, normalcy in a country is a condition which can be expressed in concrete facts and figures. But in a larger and more important sense, though a more subtle one, normalcy is a psychological condition. It is a state of mind. At any time and under any Presidency, the state of mind of the country is largely influenced by the state of mind of the man in the White House. Placed in so high and so conspicuous a station, emanations from his personality radiate throughout the country, and affect or create the state of mind of the country. The White House is, indeed, "the biggest pulpit in the country." From the man in the White House the country gets much of the inspiration of its own moods. The country is colored by his personality. What he does, what he thinks, what he feels, whatever are the natural and unconscious emanations from his personality, set the key of the country's temper. Intangible and imponderable though this is, it is one of the Presidency's most important functions. Day by day, the country "senses" the qualities of the man in the White House, and if they are qualities that appeal to the good of the common mass of men, the country tends to reflect them, and take them on as its own.

In this present time, the operation of one of those higher laws that work for the world's good has brought to the White House exactly the personality that was needed to lead the country away from the turbulent passions of war back to the normal human nature of peace. If you, throughout the country, have been able to "sense" the curing and restorative qualities of President Harding's personality, much more vividly do we, who serve in contact with him, appreciate him as one whose greatest concern is justice and good faith, who cures excitement with serenity, who meets passion with gentleness, who conquers anger with tolerance, who overcomes violence with patience, who shames greed with unselfishness, whose test for every decision is: "What does good faith call on us to do?" whose approach to every problem is: "Which of these alternatives is just?"

*A Hopeful
View of the
Conference*

Mr. Hays proceeds to comment upon the matter-of-fact, acquiescent manner in which the country and the Senate received the news of the signing of the German peace treaty, as contrasted with the bitter hostility of the relationships between the White House and the

Senate during the two years preceding Mr. Harding's accession to office. Since the Postmaster-General was avowedly speaking "by the book" for the Administration, it is worth while to note the enthusiasm with which he looks forward to the work that may be accomplished by the conference of nations at Washington which President Harding has called into being for next month. His own feeling about this conference must have been derived from the White House and the State Department; and it is no slight thing to be told that the "forces working for its successful consummation . . . will bring a result which will be recognized as the most important meeting of men's minds in all history." It is not small results, but large ones, that this country and the whole world demand from the conference; and Mr. Hays allows us to know that the President means to promote decisive agreements for the settlement of pending questions and the consequent limitation of armament.

*Hays on
Government
Machinery*

It is agreeable to be told explicitly and with some detail that the Administration has not yielded to the pressure at Washington against reform in the machinery of administration. We are assured by Mr. Hays that the difficult task of rearranging bureaus and functions is not to be abandoned because of the obstacles in the way, and that we may expect in due time a new department of Public Works and one of Public Welfare, with sweeping readjustments of all the existing departments in order to put economy and



TROUBLE IN THE CULINARY DEPARTMENT

From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)

[The Senate insists on Tax Revision first, whereas the House would serve the Tariff]

efficiency into the Government business. There is frankness and sound reasoning in Mr. Hays's discussion of the tax question. He reminds us that the war taxes were levied in the spirit of the draft act. In order to raise money in the largest quantity and with the greatest speed "we went to the place where the money was and took it ruthlessly. . . . It partook of the nature of the commandeering of money." Mr. Hays declares that to continue this system in peace time is to put a burden on thrift and saving, and to encourage the improvident. It would appear that a tax widely distributed and bearing upon consumption, that is to say, some form of sales tax, would be more beneficial to the country because less adverse to those processes of saving and investment which must lie at the base of our future prosperity.

*A Wise
Delay Over
the Tariff*

Mr. Hays expressed some significant views about the tariff situation. The following sentences are well worthy of quotation because they express a widely prevailing opinion:

To thoughtful men there must be approval of a certain hesitation and disposition to be cautious and a determination to be sure footed in the consideration of this subject. If I were to attempt to express a summing up of the present state of mind of Congress and thoughtful men about the tariff, it would seem to me that it amounts to a feeling that the present year is not a good one in which to write a permanent tariff bill to last for many years to come. Conditions throughout the world are too chaotic to be able to foretell exactly what is needed. The very basic condition on which a tariff is built, namely, the cost of manufacturing in various European countries with relation to our own cost of manufacture and the value of the currency of the various European countries with relation to the value of our own currency is at the present moment as fluctuating as quicksand and as unforeseeable in the future as the weather. A dependable tariff built upon such a foundation is difficult, of course. It has been thought by many that we could overcome these handicaps by a device which we called American Valuation, and which provided that all customs duties should be estimated upon the value of goods at the time when they arrive in the United States and in terms of American money. Looking carefully into this, it has been thought that this device might not overcome the handicap and further might have a boomerang effect on our own interests.

There have been some sharp criticisms of Republican leadership in the Senate because the Fordney Tariff bill, coming over from the House weeks ago, has not been forced to a prompt passage by sheer weight of the party majority. But Mr. Hays is quite right in de-

claring that there are times when hesitation and delay are evidences of real statesmanship. There are so many new considerations affecting not merely the different tariff schedules, but, above all, relating themselves to the underlying principles of a tariff policy, that it is wholly wise to defer final action upon the general tariff bill until some time in the year 1922. The more carefully this subject is considered at Washington, the more obvious it becomes that the tariff cannot be rewritten in a partisan spirit; and that the Republicans have much more to lose than to gain by forcing upon the country an elaborate tariff bill bearing the party label and winning its way on old-fashioned tariff arguments.

*Postal
Affairs*

Mr. Hays, on the previous day (Labor Day, September 5), had made a speech at St. Louis before the annual convention of the letter-carriers. This gave him a particularly good opportunity to talk to the country about the business of his own department, the letter-carriers being his official colleagues in what is the largest and the most popular single enterprise in the world; namely, the United States postal service. Mr. Hays tells us that there are 300,000 people employed in this Government service, which has been expanding in the volume of its operations more rapidly than the country has been growing in population. The Post Office is a public institution, and it is also a commercial business. Its motive as an institution is to serve the people and minister to the nation's welfare; and its methods as a commercial business aim at self-support, but not at the making of profits. It is a wholly false and thoroughly pernicious idea that the taxing function of the Government should step over into the sphere of the postal service and meddle with rates and charges, with the purpose of creating a surplus postal revenue which could be covered into the Treasury to help meet the other expenses of Government. Thus it was recently suggested that the domestic letter rate, which was unwisely raised to three cents in the war period, but afterward restored to two cents, should again be increased to three cents.

*Not a
Proper Tax
Agency*

The suggestion did not originate with the Post Office authorities, and it was duly resented and properly squelched. Mr. Hays is serving the public, not levying taxes. Long experience has demonstrated that two cents is the proper



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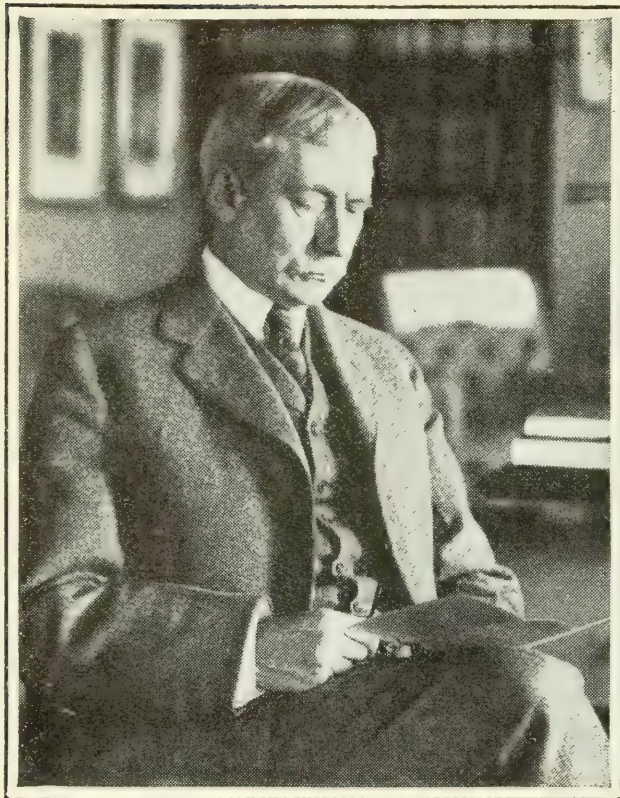
POSTMASTER-GENERAL HAYS (IN THE CENTER) DISCUSSING POSTAL AFFAIRS WITH A COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK BUSINESS MEN WHO ARE STUDYING THE PROBLEM OF A NEW DOWNTOWN BUILDING

(In the group, from left to right, are: Michael Friedsam and William Fellowes Morgan, two prominent New York merchants; the Postmaster-General; Edward M. Morgan, postmaster at New York; and former Governor Alfred E. Smith)

charge for an ordinary domestic letter. A very improper and wholly foolish system of levying high postal rates, on a zoning system, upon advertising in newspapers and periodicals was forced into the war-tax laws under the leadership of Mr. Kitchen of North Carolina. Advertising not only promotes the general movement of business, upon which the economic welfare of the country rests, but this same advertising is the principal means by which the Post Office service itself is kept solvent and prosperous. The zone tax is not merely in the nature of an assault upon business enterprise, but it attacks the symmetry and efficiency of the postal service itself. Legitimate advertising should be favored and encouraged in every possible way, as one of the avowed motives of the Post Office Department. In this matter Congress is wholly at fault, and not Mr. Hays.

Reform within the Department The present Postmaster-General has no sympathy at all with the use of the postal service as a partisan machine, and he is putting hope into the hearts of the postal employees by studying their welfare in the most sympathetic spirit. He is facing the problems of all the

different branches of the postal service with courage and intelligence. He proposes, for example, to find out what the parcel-post business really costs; and that is a thing which nobody has heretofore known much about. He is putting the periodicals back into the mails, abandoning the unintelligent "blue-tag" policy which had relegated second-class matter very largely to distribution by freight. He is going to see that a genuine study of costs is made, including that of the handling of newspapers and periodicals. He proposes greatly to extend the postal savings bank system by having the interest rate raised from two per cent. to three per cent., and by securing the coöperation of local newspapers and other agencies for increasing the number of depositors and encouraging thrift. He is working harmoniously with railroads, steamships, and other agencies for the distribution of the mails, and is promoting speed of service, reducing the percentage of errors, and finding various ways of lessening costs without impairing efficiency. Mr. Hays brings fortunate personal qualities to his office. Thus he knows how to utilize whatever may survive as good in the work of his predecessors. He is able to obtain and use the advice of experienced



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HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK

(Who is in his prime at seventy-six and fitted to render invaluable service to mankind in the approaching conference)

men of business and affairs, and he is free from the curious prejudices and misconceptions that have so seriously affected the work of the department at certain times in the past. We shall soon publish a special article on postal affairs.

*The Four
American
Delegates*

The hope that results of a notable kind may be accomplished by the conference on armament limitation and Pacific and Far Eastern questions has been much stimulated by the naming of the four American delegates. It has been known all along that the President would not appoint himself as a delegate, and that Secretary Hughes would head the American group. In due time it was announced that Senator Lodge, as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, would be one of the delegates; and last month we were informed that Mr. Elihu Root and Senator Underwood of Alabama would be named for the other two places. A conference of this kind should not be too large, and it should not be too small. If too large, it ends as did the Paris Conference, by excluding most of the members from real participation, leaving everything of importance to be done by a small inner group. The part taken by President Wilson at Paris rendered the work of the other four American dele-

gates not merely subordinate but mainly futile. In contrast, we shall have in this Washington Conference no delegate whose membership will be merely nominal. Each one of the four selections is a public man of great distinction and of special as well as of general fitness to represent this country.

*They Form an
Outstanding
Group*

The kind of work Mr. Hughes is doing as Secretary of State is summed up in a judicious and convincing way by Mr. Dunn in the article appearing in this number, to which we have already referred. That Mr. Hughes will be the foremost personal figure in the conference is taken for granted on all sides. He will enter the gathering with the advantage of an unsurpassed knowledge of present conditions, due to the position he holds as head of our department of foreign affairs. Mr. Root, who declined last month on the score of age to be considered for the new bench of judges that will form the international court under the League of Nations, is not too old to have lost any of his standing as America's foremost statesman in the sphere of international relations. As Secretary of State, he held the confidence and admiration of all foreign governments, while fully supporting the interests of his own country. Senator Lodge, besides his long experience in public life and his present leadership of the Senate majority, has the well-earned reputation of a scholar and historian. Senator Underwood is a statesman of rare sagacity, enjoying the confidence not only of the Southern States, but of able men of all parties throughout the country. He will be a strong and highly respected member of the American delegation, none the less influential because of his membership in the party now out of power. These four Americans have shown us often enough that they are capable of entertaining large visions; but they are all of them also practical men of affairs. We may feel confident, furthermore, that the selection of these men will be reassuring to Japan, will be wholly satisfactory to the British Dominions, as well as to Great Britain, and will in similar manner prove agreeable to France and the other governments which are to be represented. It seemed likely that the announcement of this American group might influence the other governments to choose for their delegations men of similar eminence. It has been hoped that more than one Prime Minister would come in person.

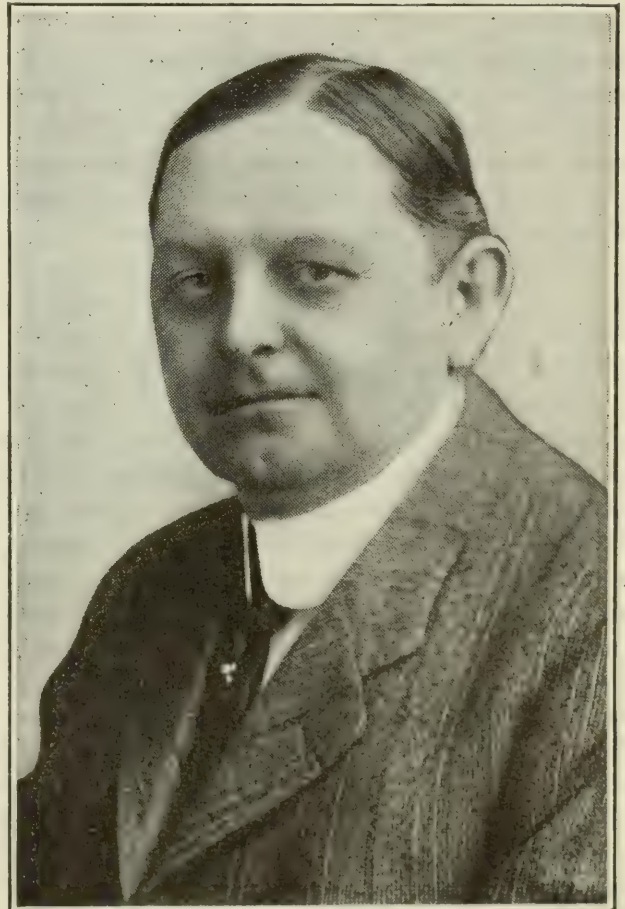
*Economic
Policies
Now Control*

Mr. Simonds, in his contribution to our present number, contrasts the circumstances of the forthcoming Washington Conference with those of the conference at Paris after the war, which he observed at close range and reported month by month in the pages of this periodical. He shows us very lucidly and logically that economic considerations were sacrificed at Paris to political ambitions, and that Europe and the world have in consequence suffered terribly from the mistakes that were perpetrated by the Big Four and their satellites. Thus if the Hapsburg domains could have been reconstructed in such a way that all the parts might have had ample autonomy of a regional and racial kind, while maintaining the economic unity of Austria-Hungary, much misery might have been averted. It is obvious that France cannot disarm if she has no guaranties for security. It is equally obvious that unless the legitimate interests of the British people are guaranteed, in a less expensive and an even more trustworthy fashion, there can be no abandonment of the claim that the British navy must be foremost regardless of cost. England has too many people to be strictly self-contained, and must therefore import more than half of her foodstuffs. Furthermore, in order that her people may be able to pay for food, they must also manufacture goods for export and must have assured access to their overseas markets.

*America and
the British
Problem*

The logic of present conditions gives the British Dominions and other outlying parts of the British Empire the feeling that they need some kind of protection for their further development, besides what they can individually provide for themselves. And until something else is available, they will prefer to rely upon the British Navy. But it so happens that there are no proper interests of the British people, and of the various parts of the British Empire, which are not wholly compatible with the proper interests in the world of the people of the United States. The kind of naval protection that can be relied upon is too expensive for any one Government. There is no reason, therefore, in the nature of things, why Great Britain and the United States should not henceforth agree that they would not create navies in a spirit of rivalry with one another. The Government and people of Great Britain are trustworthy, and so are those of Canada, Australia, and

the other Dominions. In like manner, the Government and people of the United States are trustworthy. All these peoples therefore can be relied upon to respect agreements that are entered into with deliberation and care, and that are for the common good. The British, after agreeing upon terms and conditions, could afford to subsidize the American navy as a "mandatory" for guarding the seas. In like manner, the Americans, after an agreement upon various conditions, could afford to reduce their own navy and subsidize the British. But it is quite possible that to gain full assent for either of these propositions would require more knowledge and experience than is now available, to offset traditional prejudices. A more likely plan, therefore, would be an agreement for greatly curtailing naval expenditure by substituting the principle of coöperation for that of competition, and finding some wise plan for reducing taxation. The unfortunate deadlock in Irish negotiations last month was deeply regretted in the United States as well as in London and



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HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, OF ALABAMA

(Mr. Underwood is the leader of the Democratic minority in the Senate, where he has this year entered upon another six-year term. As former leader of the Democrats in the House, he was the chief author in 1913 of the general tariff law which is still in force)

Dublin, but it is a mistake to imagine that the Irish question will be allowed to mar the harmony of the Washington Conference.

*Regard for
Needs of
Other Nations* It becomes more apparent every day that the conference is to be less concerned about the machinery of international reconstruction than about the settling of actual issues and the creation of confidence and friendship. America is in a position to be of immense service by considering the common good as paramount to the ambitions of any one government. Underlying almost every international problem is the changing character of population entities. If Germany had not grown so fast in numbers compared with certain other countries the attempt to dominate by force would not have been made. The British position henceforth would be more secure if there should set in a strong migration from the mother country to the Dominions and Colonies. Meanwhile, we must all show due regard for the plain fact that a large part of the British population must be supported by foreign trade. There is ample room yet in the United States for population growth and for the expansion of the home market. Speaking relatively, it is better for us to consume our own food and make our own textile, metallic, and chemical wares than for us to strive with intense energy to take away foreign trade from nations to which such trade is vital.

*As to Our
Maritime
Supremacy* Similar considerations may be urged in the debate on the question of our merchant marine. It is natural that we should wish to see the American flag flying on all the seas and in the ports and harbors of every foreign land. But, in the nature of the case, there are maritime powers much more vitally dependent upon finding employment for their capital and their labor in the business of ocean freighting than is America; for there still remains to us a larger opportunity for work and for profit in the continued development of our land resources and industries than in maritime pursuits. Thus it is not merely in the field of naval armament that rivalries ought to be checked and restrained. It is almost equally true that a nation like ours should not deliberately adopt trade policies that would tempt other nations, through sheer economic necessity, to cherish bitter feeling or to think and plan in terms of future hostility.

*Japan's
Actual
Situation*

The situation in the Far East involves many difficulties, and it will be a great triumph for the conference if these can be removed in whole or in considerable part. Japan has become a great military and naval power. She is led by men of intellectual brilliancy and of daring ambitions. These men have behind them a nation in which race consciousness and unity are the strongest motives. The Japanese population is growing very rapidly, and Japanese policies are not opposed and restrained by any similarly definite and powerful programs on the part of Asiatic neighbors. China is torn to pieces by internal dissensions, and is incoherent as an international factor. Russia has vanished from the scene as a naval and military power offering challenge to Japan on the Pacific coasts of Asia. British political interests in Asia do not conflict with those of Japan. It is for the best interests of all concerned that the Chinese people, who are making much progress in other respects, should acquire training in patriotism, and should become capable in the art of government. China's weakness is Japan's misfortune.

*Japan Should
Work
With China*

As matters now stand, Japan is undoubtedly entitled to the leading place in any international discussion of Asiatic affairs. The breach between North China and South China should be healed at the first possible moment, and Japan should aid in this solution in order that she may have the advantage of dealing with a thoroughly responsible government at Peking. In order that she may enter the conference at Washington side by side with a friendly rather than with a suspicious or dissenting Chinese delegation, Japan is endeavoring to reach agreements about Shantung and other questions by direct negotiations with the Peking Government. In the larger view, a very close economic relationship between Japan and China would be advantageous for both. If China were united and strong, it ought to be possible to make a commercial treaty that would assure to Japan the iron ore and other supplies that she needs, on terms that would be profitable in every way to China.

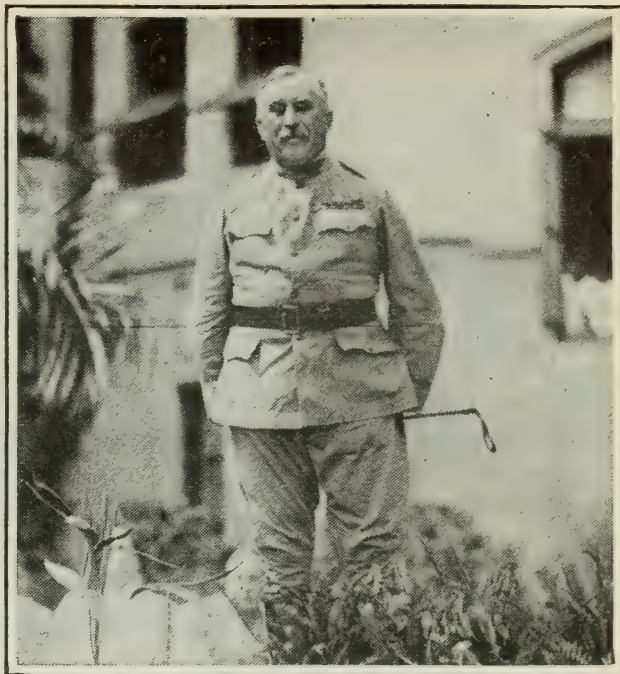
*We Must
Clarify Our
Pacific Policy*

It becomes imperative that we should know clearly the nature of our interest in the development of commerce and civilization on the coasts and in the islands and waters of the Pacific. Japan and China accept the fact

that we are reserving our Pacific Coast States for the growth of white populations, not because we regard the Japanese or the Chinese as our inferiors—for indeed in some important respects they are superior—but because it is reasonable that we should seek to develop on lines of racial unity, just as it is reasonable for Japan and China themselves to proceed in the same spirit. It now appears that the Japanese do not like our creation of strong naval bases in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands. It must be made perfectly clear, therefore, to Japan that we have no intention to assume dominance in the Pacific, and seek nothing but security for acknowledged rights. Our Philippine policy must be one that we shall gladly subject to the closest international scrutiny. We are publishing this month an article by a most competent writer which deals principally with education under American auspices in the Philippine Islands, but which also bears strongly upon the whole question of the present and future place that the United States is to hold in those important islands.

*Our Future
in the
Philippines*

The representative Filipino politicians in large majority are asking for independence under some form of an American protectorate. There is no disposition in the United States to refuse independence, if that is a timely and proper step to take. General Leonard Wood and Mr. W. Cameron Forbes (a former Governor-General of the Philippines) have completed their extensive investigation in all parts of the islands, and Mr. Forbes is soon to return, bringing their report, while General Wood is to take up the duties of the office of Governor-General after completing his visit to China, Korea, and Japan. Reports of recent remarks made in public by Mr. Forbes would indicate that the members of this special mission are not out of sympathy with Filipino aspirations, but that they are convinced that the Archipelago is not yet strong enough in the economic sense and that a much larger number of young Filipinos trained in the modern schools ought to arrive at maturity before independence becomes a realized fact. If definite preparations should be made looking toward independence twenty years hence, the period would be a very short one, measured in historic time; and the Filipinos would be far better prepared to support their own achievements and to take an influential part in the future progress of the peoples of the Pacific Ocean



GENERAL LEONARD WOOD IN THE PHILIPPINES
(Delivering an open-air address at Manila)

than if they were launched prematurely upon a career of independence. Fortunately, General Wood's opinions are influential with the island people.

*The Right
Men Are
at Hand*

The Harding Administration and the members of our delegation in the Peace Conference are singularly well prepared to deal with these Pacific and Far Eastern matters. Mr. Root, as Secretary of War, established our system of government in the Philippines and other insular dependencies. At a later time, as Secretary of State, Mr. Root conducted amicable negotiations with Japan. Thus the Japanese, as well as all the other delegations to the conference, will find themselves in touch with genuinely friendly American statesmen, and will also breathe the atmosphere of a country that admires Japan's achievements and that seeks to maintain Japan's friendship and confidence. The approach of the conference coincides with the completion and dedication in China of what is by far the most important center for medical training and research on the entire Asiatic continent. Among the several large projects of useful service to mankind that Mr. John D. Rockefeller is supporting through carefully organized boards, perhaps none will have more far-reaching effects than the work of the China Medical Board, which for several years has been going forward, quietly but upon well-considered plans, and with almost unlimited resources.



A GLIMPSE OF THE NEW MEDICAL BUILDINGS OF THE PEKING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE, ERECTED BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND DEDICATED LAST MONTH IN THE PRESENCE OF DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

*Americans
Working in
China*

American missionary work in China for two generations past has been laying a steadily increasing emphasis upon educational and medical work. With its hundreds of millions of people, China's need of modernly trained physicians and nurses, and of instruction in public and private hygiene, has been far beyond the capacity of existing agencies. The time will come when the Chinese people will help themselves in these respects, as in others; but self-help can be best stimulated by the kind of work that has been laid out for itself by Mr. Rockefeller's board. While American in support and general direction, the professional staff of these new institutions has been recruited from more than one country, and will be international in more than one sense. It is in ways like these that America is doing most to bring about future relationships of mutual good-will between the Occident and the Orient. The recent famine in China was greatly alleviated by American contributions of money and food. This country seeks no political authority or responsibility in the Far East, and will not be sorry when the proper time comes to withdraw from the Philippines, having first, however, made a record of lasting significance. We are giving to the people of those islands the legacy of the English language, as a common tongue by means of which they can overcome the dis-

uniting effect of their different languages and dialects. We are helping them to establish firmly the security that goes with good policing and good courts of justice; the opportunities afforded by good schools; and the benefits of modern health administration. When our work is done, we shall set the example of full withdrawal in the sense of political sovereignty, although it is to be hoped that we shall retain intimate relationships of all other kinds.

*Helping Russia
under
Difficulties*

Asiatic problems are not confined to those to which Japan has an immediate relation. The Soviet authorities of Russia have been seeking with apparent success to obtain dominant influence in Afghanistan, as if to menace British control in adjacent regions of India. It is not, of course, the military menace that is serious, but rather the menace of Bolshevik propaganda. The present Russian method is to foment discontent and encourage rebellion wherever possible. What the Soviet influence has accomplished in Persia is stated in strong terms, but probably with no exaggeration, in an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by a well-informed student of Asiatic questions who pleads for a larger exercise of American influence. In spite of the unpleasant manners and methods of the Soviet despots, American relief work

has actually begun on a considerable scale among refugees from the famine districts, and it is penetrating the stricken provinces themselves. Apparently these Soviet officials view the famine principally from the standpoint of their own retention of power. They seem to feel that too great a famine might engulf them in ruin, but, on the other hand, they fear lest large measures of relief from America and elsewhere might strengthen a successful revolt under international encouragement. It is a test of the breadth and unselfishness of American generosity that it should enter Russia at all under such conditions.

*Better
Relations
with Mexico*

There is some new encouragement for those who have held to the belief that Mexico and the United States might reestablish normal relations with one another in the near future. The Supreme Court of Mexico has passed upon the retroactive features of the present constitution in relation to property rights. We had claimed that rights of title in oil properties, in mines, and so on, which had been secured in former periods under Mexican law, could not be virtually confiscated by a new theory of national ownership, or under guise of taxation. Since the highest Mexican court now upholds the position taken by our State Department, it is understood that the Obregon Government will respect the decision of its own judiciary, and that American

business activities will once more find protection in Mexico. It is also encouraging to know that Mexico's public finances are to be rehabilitated, and that Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of New York, representing American and European bankers and bondholders, has accepted an invitation to go to Mexico and aid in a plan for strengthening Mexican credit by finding support for existing obligations. It would give great satisfaction in the United States if full diplomatic relations were reestablished between Washington and the city of Mexico before the assembling of the conference in November. It should be noted that representatives of American oil companies owning Mexican properties have been taking part in friendly negotiations in Mexico, to settle the taxation problem on a basis that will give the Mexican Government a fair revenue without injustice to the industry.

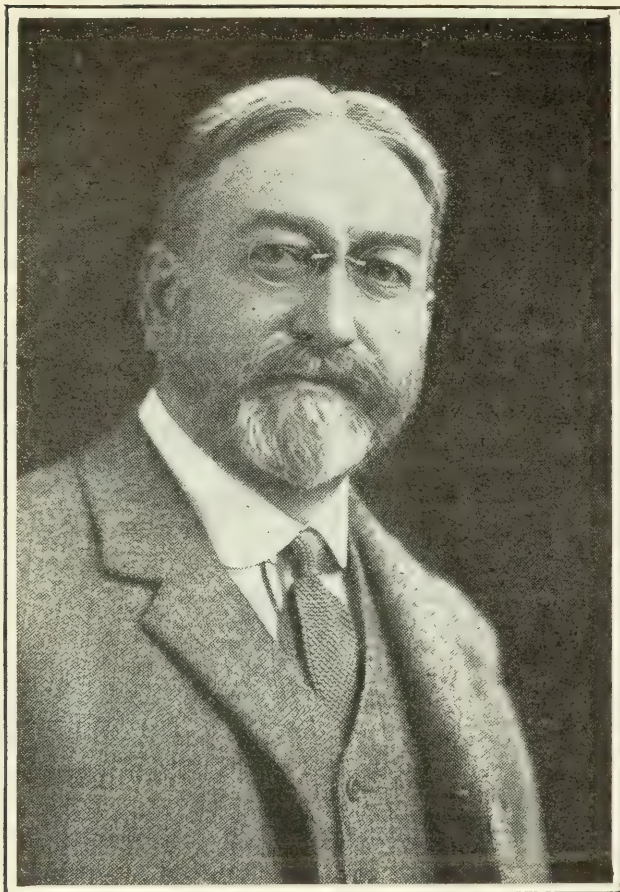
*The Dispute
in
South America*

The long-standing dispute between Chile and Peru over the provinces of Tacna and Arica—a dispute in which Bolivia has vital interests because of her desire to acquire sea frontage of her own—came before the Assembly of the League of Nations meeting at Geneva last month. The point of view of Bolivia had shifted somewhat, by reason of a change of administration which has seemed to associate Bolivia more closely with Peru, and



THE SO-CALLED "SUPREME COUNCIL", AS PHOTOGRAPHED ON THE STEPS OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE BUILDING IN PARIS

(Although the full Assembly of the League of Nations—which, with the admission of Latvia and Esthonia, now includes representatives of fifty countries—and also the smaller group known as the Council of the League, were in session last month at Geneva, it was perfectly obvious to all who were present that the League does not yet exercise any real authority, because the control of international affairs is retained by the group of government heads which calls itself the Supreme Council. In the photograph above, in the front row, are Lord Curzon and Mr. Lloyd George, of the British Government; Premier Briand, of France; Premier Bonomi, of Italy; M. Locheur, of France; Ambassador Harvey [sitting by courtesy as an American observer] and Viscount Hayashi, of Japan)



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HON. JOHN BASSETT MOORE, OF NEW YORK

has made her for the moment appear as a principal in the argument against Chile's contention. The Chileans at Geneva urged the Monroe Doctrine; but the Bolivians declared that the United States had no objection at all to any kind of intervention or friendly inquiry that would help the three South American countries to agree upon a final solution. The League of Nations Assembly kept itself one or two removes away from the problem itself, by entertaining the question whether or not there was any phase of the matter that might properly be taken up. A committee is considering this question, but without any active South American interest. It would be a triumph of neighborly good-will if the three countries concerned should themselves get together and agree upon a settlement.

*Judges for
a World
Tribunal*

Our readers will remember that last year a group of jurists formulated a plan for an international court of justice, such a body being contemplated by a provision of the covenant of the League of Nations. Mr. Elihu Root was one of the foremost of the jurists who made the plan. Last month the Assembly of the League of Nations selected judges who were

to serve as members of this tribunal; and it was much desired that Mr. Root should be made a member, with a view to having him serve as chief justice or presiding officer of the bench. Mr. Root, who is now seventy-six, declined to have his name considered on the score of his age. It was the opinion here at home that he could render more important international services as a member of our delegation in the forthcoming conference than as one of the judges of the new court. Hon. John Bassett Moore, of New York, was elected, as were two Latin Americans, one Englishman, a Spaniard, a Dutch jurist, one from Switzerland, and several others. Mr. Moore is well known as a great authority in the field of international law and diplomacy, who has served in the State Department at different times and is the author of monumental works. He is eminently qualified to serve on an international court. He is a Virginian by birth and has for a long time been Professor of International Law in Columbia University, New York. It should be said that this International Court of Justice, although formed under the League of Nations, is perfectly capable of functioning separately, and could be maintained by international agreement even if the League of Nations should at some time be superseded.

*New York's
Municipal
Contest*

The most striking political event of the last month was the primary election in New York City for the selection of candidates to be voted upon in the municipal election of November 8. It has been known all along that the Tammany Democracy would nominate Mayor Hylan to succeed himself. The principal contest was in the Republican primaries. While the total vote was not large as compared with the full number of registered party voters, it was sufficiently extensive and active to present an illustration of the occasional value of the primary election method. As our readers will remember, there had been a selection, by a Coalition Committee, of candidates who might secure the support of all anti-Tammany elements. This preliminary conference had chosen Mr. Henry H. Curran for Mayor, State Senator Charles C. Lockwood for Comptroller, and a Democrat, Mr. Vincent Gilroy, for President of the Board of Aldermen, these three being the offices to be filled on general ticket by the entire metropolis. The Republican primaries ratified these Coalition selections by very strong majorities.



Photographs © W. W. Foster, Richmond

HON. E. LEE TRINKLE, DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

COL. H. W. ANDERSON, REPUBLICAN NOMINEE

THE RIVAL CANDIDATES IN THE PENDING CONTEST FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP OF VIRGINIA

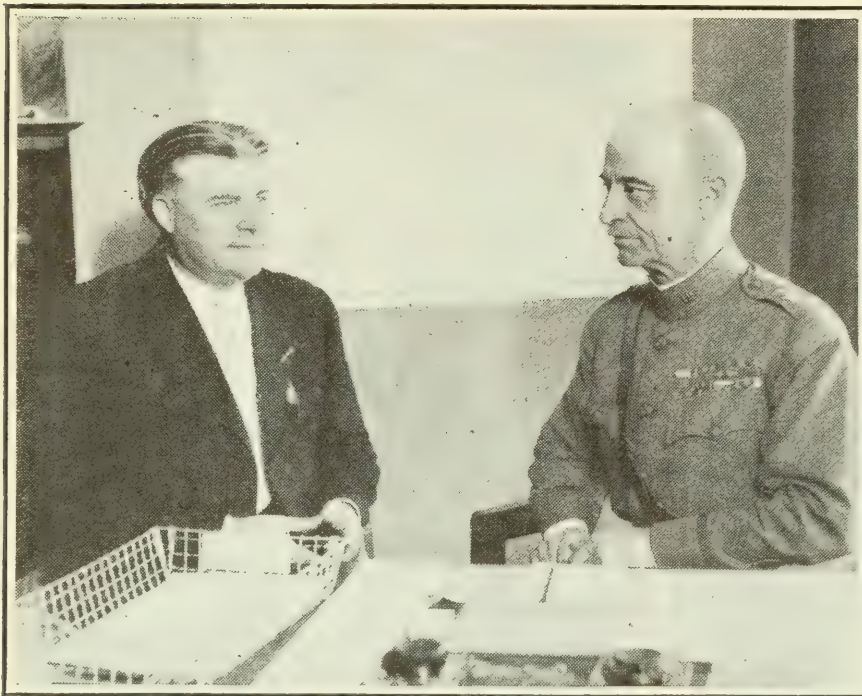
Women Influential in New York

Three other mayoralty candidates appeared and conducted active campaigns. All of them accepted Curran's victory with cordial goodwill. One of them, Judge Haskell, was regarded as making his fight principally on an appeal to the "wet" vote. It is admitted that the women who entered the primaries voted very strongly for Mr. Curran; and it is the undisputed opinion that the women intended to emphasize their support of prohibition, and the strict enforcement of laws affecting social and educational conditions. We are publishing an article (see page 382) which Dr. Ettinger, Superintendent of Education of New York City, has written at our request upon the occasion of the opening of a new school year for about one million children and young people of the metropolis. The provision of new schools has not been rapid enough to take care of the increase of school population. There are sharp disputes as to the extent to which Mayor Hylan and the present city government should be blamed for this condition. The outstanding fact remains that, regardless of party, the people of the city are overwhelmingly devoted to the policy of providing good schools for all the children, as the basis of our future welfare and prosperity. Mr.

Curran and his co-nominees are capable and experienced men who may be confidently expected, if elected in November, to give New York, for the four years beginning January next, an administration of the finances and of the various services of New York that will be on the highest plane of character and efficiency.

*Virginia,
and the
"Solid South"*

This is not an autumn of numerous State campaigns, Massachusetts having given up her annual election of Governors, and a great majority of the States holding their contests in the even rather than the odd years. We have already referred to the special election in New Mexico to fill the Senate seat vacated by Secretary Fall. An interesting State campaign is under way in Virginia, however, where the Republicans have entered the field under new conditions. It has for a long time been taken for granted that the governorship was settled in the Democratic primaries of August. This year, the most widely known Democratic candidate was the Hon. Henry St. George Tucker, but he was defeated for the nomination by Mr. E. Lee Trinkle. Mr. Trinkle has served in the State Senate, and seems to have appealed especially to prohibi-



GOV. EPHRIAM A. MORGAN, OF WEST VIRGINIA, AND BRIG.-GEN. H. H. BANDHOLTZ, OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY
(Conferring over the situation produced in the mining regions by the insurrection of thousands of strikers)

tionists and farmers. The present Republican movement is not one of invasion from without, but is strictly Virginian in its inception and in its objects. It does not profess to be seeking to bring Virginia to the support of national Republican policy, but it does seek on the other hand to make Virginia a State of two parties, and to compel the Democrats to reform their political machine and not to presume to govern the State through inferior men or upon a low plane. The nominee for Governor is Hon. Henry W. Anderson, of Richmond, a distinguished lawyer and a citizen of the highest standing. With the rank of Colonel, Mr. Anderson served abroad during the war as one of the principal leaders in Red Cross work. The Republicans under Colonel Anderson's leadership do not propose to array the colored voters against the Democrats, but prefer that, as negroes come into the exercise of their political rights, they should not act as a racial unit but should join both parties. Virginia is a very strong Democratic State; but Colonel Anderson is preaching the doctrine that good government requires the emergence of a second party in the "Solid South."

West Virginia and the Miners' War The protracted strikes of bituminous coal miners in the West Virginia fields had been assuming an increasingly serious character, until at length a state of civil war had come into

existence in Mingo County and adjacent mining districts. Many thousands of miners were under arms, and against them were improvised armies of deputy sheriffs, together with State troops called out by Governor Morgan. As the situation became more menacing, the President and the Secretary of War recognized the call of the Governor for Federal aid, and the situation was placed in the hands of Brig.-Gen. H. H. Bandholtz, who undertook to restore peace and order in the name of the United States without undue use of force. His tactful methods last month secured acquiescence on the part of the leaders of the miners' unions, and the local reign

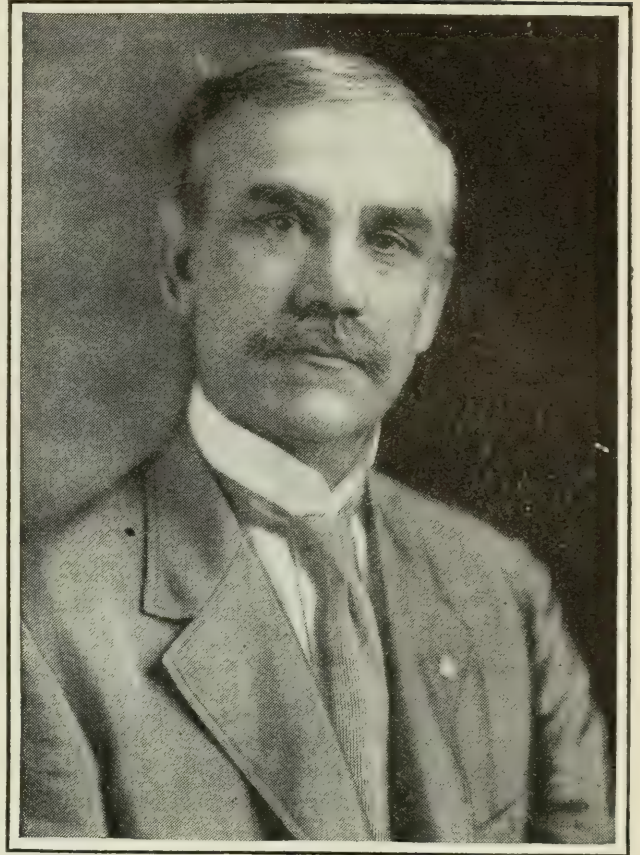
of violence came to an end. Federal troops remain in West Virginia, and the industrial questions at issue between the operators and the miners are not yet adjusted. The situation is complicated; but it might have been dealt with many months ago if there had been a proper method of public investigation and report on the matters in dispute between the employers and the men. Whatever may be the justification for the attitude of the operators during the present season, it must be admitted that the troubles in West Virginia have grown out of real grievances on the part of the miners during previous periods. A candid study of coal-mining would seem to lead disinterested people to the conclusion that in no other industry has there been better ground for unionizing the men, in order that there might be a basis for collective bargaining with agreements beneficial alike to the workers, the employers, and the public. Governor Morgan, on September 15, speaking to West Virginia bankers, reviewed the recent disorders, pointing to some of the causes and promising a higher assertion of State authority as against the two contending interests that had habitually taken the law into their own hands. Senator Kenyon also announced that members of the Committee on Education and Labor would start a tentative investigation. The thing most needed now is the turning of a searchlight upon the underlying facts and conditions.

*Hope
for Tax
Revision*

The Administration and Congress are acutely conscious that the country is counting on a reduction of taxes. During the recess of Congress, the Senate Finance Committee remained at work, wrestling with the House bill that had been turned over to it. Enough was known of its deliberations, before Congress met again, to give assurance that the measure evolved by it would not be notably different from the measure that was passed in the House of Representatives. The task is no small one. Not only is it proving almost impossible to cut down expenditures to a degree that will allow any radical lessening of the tax burden, but, even assuming that this is done, the Republican members themselves are far from being of one mind as to how the money should be raised. The most serious bone of contention is going to be the repeal of the excess-profits tax. The country at large undoubtedly desires its repeal, and business men are practically a unit in demanding it. Moreover, even if we should be willing to put up with its inequalities, the tax has progressed far toward the vanishing point of productiveness. Yet there is persistent opposition to its repeal on the ground that it is the one tax that is levied on the successful and not on the unsuccessful. There is too strong a temptation to make political capital out of this theory.

*Secretary
Mellon's New
Proposals*

On September 8, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon made certain new recommendations to the Senate Finance Committee that are understood to represent the Administration's final judgment as to the details of the forthcoming revenue measure. The most important of these are: (1) The repeal of the excess-profits tax (to be retroactive from January 1, 1921); (2) reduction of the higher surtaxes on individual incomes to a maximum of 25 per cent.; (3) repeal of the transportation taxes 50 per cent., beginning on the first of 1922, and the remainder beginning on the first of January, 1923; (4) to make up for the income thus lost, an increase in the corporation income tax to 15 per cent., beginning January 1, 1921; (5) a tax on proprietary medicines and cosmetics beginning January 1, 1922; and (6) elimination of the capital stock tax on the same date. It will be remembered that in the bill passed by the House and now being amended by the Senate Committee, the excess-profits tax is to continue until the first of next year, the



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SENATOR REED SMOOT, OF UTAH

(Who last month offered a simplified substitute for the Revenue bill pending in Congress)

corporation income tax is put at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the maximum surtax rate at 32 per cent., and the transportation taxes are to be dropped on the first of next year. It is estimated that a bill drafted on the lines suggested by Secretary Mellon would raise about \$3,300,000,000 in the fiscal year 1922. There will undoubtedly be a struggle over the reduction of the maximum surtax rate, and most observers look for a compromise on a rate something like 30 per cent. instead of the 25 per cent. asked for by the Secretary of the Treasury. Many regard the Secretary's proposal of a tax on proprietary medicines and cosmetics, using the manufacturers' or importers' selling price, as the opening wedge for a general sales tax.

*Senator Smoot
Offers
a Substitute*

Ranking high among the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee, and one of the clearest-headed and ablest men in either house of Congress when it comes to financial matters, Senator Smoot has announced that he is dissatisfied with the whole structure of the revenue measure sent up from the House, and is drafting a new one to offer as a substitute. Its distinctions are simplicity and ease of operation. Senator Smoot would

repeal every tax law in existence and raise the necessary money from six sources. The Senator estimates that income taxes, with a maximum rate of 32 per cent., would bring in about \$830,000,000; a 10 per cent. tax on the net profits of corporations, \$445,000,000; the present tobacco and estate taxes, \$405,000,000; import duties perhaps \$400,000,000; and last, but not least, a 3 per cent. manufacturers' sales tax, \$1,200,000,000. The Senator is able to show that with receipts from back taxes and from salvaged war material amounting to \$540,000,000, and from the tax on alcoholic beverages of \$75,000,000, his program would raise altogether \$3,895,000,000. Taxpayers at large would draw sighs of relief if so simple and easily understood a plan as Senator Smoot's could really come into existence. There seems, however, to be at present but little possibility for it, politically speaking. Its backbone is, of course, the 3 per cent. tax on manufacturers' sales; and while this is cleverly limited to minimize the ever-ready objections based on taxing the purchases of the poor, it is highly doubtful whether a sufficient number of Congressmen can be found at this time willing to give their political enemies the chance that advocacy of any sales tax would afford.

*Plan to
Consolidate
Railroads*

Only a few months ago the proposed plan to consolidate the country's railroads into a few great systems was looked on as a matter of large moment, and it was thought that the definite scheme to be worked out by the Interstate Commerce Commission would be of very immediate interest and importance to the railroads, the public, and the stock mar-

ket. Now that a detailed plan for it has been published by the Commission after long study by its expert, W. Z. Ripley, professor of transportation at Harvard, very little attention is being paid to the matter. The railroads have so many current troubles that they are loath to tackle any new problem of such magnitude. It is felt, too, that until the income of the roads has come to a point somewhere nearer normal, with the prices of their securities reflecting the improvement, it would be very upsetting to attempt anything radical in the way of consolidations. The Commission's plan provides for a reduction of the number of Class 1 roads from two hundred and three to twenty, or less. Just twenty new groups are proposed and laid out on paper, but several of them are alternative suggestions.

*An Offspring
of the
Esch Act*

This great project of consolidation is a part of the outworking of the Esch-Cummins Act, passed in February, 1920, which revolutionized the relations of the Government with the railroads, especially in the matter of rate-making and earnings. Before this, for thirty years the railroads had been prohibited by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law from merging competing lines. It will be remembered that in the famous Northern Securities case the intent of the Sherman Law was thus clearly construed by the Supreme Court. The act of 1920 deliberately excepted the railroads from the operations of the Sherman Act, and specifically authorized and encouraged railroad companies to consolidate under certain conditions. These conditions were that any such consolidation must be in harmony with the plan to be laid out by the Interstate Commerce Commission; the securities of a new consolidated corporation taken at par must not exceed the value of the merged properties as determined by the Commission; and public hearings must be had before the Commission to determine whether any particular consolidation is in the public interest. A fundamental difficulty in the way of beginning any practical work in consolidating is the objection of the strong roads to be linked up with the weak. The latter may be very ready for consolidation; but where a road, through its fortunate geographical location, fine equipment and able management, can produce transportation at much lower cost than its neighbor, it will be difficult to persuade it that there will be advantage in a merger to effect an average



ABOUT TO GET HIS
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

result. The history of our railroads has too many instances of strong roads beginning the downward path to weakness through taking in their less fortunate brethren.

*Convulsions
in Cotton
Market*

The Department of Agriculture's last report on the year's cotton crop was the most remarkable one ever made. It has been known that the cotton acreage planted this year was very much smaller than normal, the deficiency being generally estimated at something like 25 per cent. But the August report showed that not only had there been the unprecedented cut in acreage; the yield to the acre is this year only 127 pounds as compared with 178 pounds in 1920. The result is that the Department estimates this year's crop at only 7,037,000 bales, compared with an actual crop last year of 13,439,000. The carry-over from last year was very large, but nothing like enough to allow for this tremendous shrinkage in the new crop, and the price of the staple promptly began to soar from the level of 11 or 12 cents to which it had fallen from its war-time peak of 42 cents. Before the middle of September certain cotton futures were quoted around 22 cents. This episode has done much to rescue the Southern planter from his desperate financial plight. It is true that a great part of the cotton carried over from previous crops had passed from the ownership of the farmers to the bankers and others who had loaned money on it. The higher price will, however, enable the lenders to sell the cotton taken as security and clean up the farmers' notes, giving them good credit again. Of the crops other than cotton, the Government report shows a normal yield of corn, a slightly smaller crop of wheat than last year's, and a considerably reduced yield of oats. Looking at the wheat crop of the whole world, one finds that in spite of the unprecedented drought of the summer in Europe and elsewhere, the total production will be above last year's. The Department of Agriculture places the combined crop of the twenty principal wheat-growing countries of the world at 2,461,000,000 bushels. Last year's figure was 2,384,000,000 bushels.

*Signs of
Business
Recovery*

Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin's article in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS describing the factors which are making, or will soon make, for a recovery from the present stagnation in trade, happens to have been writ-

ten almost simultaneously with the actual appearance of certain encouraging signs in industry and in the securities market. The first week of September brought a distinct revival of speculative activity, though there is no overweening confidence that the extraordinary depression of the past half year is going to give way at once to a period of intense activity and "boom" times. The general feeling, supplemented by the confident prediction of Mr. Will H. Hayes and others that good times are ahead, is that the corner has been turned, and that most businesses are out of their troubles and on the road to reasonable prosperity. The United States Steel Corporation, for the first time since deflation set in, makes a report of unfilled orders that shows a less discouraging trend in the matter of new business. The textile trades are busy and are making average profits. The equipment companies, manufacturing locomotives and passenger and freight cars, are receiving enough foreign orders from China, South America, Rumania, and other European countries to keep them, with their domestic business added, fairly prosperous. The copper mines have shut down to a little over a tenth of their capacity production, and the world demand is slowly but surely removing the enormous surplus of copper metal that resulted from so sudden a drop in demand after the vast productive expansion to fill the needs of war. When these surplus stocks have been reduced sufficiently the price of the metal will soon reflect the new situation and allow the mines to reopen and make profits. The petroleum industry is not making so much headway toward recovery; being the last to suffer, it may be also the last to revive. It may be necessary to await the normal slackening in flow of many wells before the actual present pause in new drilling will have an important effect toward bringing production to a proper relation with consumption. But with all the constantly arriving new uses for petroleum and its by-products, not the least concern is felt as to the ultimate strength of the oil business, and it has a way of "coming back" almost overnight.

*Automobile
Prices
Tumbling*

The one great essential for the resumption of full activity in business is for an orderly readjustment of wages and resulting costs of production that will bring the costs and prices of different groups of producers into harmonious relation with each other. When,

for instance, transportation has to be produced with labor that costs twice as much as the outside market price for the same grade of labor, other groups that are suffering from a great drop in the price of their products—as is the case with farmers—cannot buy transportation freely or the goods manufactured and transported with high wage costs. During the past month the process of readjustment in prices has been marked by spectacular cuts in the prices of automobiles. Mr. Henry Ford, who makes more than twice as many automobiles as all other American manufacturers combined, announced on September 1 that his touring cars were reduced in price to \$355—below even the price prevailing in 1917. Six other prominent automobile manufacturers promptly followed Mr. Ford's example, these September reductions being the second or third in this year. One make of car sold by tens of thousands cost a year ago \$1035; today the price is \$595. A larger model cost last year \$2300 and now sells for \$1525. The question remains whether cars can be produced at a profit with the new prices. Mr. Ford can undoubtedly make huge profits, and a number of other manufacturers strongly intrenched in public favor and cash resources, and with efficient management, will undoubtedly continue to operate successfully. It is generally predicted, however, that many of the smaller companies will have a hard time through the coming winter, as reduced prices do not always mean increased demand; and many observers look for a smaller number of automobile makers and larger corporation units.



CONFIDENCE WINS THIS BATTLE
From the News (Rome, Ga.)

The Conference on Unemployment In the last week of August, President Harding announced through Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, that he would soon call a national conference to study the problem of unemployment, and seek for some immediate remedy. Commenting on the predictions that there would be acute suffering this winter, due to unemployment, after the savings of the past prosperous years have been exhausted, the President expressed the opinion that it is inconceivable that there should be widespread suffering now in America where food, fuel and clothing are being produced beyond the present rate of consumption. The most reliable estimates have it that there are at present about 5,735,000 persons out of work in the United States. This, it must be remembered, is the result of comparison with the peak of activity in business which came in March, 1920. It is also true that hundreds of thousands of people who were at work in 1920, especially women and girls, were doing war jobs or were temporarily taking the opportunities offered by the scarcity of labor to add to their incomes. It is generally thought that not more than 4,000,000 people are now jobless if comparison is made with normal times.

The Scope of the Conference

The President has placed the planning of the coming conference in the hands of Mr. Hoover, who will obtain coöperation from the Department of Labor. He has announced that probably not more than fifteen or twenty-five persons will be called; that they will represent the country geographically, as well as the different groups of the larger industries, and that the personnel will be determined with reference to the interests of capital, labor and the public. The conference will not only study definite plans to give work to the jobless, but will consider the social phases of the problem and the relations of capital to labor. Inclusion of the last subject does not, however, mean that controversial topics, such as the open or closed shop, wages and working conditions, will be allowed to bring acrimony and obstruction into the work. The Department of Commerce has for some time been priming itself for this work by an intimate study of the business situation and export trade, having called representatives of many and varied industries to give information of value in planning to lessen unemployment.



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REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

(Who will prove exceedingly helpful in meeting with the Administration of President Harding the grave foreign problems approaching settlement during the coming months. They are, from left to right, Senators Medill McCormick, of Illinois; George H. Moses, of New Hampshire; Frank B. Kellogg, of Minnesota; Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, Chairman [also a delegate to the Washington Conference]; Porter J. McCumber, of North Dakota, and Harry S. New, of Indiana)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From August 15 to September 15, 1921)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 16.—In the House, Mr. Fordney reports the Tax Revision bill as reducing taxes \$377,900,000 now and \$790,000,000 by 1923.

In the Senate, adjournment is agreed upon from August 24 to September 21, by vote of 38 to 18.

August 18.—The House committee which investigated the draft evader Bergdoll's escape from imprisonment reports; the majority names three most culpable persons, while the minority (Republican) protects the commissioned and non-commissioned officers but censures ex-Brig.-Gen. Ansell, Bergdoll's counsel.

August 19.—The Senate passes a \$75,000,000 good roads bill; the House measure carried \$100,000,000.

August 20.—The House passes the Tax Revision bill, 274 to 125; the bill is to raise \$3,366,000,000 of revenue and reduce taxes \$800,000,000 by 1923; fifty Republicans vote against it.

August 22.—The House passes the railroad relief bill, 214 to 123; it provides half a billion dollars for use by the roads; \$1,750,000,000 had already been provided.

August 23.—The House adopts the conference report on the anti-beer bill, 169 to 81; the report turns down the Senate amendment prohibiting search of homes without warrants. . . . The Senate is in a hopeless tangle, with party lines broken in the fight to retain the amendment.

The Senate, voting 50 to 16, passes the Shipping Board appropriation of \$48,500,000 and it goes to conference; restrictions on salaries are removed.

August 24.—The Senate passes a measure continuing the dye embargo to January 1, 1922, and

adjourns without action on the anti-beer bill conference report.

The House adjourns for thirty days.

August 30.—The Senate Committee on Finance hears Arthur Balfour, of England, in a plea for lower tariff on steel, state that in England 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 are employed only two days a week, another 1,000,000 only one day, and 2,000,000 entirely unemployed.

September 7.—The Senate Finance Committee hears Secretary Mellon's recommendations to repeal the capital-stock and excess-profits taxes, halve the transportation taxes, put a 15 per cent. tax on corporation net income, and reduce income surtaxes from the House figure of 32 per cent. to 25 per cent. (the present maximum being 63 per cent.).

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 18.—William J. Burns is appointed as head of the United States Secret Service.

August 19.—The joint army and navy board reports that results of recent airplane bombing tests show that the battleship is still supreme; but the board recommends building airplane carriers and taking similar steps.

August 21.—The Shipping Board receives bids for 205 wooden ships at \$2100 each; the boats cost the Government from \$300,000 to \$800,000 each.

August 22.—Judge James E. Boyd, in the federal court at Greensboro, N. C., holds the new national child-labor law unconstitutional, on the ground that power to regulate labor was never delegated to the Government by the States.

President Harding signs the Edge-ANSorge bill giving Government authority to develop the Port

of New York under the New York-New Jersey treaty of April 30, 1921.

August 25.—In Mingo County, W. Va., more than 4000 armed union men march on the coal mines in a demonstration against martial law, and in an effort, apparently finding peaceful means impracticable, to unionize the Mingo and Logan county fields.

August 27.—The federal Circuit Court orders a return of the nine United States Mail Steamship Company vessels upon its receiver's application, and Mr. Lasker secures three volunteer operators who will run the ships without profit until they are rechartered or sold.

August 28.—Secretary Hoover announces that the President is making arrangements for a national conference on unemployment.

President Harding opens a new all-American cable service between Porto Rico and the continent.

August 31.—The New York Court of Appeals holds the recent Soldier Bonus act of the State unconstitutional as using public credit for private benefit.

A New York court decides upon a method of computing profit on rental of dwellings, and holds that 10 per cent. under this computation is a fair profit.

The Federal Trade Commission issues a formal complaint against the Famous Players-Lasky Corporation as a film trust controlling 6000 of the 18,000 exhibitors in the United States.

September 2.—Federal troops are sent to West Virginia, while miners with rifles and deputies with machine guns battle along Crooked Creek and in the Blair Mountain district, notwithstanding a proclamation by the President to disperse.

General Leonard Wood accepts the tender of the Philippine Governor-Generalship and will retire from the Army.

September 3.—In West Virginia, 400 armed miners surrender to federal troops, who take charge; many others hide their guns and disband in the hills.

September 7.—Judge Landis, arbitrating the building wage controversy at Chicago, decides upon a 10 to 33 per cent. reduction of pay from \$1.25 an hour, laborers and teamsters being cut to 70 cents an hour.

Ninety-four New York tile-makers are indicted by the federal grand jury for conspiracy in restraint of trade.

Secretary Denby approves a report recommending wage reductions of about 18 per cent. for 60,000 civilian workers at navy yards; \$1000 is fixed as a minimum wage for a laborer with a family; the present recommendations of wages are 45 per cent. above the 1913 level, with the cost of living 80 per cent. higher.

War Department surplus property sales are announced as totaling \$1,456,846,801; material worth \$1,500,000,000 still remains for disposal, of which \$600,000,000 is ammunition.

September 8.—American representatives at the Washington conference on limitation of armaments are named, headed by the Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, and including also Elihu Root and the Republican and Democratic leaders of the Senate, Henry Cabot Lodge (Rep., Mass.) and Oscar W. Underwood (Dem., Ala.).

A federal judge at New York rules that the

immigration authorities may not only hold but deport aliens exceeding the monthly quota based on one-twelfth of the annual influx permitted any one nation under the new act.

September 9.—At New York City, federal prohibition agents, over the heads of the customs officers, make a \$1,000,000 drug and liquor raid on a Greek steamship under British registry; 327 are made prisoners, and the ship is seized.

September 11.—Wesley L. Jones, United States Senator from Washington, formally charges that secret agreements between railroad trunk lines and foreign shipping concerns are the cause of the failure of Shipping Board vessels to obtain sufficient cargoes.

September 12.—The Wood mission leaves the Philippines for Hongkong, Shanghai, Peking, and Korea; General Wood will return later to Manila, while Mr. Forbes goes back to the States.

September 13.—Brig.-Gen. William Mitchell, Assistant Chief of Air Service, reports to his chief, Maj.-Gen. Menoher, a strong dissent from the joint report on recent bombing tests; he recommends establishment of a department of national defense with sub-secretaries for the army, navy, and air service, and an adequate liaison between these on a basis of equality.

Henry Curran defeats three competitors for the Republican Mayoralty nomination at the primaries; Charles C. Lockwood is nominated for Comptroller; and Vincent Gilroy for Aldermanic President; "Boss" Murphy, backing Mayor Hylan, defeats Tammany insurgents led by James J. Hines.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 16.—The Dail Eireann, or Irish Republican Parliament, meets openly at Dublin; President DeValera declares for complete separation from Britain.

August 22.—King Alexander, who is ill at Paris, proclaims his accession to the throne of his late father, King Peter of Serbia.

August 23.—Mesopotamia's new king ascends the throne in the new Arabic State of Irak; he is Emir Feisal, son of the King of the Hedjaz and friendly to the British.

August 24.—In the Malabar district on the west coast of British India, serious rioting is quelled by British soldiers; the disturbances seem to be purely native, led by disbanded Moslem troops; casualties are heavy.

August 25.—Ireland's Republican Parliament rejects the British proposals, leaving an opening for further discussion but insisting upon Ireland's right to choose its own form of government.

August 26.—Premier Lloyd George's reply to Ireland says parleys will end if secession is insisted on, and he restates the British proposal, inviting "Ireland to take her place as a partner in the great commonwealth of free nations, united by allegiance to the King."

Mathias Erzberger, German political leader, former Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Finance, who was instrumental in accepting the Versailles treaty, is murdered near Offenbourg, Baden; he is thought to be a victim of the Pan-Germanists.

August 28.—The Moplahs, or native Mohammedans of India, proclaim home rule at Pallipu; British troops land at Calicut and place under

martial law the districts of Walavanad, Ponnani, Ernad, Calicut, Wynaad and Kurambanad.

August 29.—President Ebert, of Germany, issues a decree prohibiting demonstrations, meetings or processions, and publications likely to encourage seditious movements.

The All-Russian Relief Committee headed by Maxim Gorky is dissolved by the Soviet Government; members will not be permitted to leave Russia.

In Belfast, riots break out, with serious casualties; troops are called to restore order.

August 31.—The Mexican Supreme Court decides that Article XXVII of the Constitution is not retroactive and does not confiscate subsoil rights acquired by foreign oil and mining companies previous to its adoption.

September 2.—DeValera's reply to Lloyd George calls for stronger assurances of dominion status than have yet been given, rejecting the proposals of July 20 and insisting on equality with other Dominions, freedom from the British Parliament, unity of Ireland, and cessation of British armed force.

September 3.—Dr. W. W. Yen is named by the Chinese Government at Peking to head a mission to the Washington Conference composed of C. H. Wang, jurist, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, and S. Alfred Sze.

September 6.—Revolutionists, headed by Liberals, are reported in control of Bogota, Colombia; the report is denied, but a cabinet crisis is admitted.

September 7.—The British Cabinet proposes, in a note to DeValera, that a conference with delegates of the Dail Eireann be held at Inverness, Scotland, on September 20, on condition that Ireland consent to remain within the Empire.

September 13.—The Japanese naval conferees decide all navies of the principal powers should "minimize the scope of armament to the same degree as that of the country having the smallest naval strength" and none should establish any Pacific naval base.

September 14.—The Dail Eireann names Arthur Griffin, Michael Collins, Robert C. Barton, Eamon J. Duggan, and George Gavan Duffy as conferees to go to Inverness.

September 15.—Lloyd George cancels the conference at Inverness because the Irish acceptance adheres to the claim of complete independence.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 18.—American relief in famine-stricken Russia is agreed to by Soviet officials, who finally yield to Herbert Hoover's demand for complete American control.

The Council of the League of Nations is summoned to meet August 29.

China formally accepts the American invitation to the Washington Conference.

August 21.—Turkish Nationalists capture 4000 Greeks on the Sakaria River.

August 22.—Panama orders its civil authorities to evacuate Coto awarded to Costa Rica; the action is taken after receipt of a strong note from Secretary Hughes.

August 23.—Prominent American oil producers leave for Mexico City to confer with President Obregon regarding oil land titles.

August 24.—A treaty ending the state of war between the United States and Austria is signed at Vienna, Arthur Hugh Frazier acting for Washington.

Japan accepts the American invitation to the Washington Conference.

Chief Justice Taft, of the United States Supreme Court, appoints Prof. John F. Hayford and Prof. Ora Miner Leland to survey the Panama-Costa Rica boundary under Article II of the Porras-Anderson convention; Costa Rica appoints Señor Don Luis Matamorros; Panama protests.

August 25.—Nearly three years after the armistice, the United States and Germany sign a separate treaty of peace at Berlin, in which America retains benefits of the Versailles Treaty but disavows the League of Nations covenant.

Jacob Gould Schurman, American Minister, arrives in China.

August 26.—Nicaragua is invaded by revolutionaries from Honduras.

The Trianon Treaty, between Hungary and the Allies, is promulgated at Paris.

August 28.—The Allies request Germany to arrange to transport their troop reinforcements to Upper Silesia.

Moroccan tribesmen revolt at El Araish, on the Atlantic, and kill 200 Spaniards of the Arba-el-Kola garrison; the position is recaptured.

Turks cut off the Greek right wing on the Sakaria River, in Asia Minor; the invaders had suffered from thirst and malaria in the Salt Desert.

Austrian gendarmerie, taking over Burgenland (West Hungary) under the Trianon Treaty, are resisted by armed Hungarian bands; Burgenland formerly produced for sale in Vienna 20,000 tons of cereal, 25,000 tons of potatoes, and 1500 tons of meat, valued at about \$7,000,000 a year.

Nicaraguan troops engage in heavy fighting with rebels at El Sauce.

August 29.—American Relief Administration workers arrive at Moscow; International Red Cross officials sign an agreement with the Soviets identical with the American document.

August 30.—Mexican President Obregon receives American oil men, who protest against the injury to their business caused by high export duties and confiscatory laws.

August 31.—American food is unloaded at Riga and Reval for shipment to Moscow.

Greeks break the Turkish line on the Sakaria River along a 37-mile front and attack second-line positions; Turks call all men between thirty and forty-five for service.

September 1.—The League Council appoints a Silesian commission of four, consisting of Paul Hymans of Belgium, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo of China, Count Quinones de Leon of Spain, and Dr. Gastao de Cunha of Brazil.

President Obregon's message on foreign relations to the Mexican Congress declares a treaty with America (demanded before recognition is granted) is "neither possible, convenient, nor necessary, and is contrary to Mexican constitutional precepts, in that it creates special privileges for Americans."

September 2.—Food trains leave Riga for Moscow; 28,000 tons of food are available, 8000 at European points and 20,000 in America. . . . Col. William N. Haskell sails from New York to head

the American Relief Administration's mission to Russia.

September 3.—American oil men sign an agreement with the Mexican Government regarding oil taxes.

September 4.—The United States treaty of commerce with Siam goes into effect; America gives up extraterritorial rights while Siam gains full fiscal autonomy.

Prince Hirohito returns to Japan from a visit to Europe.

An agreement between Germany and France is published, providing for delivery to the latter of 7,000,000,000 gold marks value in building supplies within three years.

Afghanistan ratifies its treaty with Soviet Russia, thus completing the cordon of treaty nations surrounding Russia, to which Rumania and Japan are the only exceptions, an understanding having been reached with China and Mongolia.

September 5.—At Geneva, the League of Nations Assembly opens its second plenary session; Austria, Bulgaria, Albania, Finland, and Luxembourg are admitted as new members; Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, of Holland, is elected president.

September 6.—Angora, the Turkish Nationalist capital, is reported captured by the Greeks.

Secretary Hughes reiterates the American mandate demands in a new identic note to the Allied powers.

September 7.—At Geneva, Bolivia demands of the Assembly a League adjustment of the Tacna-Arica dispute with Chile; Chile invokes the Monroe Doctrine, to which Bolivia replies she has the sanction of the United States for the reference to the League.

American Relief kitchens are opened in Petrograd and food is distributed.

Nicaraguan rebels are defeated and driven across the Honduran border, where over 1300 are captured by Honduran troops; this prompt action is thought to have obviated a Central American flare-up.

September 8.—The Russian Soviets refuse permission to the Allied Relief Commission to investigate Russia. . . . Sixty-one persons are said to have been executed for the Petrograd plot, including six "American spies or couriers" and sixteen women.

September 10.—Archduke Frederick of Austria deeds his enormous estates, containing 1,000,000 acres of land, factories, mines, castles, apartments, and the Albertina Museum at Vienna to a syndicate of Americans headed by Charles H. Sabin.

September 11.—The League Assembly appoints a commission to determine its competency to act in the Tacna-Arica case.

Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras, is chosen for the capital of the Federation of Central America, composed of Honduras, Salvador, and Guatemala.

September 12.—Moscow declares war in Bessarabia, where Rumania has maintained an unrecognized civil government for two years; Bessarabia was ceded in 1812 by Turkey to Russia, claimed by Rumania as a war spoil, and awarded by the Allies to her in 1919; it contains 18,000 square miles, and 2,000,000 people, of whom half claim to be pure Rumanian.

Spaniards begin a sweeping attack against the Moors on the line Rasquiviana-Zocò-Arbaa.

British authorities discover a plot at Constantinople nested at Angora for Mohammedan revolt.

September 13.—Thomas W. Lamont, of New York, goes to Mexico to negotiate settlement for the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico of the \$240,000,000 in defaulted principal and interest under Mexican bonds, upon the payment of which recognition is said to hinge.

September 14.—The United States State Department sends a tentative draft of subjects for discussion at the Washington Conference to the participating powers.

The League Assembly elects and the Council confirms the following Judges of the International Court of Justice: John Bassett Moore (U. S.), Viscount Robert Finlay (Brit.), Dr. Yorogu Oda (Jap.), Dr. Andre Weiss (Fr.), Commendatore Dionisio Anzilotti (Italy), Dr. Ruy Barbosa (Brazil), Dr. B. T. C. Loder (Hol.), Dr. Antonio S. de Bustamante (Cuba), Judge Didrik Nyholm (Denmark), Dr. Max Huber (Switz.), and Dr. Rafael Altamira Y Crevea (Spain); the term is nine years; the bench consists of eleven judges, who elect their own chief justice.

September 15.—The Japanese note to China on the restoration of Shantung is published at Peking; although it modifies the twenty-one demands, Chinese would get only nominal jurisdiction, while Japan's economic position in Tsing-tao and Kiao-chau bay would be confirmed.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 16.—Paper-mill arbitrators cut unskilled labor wages 25 per cent., and skilled labor 10 per cent., affecting 12,000 men in the United States and Canada.

August 19.—The United States Steel Corporation cuts wages for a third time in 1921; effective August 29, mill workers are to get 30 cents an hour.

The Railway Labor Board rules that overtime need not be paid for regularly bulletined Sunday and holiday work.

The Census Bureau reports manufacture of 61,859,900,000 cigarettes in 1920, of which 15,834,000,000 were exported; 1,502,064,000 lbs. of tobacco were grown on 1,894,400 acres; the nation's 2433 daily papers circulated 32,735,937 copies.

August 21.—The Rockefeller Foundation donates \$1,785,000 to Harvard University to extend its facilities for training public health officers.

August 22.—The monthly report of the Department of Commerce on foreign trade shows a drop of 50 per cent. for the first seven months of 1921.

August 23.—Great Britain's population is reported as 42,767,530, with 7,476,168 in greater London, and a female surplus in England of nearly 2,000,000.

August 24.—The British-built airship *ZR-2*, on a trial flight before delivery to the American Navy, buckles over Hull, England, explodes, and sinks in the River Humber; 16 Americans and 28 British are killed, but 4 British and 1 American are saved; the airship was the world's largest, and the frame buckled under the strain of turning at a speed of about 50 miles per hour.

Two Army piers at Hoboken, N. J., are destroyed by fire and the huge *Leviathan* is damaged; bodies of 1500 soldier dead are removed to safety.

August 31.—The American Bar Association holds its annual convention at Cincinnati, Ohio; Attorney-General Daugherty makes an address.

The Navy's largest non-rigid dirigible, the *D-6*, burns with its hangar at Rockaway Point, N. Y.

September 1.—The superdreadnought *Washington* is launched at Camden, N. J.; she is run by electric drive, of 21 knots speed, and will be armed with eight 16-inch and fourteen 5-inch guns.

September 2.—Newsprint paper is reduced \$15 to \$80 a ton, which is \$50 below the peak price for 1921, and \$5 above the 1919 war-controlled price.

The French wheat crop is officially estimated as 319,000,000 bushels, of which about 7,000,000 are from Alsace-Lorraine.

September 3.—The Methodist Church reports a net gain of 1,255,091 members by all divisions in the United States in the last decade.

September 4.—Interstate Commerce Commission reports show railroad income from 192 Class I lines of \$68,451,000 net for July, compared with an \$11,452,000 deficit last year.

September 6.—At Blaine, Wash., a "Peace Portal" is opened on the Canadian border, in commemoration of 100 years of peace.

September 7.—Cotton, on the New York Exchange, advances and declines \$10 a bale before the close; cotton futures jump to 22 cents from a high of 11¼ cents on June 22; "shorts" bull the market trying to cover.

The Canadian Grand Trunk Railway stock arbitration board, headed by Sir Walter Cassels, decides that the four classes of stock have no value, and that the book accounts have been manipulated; most of the stock, preferred and common, is held in England, where it drops rapidly on the exchange.

September 8.—Novel methods are used by a Boston philanthropist, Urbain Ledoux ("Mr. Zero"), to obtain employment for men out of work; he puts the men, half stripped, on the slave block and auctions them off.

Marine Sergeant Theodore B. Crawley, by hitting 177 successive bull's-eyes, breaks the world's record (106) with the army rifle on the 800-yard range at Camp Perry, Ohio.

September 10.—The river at San Antonio, Texas, overflows after a cloudburst, with an estimated loss of 250 persons and \$3,000,000 in property; storms and tornadoes sweep the West, with heavy rains.

At Chester, Pa., the footway of the Third Street wooden bridge collapses, and thirty-four persons are drowned; the bridge is thirty years old; supporting braces had rusted.

September 13.—At Pittsfield, Mass., the General Electric Company succeeds, after thirty years of experiment, in transmitting 1,000,000 volts current with a 15-foot spark through hollow conduit wires over 4 inches in diameter, under research of F. W. Peak, Jr., G. Faccioli, and W. S. Moody.

September 14.—Secretary Davis announces that

12,000,000 persons are now employed, and the 5,735,000 unemployed, of whom many were war workers, are 1,265,000 less than in 1917; \$500,000,000 is available for public works.

OBITUARY

August 16.—King Peter Karageorgevitch of Serbia, 77.

August 17.—John Stephen Crowell, of Springfield, Ohio, prominent in the periodical publishing business, 71.

August 18.—Ignacio Montes de Oca y Obregon, Archbishop of San Luis Potosi, Mexico, 82. . . . Lucien M. Adkins, long on the staff of the *New York World*, 58.

August 19.—Major-General Henry Alexander Greene, U. S. A., retired, 65. . . . Demetrios Rhallys, ex-Premier of Greece, 81.

August 21.—Elmer E. Johnston, newspaper publisher, of Iowa City, 55. . . . Howard C. Wiggins, former supreme regent of the Royal Arcanum. . . . Robert Ten Eyck Lazier, pioneer electric promoter of Brooklyn, N. Y., 52.

August 24.—Brig.-Gen. Edward Maitland, noted British aviation expert, 41.

August 25.—Peter Cooper Hewitt, the distinguished scientist and electrical inventor, 60. . . . Maj.-Gen. James Franklin Wade, U. S. A., retired, 78. . . . Gen. José Manuel Hernandez, Venezuelan revolutionist, 68. . . . Rev. William Seely Lewis, senior Methodist Bishop in China, 64.

August 27.—Dr. Alexander Wekerle, five times Premier of Hungary, 73.

August 29.—Dr. Joel Asaph Allen, for thirty-six years with the American Museum of Natural History, scientist and author of many articles on birds, 83. . . . Frederick Upham Adams, of New York, author and inventor, 62.

August 31.—Rev. Joseph A. Mulry, S.J., former president of Fordham University (New York City), 47. . . . Albert C. Baker, Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, 76.

September 2.—Dr. Calvin Noyes Kendall, former New Jersey Commissioner of Education, 63. . . . Stephen Cooper Ayres, well-known Cincinnati oculist, 81. . . . Dr. Ernest Pierre Dupré, noted French medical author, 59. . . . Henry Austin Dobson, British poet, 81.

September 4.—Dr. Jeremiah Smith, Story professor of law emeritus at Harvard, 84.

September 6.—Dr. Theodore Andrew McGraw, a distinguished Detroit surgeon, 81.

September 7.—William Reynolds Allen, justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, 64.

September 10.—George Alden Benton, former New York Supreme Court justice, 73.

September 11.—George Peabody Wetmore, former Governor and United States Senator from Rhode Island, 73. . . . The Marquis of Milford Haven, who, as German-born Prince Louis of Battenberg, headed the British navy at the outbreak of the World War, 67.

September 13.—Dr. Oscar A. King, famous neurologist of Wisconsin, who treated mental disorders with erysipelas toxin, 70. . . . Samuel Mitchell Taylor, Representative from Arkansas, 69. . . . Prof. Waterman Thomas Hewett, of Cornell, 75. . . . Mme. Estelle Stamm-Rodgers, operatic contralto, 35.

DISARMAMENT—IRELAND

VARIOUS CARTOON COMMENTS ON TWO GREAT TOPICS



A WELCOME AND A READY RESPONSE
From the *National Republican* (Washington, D. C.)



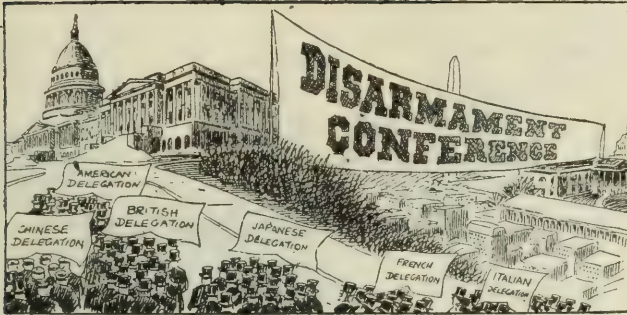
AN UP-TO-DATE PIED PIPER
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)



THE SHOWDOWN
From the *News* (Rome, Ga.)

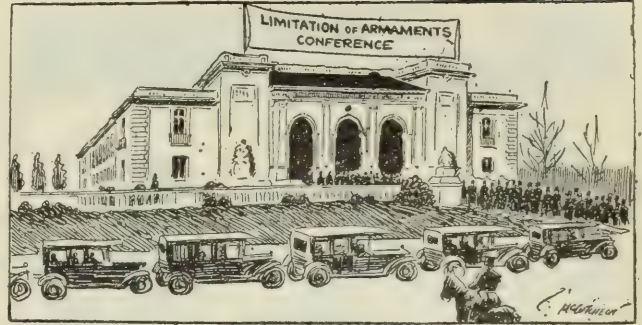


"I WANT TO LET GO"
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



WILL IT BE AS GREAT AS THE PEOPLE HOPE?

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE—From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



OR ONLY AS GREAT AS THE DIPLOMATS EXPECT?

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE—From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



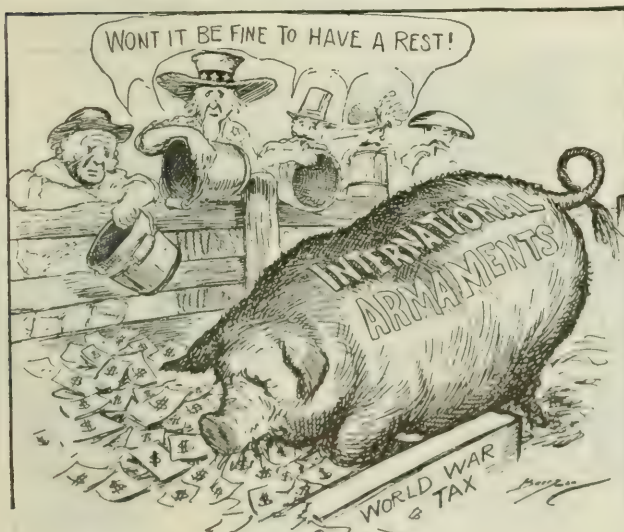
WELCOME! BUT LEAVE THE DOG OUTSIDE
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



"LOVE ME, LOVE MY DOG!"

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio)

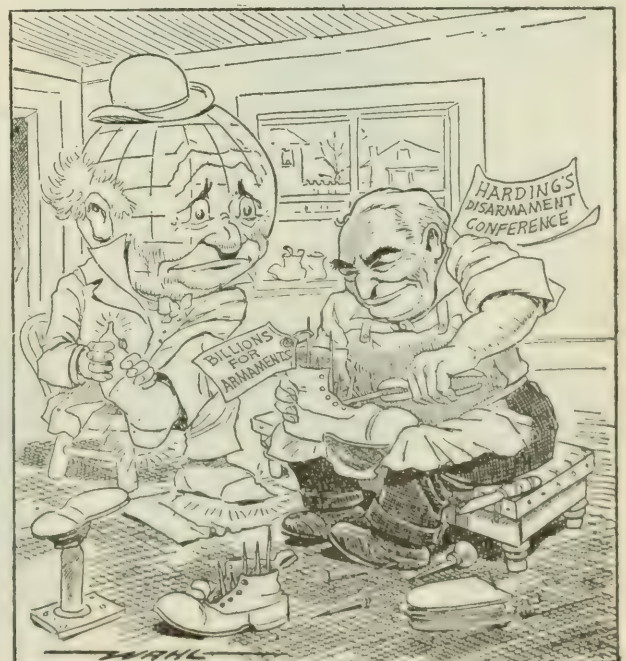
THE approach of the conference at Washington has overshadowed all other topics. Some of its problems, and the hope it holds out to a tax-burdened world, are well interpreted in cartoons reproduced here.



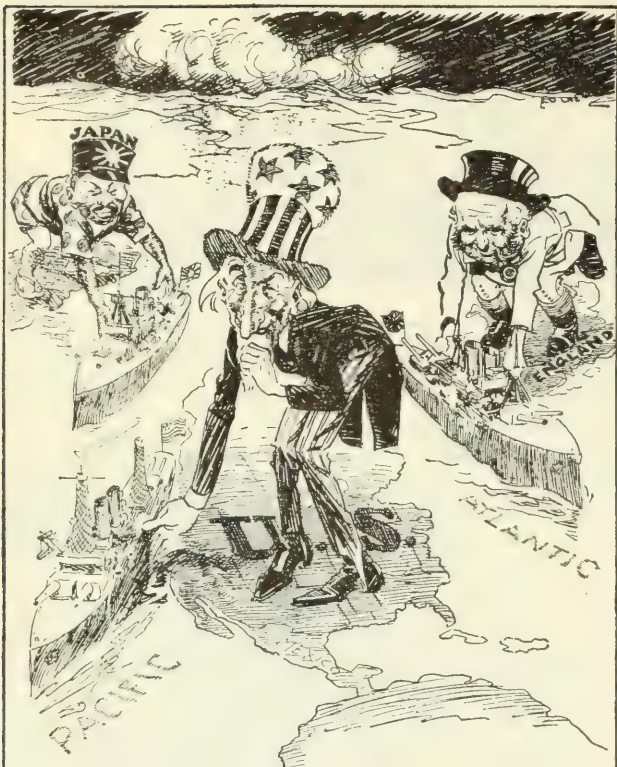
ABOUT TO GET HIS!

From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)

[If the hog had consumed less, he might have been allowed to continue to live]



REMOVING THOSE BOTHERSOME NAILS
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



UNANIMOUS!—THREE WORLD POWERS, ALL WITH
PACIFIC INTENTIONS

JAPAN: "My intentions, I assure you, are entirely
Pacific!"

UNCLE SAM: "Sure—so are mine!"

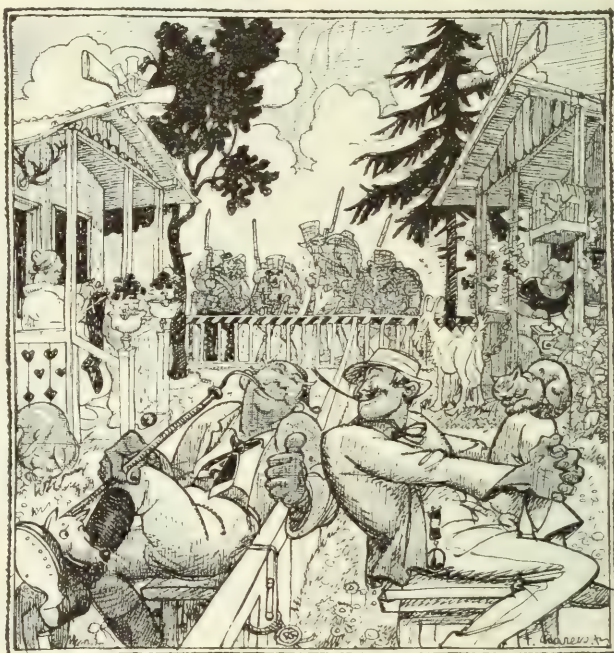
JOHN BULL: "Same here!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)



BURYING THE HATCHET

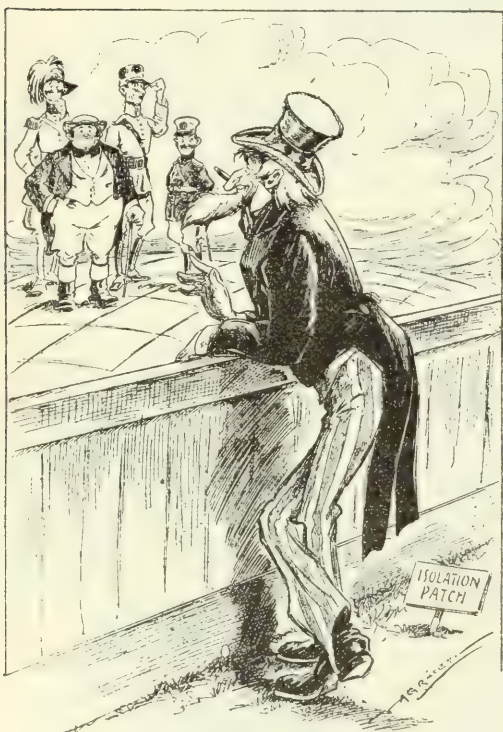
From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)



DISARMAMENT UNDER DIFFICULTIES

GERMANY (to Austria): "They have settled with
us and now they don't know how to protect them-
selves from each other!"

From *Die Muskete* (Vienna, Austria)



UNCLE SAM'S GENEROUS ATTITUDE ON
MANDATES—A CANADIAN VIEW

UNCLE SAM: "And furthermore, I de-
mand the benefit of all mandate privileges."

THE OTHERS: "And how about the re-
sponsibilities?"

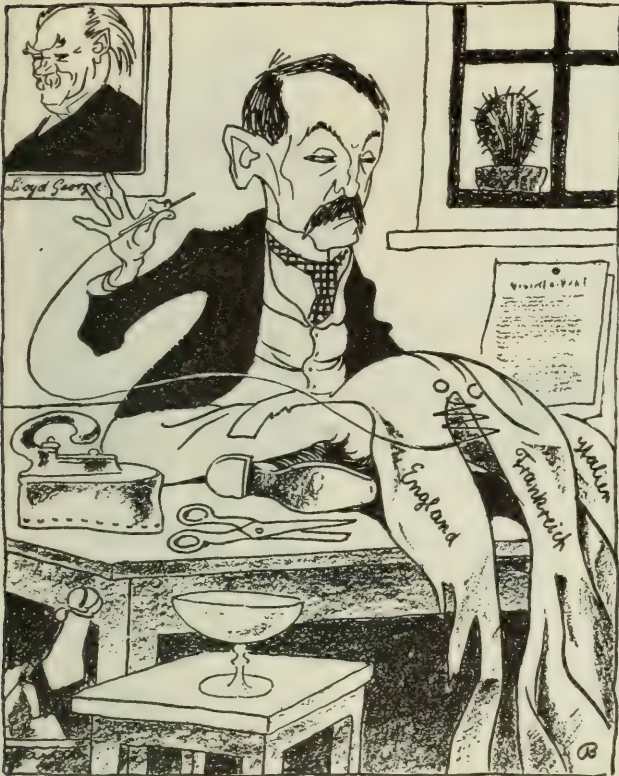
UNCLE SAM: "Oh, you may have them."

From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

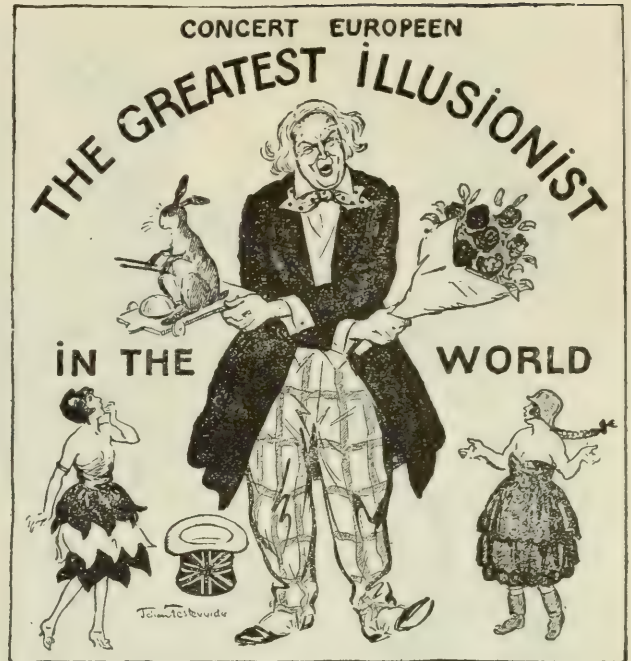


THE ARMAMENT GAMBLE

From the *Courier* (Liverpool, England)



BRIAND, TAILOR AND REPAIRER
 "Confound it! I can't get these (England, France
 and Italy) to hold together."
 From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



**TO WHOM WILL LLOYD GEORGE GIVE THE BOUQUET,
 AND TO WHOM THE RABBIT?**
 From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris)



THE UNFRIENDLY ALLIANCE
 (Hand in hand, England and France, each would go her way
 but they cannot separate)
 From *Le Rire* (Paris)



**CARACTACUS LLOYD GEORGE REFUSES TO BE BOUND TO THE
 CHARIOT WHEEL**
 From the *Star* (London)



NECESSITY TEACHES PRAYER
 "Capitalism . . . save us from our Bol-
 shevist saviours!"
 From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



DISARMAMENT, AS VIEWED IN NORWAY

England and America are united about disarmament, but each says to the other: "After you!"

From *Hvepsen* (Christiania, Norway)

On the opposite page, and the one following it, are reproduced some cartoons on the most recent phase of the Irish question.



MEDICAL OPINION (THE FATE OF POLAND)

DR. LLOYD GEORGE: "No, madame, your Silesian plaster won't cure him. He can't live long, in any case."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

THE SILESIAN TOY MAY KEEP THE CHILD AMUSED
From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris)

THE ALLIANCE

THE REV. HUGHES (Premier of Australia): "Now, if we can only get Uncle Sam to act as best man, what a happy family we might be!"

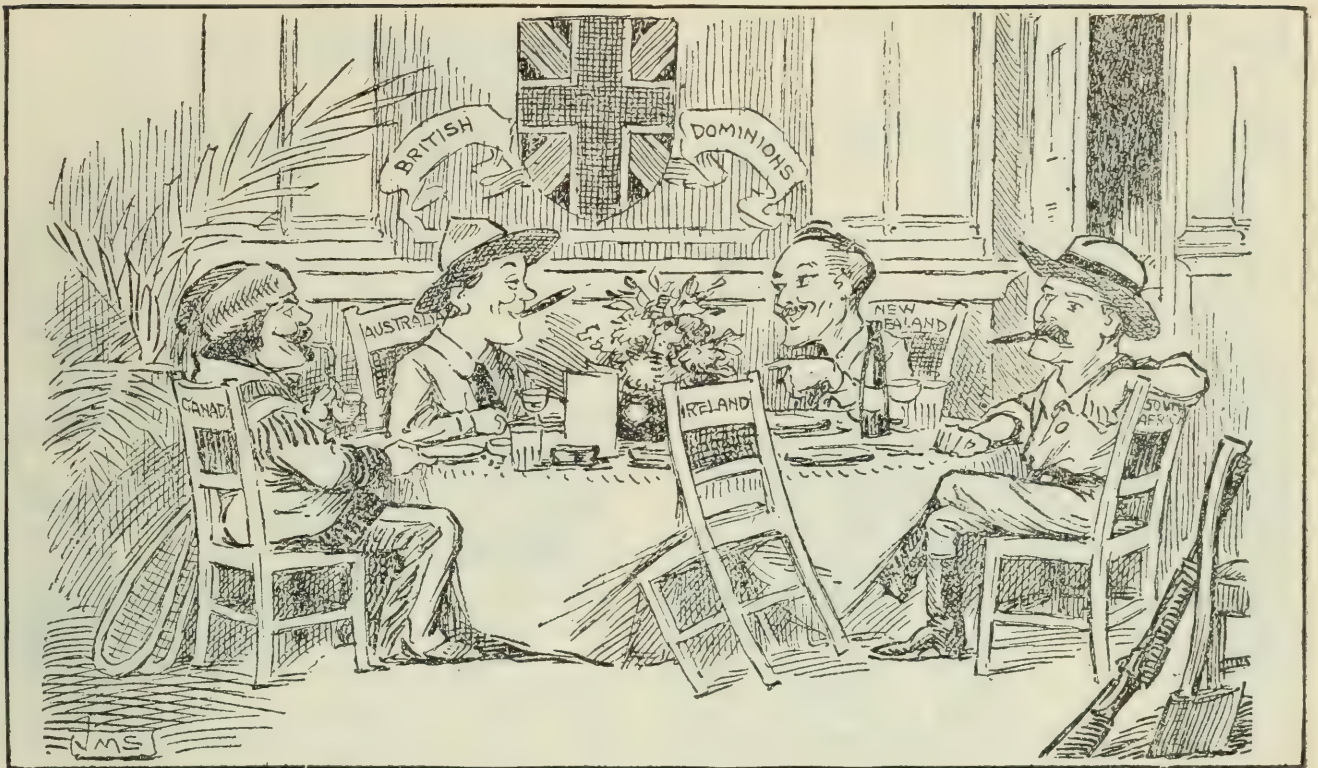
From *Punch* (Melbourne, Australia)



JOHN BULL FACES A DECISION

THE GIRL OF THE GOLDEN WEST (to John Bull): "Either you go with Madam Butterfly or with me. You cannot go with us both at the same time."

From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)



THE VACANT CHAIR—From *News of the World* (London)



DE VALERA'S TEMPTING ILLUSION
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)



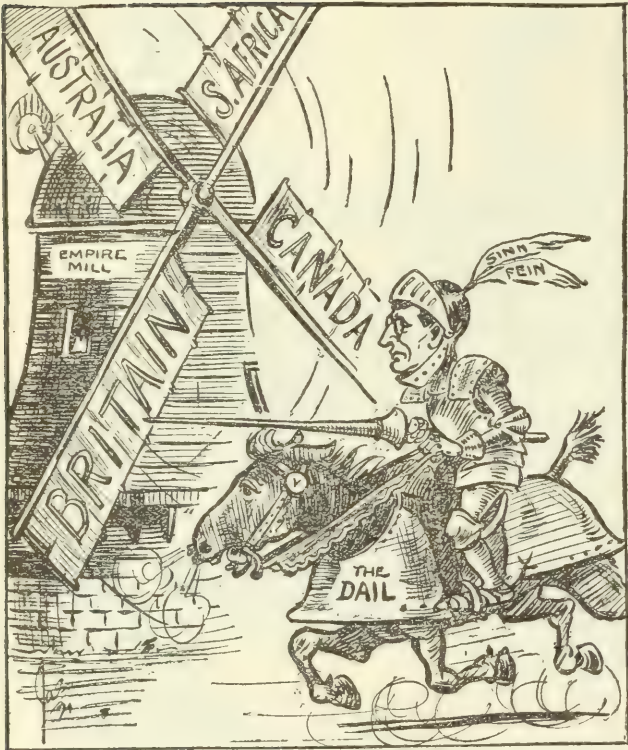
CHASING THE SHADOW AND MISSING THE SUBSTANCE
From the *Daily Express* (London)

The reader will notice especially those cartoons reproduced from the London press, in which there is unanimity of opinion that Ireland is asking too much of the Empire.



CRUELTY TO PERFORMING ANIMALS
THE BRITISH LION (very fed-up): "It's no good; I've done my best to please this DeValera, but I can't get through that last hoop."

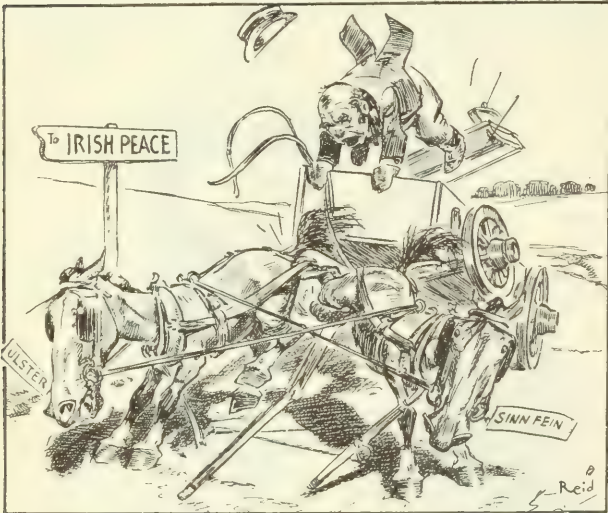
From *Opinion* (London)



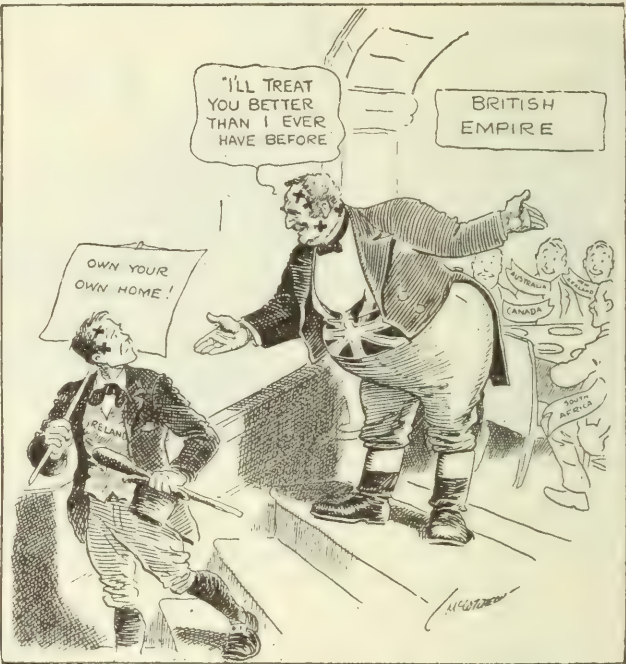
DON QUIXOTE VALERA VERSUS THE BRITISH EMPIRE
From the *People* (London)



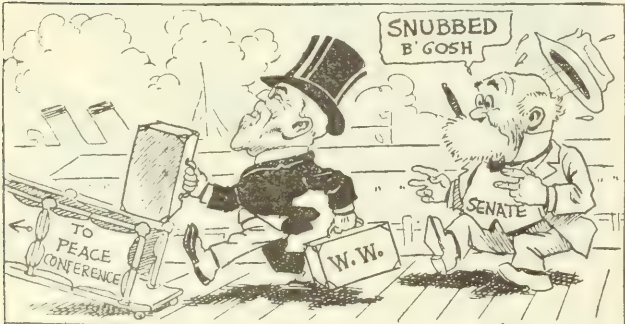
SEEMS IT'S NOT HER IDEA OF OWNING HER OWN CAR!
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



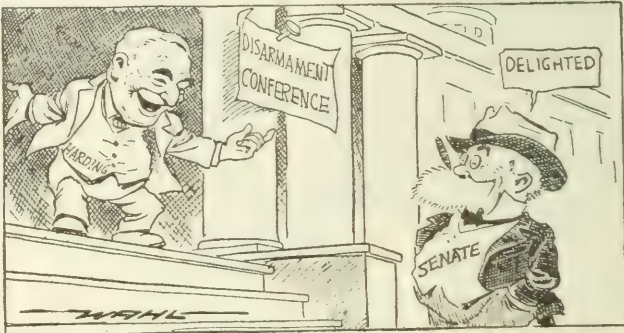
LOOKS AS THOUGH THE ULSTER AND SINN FEIN HORSES WOULD NEVER DO TEAM WORK
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



WILL IRELAND ACCEPT?
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



WARREN REMEMBERS WHAT HAPPENED TO WOODROW FOR THAT SNUB!
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



PARIS AND WASHINGTON

TWO WORLD CONFERENCES AND THEIR ISSUES

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. IN 1918-19

THE coming of the Washington Conference next month must inevitably serve to recall to many the conditions of three years ago, when the world went to Paris, following the Armistice of Rethondes. Much of the bitterness over what was said and done at the Paris Conference—and over what was left undone—has passed away. Most of the great figures of that gathering have disappeared from power. President Wilson, Clemenceau, Orlando, all are gone. Only Lloyd George hangs on. Of all the bitter disputes of the Paris Conference, Upper Silesia and the Near East alone lack at least a temporary accommodation.

But if there is less temptation now to turn to the old controversies, there is certainly a natural desire to reëxamine the Paris sessions with the hope of finding in such an investigation the means of avoiding the mistakes and the errors of that momentous period; mistakes which have had so evil an influence upon the world ever since. And it is from this point of view that I mean in the present article to look backward at Paris and then forward at Washington.

To-day most competent observers will agree that the first mistake in the Paris Conference was the endeavor to join two mutually antithetical and exclusive tasks: that of liquidating the immediate conflict, which had just come to an end, and the second and even more considerable task of reconstructing international relations upon a basis of enduring peace. It was plain that the fairer the terms of peace, the easier would be the work of preserving peace thereafter. But what was not perceived clearly was that in the nature of things what was done by the victors would be rejected by the vanquished, at least morally; and that the conquerors and the conquered could not meet on equality in a conference in which those who had caused the war and lost it, arms in hand, were to appear under indictment and to receive sentence.

It would have been far wiser—everyone perceives this now—to have followed the example of a century before, and made peace with Germany before attempting to make a new international law or create a new international society. For, in the very nature of things, the international body created at Paris would become the guarantor of the terms of the treaty of peace, which were the terms of the victors, and as such intolerable in the eyes of the defeated Germans, Hungarians, Austrians, and Turks, and, also, without binding force upon the Russians.

Mr. Wilson carried to Europe certain excellent abstract principles, which gained world-wide notoriety as the Fourteen Points. But these Fourteen Points were based upon the assumption that the war had burned up the secular hatreds and rivalries between nations and peoples, and that the governments of the hour in all countries—victorious and vanquished alike—because of the popular emotion, would have no choice but to frame a peace in accord with these Fourteen Points.

Again, unfamiliar with the precise circumstances of many of the historic disputes which have divided Europe for many centuries, Mr. Wilson, and those who went to Paris with him, assumed that there was a solution of each dispute which might be reached in conformity with the Fourteen Points, and which would be so essentially fair and just that, in the end, both sides would accept it. This was quite as great a misapprehension as the assumption as to the sentiment among the peoples of Europe.

In practice Mr. Wilson discovered, first, that despite the passing moment of exaltation, incident to the end of the horror which had endured for more than four years, no people was ready to abandon its aspirations, and its claims which it described as rights, and that instead of agreement amicably arrived at, each specific question, whether of the frontier of France and Germany, Hungary and Rumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia, Italy and Jugo-Slavia, aroused in each contestant

passions which threatened to provoke fresh bloodshed and not infrequently did.

Moreover, when it came to fixing the frontiers of states which were incapable of resisting the decision of the victors—for example the frontiers of Germany and Poland, of Greece and Turkey—not only did it at once become clear that there was no settlement possible which could be arrived at by applying the Fourteen Points, since the populations concerned were inextricably commingled, but also that the interests of the great powers led them to take opposing sides, France backing Poland, Britain backing Germany.

And in this welter of confusing and conflicting interests Mr. Wilson found himself more and more driven to concentrate his efforts upon the realization of his first purpose: the creation of an international association to preserve peace. More and more he despaired of arriving at the perfect solution which should abolish war; more and more he turned toward the association which he was championing, as a body which would be able in the future to repair the errors made in the details of the peace settlement.

Thus he accepted here, there and everywhere, solutions which were in patent conflict with his Fourteen Points, compromises of which Shantung, the Tyrol, and half a dozen others have made a noise in the world since, as sacrifices unavoidable if he was to obtain the assent of various countries to his great scheme, the League of Nations. His argument then and since was that the mistakes and the departures from principle at Paris were of little permanent importance, if there were created an international body having the power and the mission to maintain peace and to improve the bases upon which world peace must rest.

It is for these compromises that Mr. Wilson's critics, aside from those influenced by partisanship, most severely castigate him. Yet it must be said in all justice to him that without the concessions the League was not attainable. Whether the League was worth the price is not here pertinent.

II. THE LESSON

What Paris clearly established was that the whole conception that peoples were prepared to sacrifice racial and national aspirations for an international concord was wholly fallacious. The war over, the moment of supreme exaltation passed, every European

tribe reverted to its ancient customs and appetites. England devoured the German colonies, and the German war and merchant marine. France returned to her policy on the Rhine and the Vistula which had antedated the Revolution. Poland arose from the dust of a century of complete ruin, and began to claim provinces which she had held in her days of real greatness.

On the whole, the frontiers drawn in Paris corresponded rather with the traditions of the victorious nations than with the provisions of the Fourteen Points. And since the Paris Conference, Fiume, Bessarabia, Upper Silesia and Vilna have been the scenes of romantic attempts on the part of the Italians, Rumanians, and Poles to assert national rights which were not recognized at Paris. Still, measured by the standards which have prevailed in all the previous great settlements, Westphalia, Utrecht, and Vienna, the territorial decisions of Paris represent an enormous gain for right and justice.

Yet Paris proved two things: that reconciliation between victor and vanquished reached in the making of a new peace was totally impossible, given the surviving rancors between peoples. It also proved—and all that has happened since has eloquently reinforced the teaching—that it is equally impossible to preserve permanently that relation between countries which the accident of common interests in a single war may create. Not only have France and Germany failed to lay aside their old antipathies, but the Anglo-French Entente itself has been gravely if not fatally undermined by the conflict in interests of the two countries which has persisted ever since the armistice.

We have seen repeated the old, familiar, unhappy circumstances of Balkan politics in the last century. The great powers have tended more and more to take opposing sides in the quarrels between the smaller nations, each following the line of manifest interest without regard to the rights or aspirations of the other. Effectively the alliance which conquered Hohenzollern Germany has gone the way of that which overthrew Napoleonic France, for the same causes and with even greater rapidity.

Now, when a new international assembly is at hand we are bound to recognize, in the beginning, that it is idle to expect a gathering of the representatives of a number of nations, each seeing eye to eye on the points to be discussed, each prepared to sacrifice special interests of its own to the common

good, to the cause of world solidarity. What we have to expect and to deal with is the old national spirit, not a new international sense. We are going to see the clash, friendly perhaps, of the rivalries of many nations, such a clash as was the Congress of Berlin after the Russo-Turkish war.

With the lessons of Paris in mind it is possible—indeed, it is essential—to lay aside all the mistaken views which were held at the moment the Paris Conference assembled and which in the United States have persisted ever since to some degree. The new conference is not an attempt to create a new international concord, or a new system of international relations. It is purely and simply to seek a way of avoiding a specific war by the clash of clearly perceived aspirations. It is no longer an attempt to abolish war as evil, but an effort to avoid it as expensive. We have come down to material considerations. We are leaving the domain of morals, which, in the language if not in the acts of Paris, was omnipresent.

Paris did not succeed in eliminating national aspirations and rivalries; on the contrary, that great conference in the end became a vast welter of conflicting tribal aspirations. Theoretically, the representatives of the several nations were to be, not exclusively the representatives of their own districts, but rather the representatives of a united world, as our Congressmen become when they deal with national affairs. Actually they never rose above the level of special pleaders for their own parochial concerns. It follows, quite logically, that Washington in its turn will have the same character. We must think of the statesmen who will attend, in all cases and under all circumstances, as Britons, Frenchmen, Italians, and Japanese—and we must remember that our own representatives will speak and act as Americans. Internationalism, for the moment at least, is out of court.

In the same fashion we must expect to see the combinations of nations based upon a pooling of issues, when it can be done with mutual profit. Thus, at Paris, Italy offered to support France on the Rhine without condition or qualification, provided France would give similar support to Italian claims in the Adriatic. The other day we saw Japan supporting the British thesis in the Upper Silesian controversy against the French, not because the Japanese favor the Germans as against the Poles, but because Japan has a lively interest in enlisting Brit-

ish support in Washington for her claims in the Pacific.

We must, too, expect that France and Italy, and Great Britain as well, will be prepared to support our views of the adjustment of the questions of the Pacific, provided we will see their own private interests in their light. The French vote in the Pacific is to be had in return for our vote on the Rhine and the Vistula. The Italian vote is easily obtainable in return for our support of the Italian as contrasted with the Greek solution of the Turkish dispute. Or both French and Italian votes might be had in return for certain economic or financial steps which we could take.

Great Britain will prefer to support us rather than the Japanese, but there are limits even to this policy of Anglo-American conciliation and we shall be dealing with British diplomacy, which is little influenced by sentiment. Actually the decision in the Pacific problem will follow the vote of the British. Their choice between the Japanese and ourselves will be the dominating factor. But it is perfectly absurd to imagine that this vote will be the mere spontaneous consequence of friendship for us. The friendship exists, and it is real; but the matter in hand is of vital concern to the whole Empire. And the recent progress of Anglo-French relations shows what may happen, even between nations bound together by heroic sacrifices and still recent dangers.

III. THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

But there is still another side of the Paris Conference which it is necessary to bear in mind now, when the Washington Conference is at hand. On the whole, the great failure of the statesmen who made the Treaty of Versailles and its pendant agreements was the failure to recognize the economic factor. They made peace on the basis of an older age. They drew frontiers with regard mainly for ideas and ideals which belonged to the era of the Congress of Vienna. Even Mr. Wilson's famous Fourteen Points were ethical, not economic; and on the practical side he was as little aware of the change in human conditions as those who represented the other extreme.

In reality the war had brought the world to the extreme edge of economic ruin. When peace had been written, when the disputes over strategic frontiers and natural boundaries had lapsed, suddenly it became clear

to the whole world that peace was not in the least what had been expected. The conditions of 1914 were not restored economically, although the destruction of war was over, armies had been demobilized and business operations undertaken. Instead of a return to normal conditions, as peace became more complete, paralysis became more general.

It was discovered, then, that while nationalism had dominated in the Paris Conference and imposed upon the attendant statesmen the demolition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the creation of many new states in succession to the empires of the Romanoffs and the Hapsburgs, the economic factor now began to assert itself. Newly liberated tribes, once the rejoicing over the realization of age-long aspirations had passed, found themselves condemned to misery and worse, as a consequence of the destruction of that economic solidarity with their hated oppressors.

During the war, even after the armistice, in the main throughout the Peace Conference, the British statesmen had declared that Germany must pay the last shilling and the last ton of the costs to Britain of the war. But the Treaty of Versailles was hardly published before the British discovered that it was not payment by Germany but purchases by Germany which were of vital importance. The German ships taken over lay idle in British ports. German coal, delivered to France and Italy as payment in kind on account of the indemnity, closed Continental markets to British coal; and the most important element in British economic balance was removed, temporarily at least. Three million unemployed in Great Britain alone supplied a tragic evidence of the consequences of the peace on the economic side.

Here, after all, we touch the real vice of the Treaty of Versailles, if vice be the fair word to apply. Prussia had taken the coal of Upper Silesia from Austria in the time of Frederick the Great, the Saar Coal Basin, in larger part, from France in 1815 and the Lorraine iron region in 1871. Austria had piled province upon province, inhabited by various races, each eager to become a part of a separate national unit. Hungary had constructed a state in which the Magyars were a minority. But contemporary Germany, and the Hapsburg empire of Francis Joseph, were both economic units.

At Paris there was no mistaking the right of the peoples which had for varying periods been subject to an alien and hateful rule to

assert their own right to independence and national solidarity. But the construction or reconstruction of the Polish, Bohemian, Rumanian, and Jugo-Slavic states, and the erection of a mutilated Hungary and a fragmentary Austria into independent states, were operations that paralyzed the whole economic and industrial life of Middle Europe.

Much has been written and spoken about the offense of the Paris Conference in Balkanizing Europe. But the truth is that the sin was not of its committing. The fact was, and remains, that the separate nationalities, even before Paris took action, had forcibly and violently thrown aside the bonds which had held them. They, the Rumanians, the Poles, the Southern Slavs, the Czechs, the Greeks had Balkanized Europe. There was left to the Paris Conference no other choice than to unscramble the omelette or accept the facts which faced it. And if it lacked the vision and the will to unscramble, it is not less true that it lacked the power, since it would have had to make new wars.

All over Europe nationalism fought against economic systems, and almost invariably succeeded. Trieste is the natural port of Middle Europe, eccentric to Italian commercial needs. Danzig is a German city, but the one natural port of exit for all of Poland. Germany depends upon the coal of Upper Silesia for at least a portion of her export trade, yet the people of the mine region are Poles and have voted to join their Polish brethren. Modern Germany represents the stealings and worse of a century of predatory warfare and more. Yet it was, all things considered, one of the most perfect economic units of the contemporary age.

When nationalism had had its sway, then it became plain that the consequences, however morally righteous, were economically abhorrent. The vast Danube valley, even more completely a unit than that of the Mississippi, was broken into innumerable states, each of which had marked its frontiers not with posts but with barbed wire fences. Rails were lifted where countries joined. Mutually dependent fragments of an old state halted all commerce at their frontiers.

It became clear, too, with the passing of time that if some of these new "succession" states could, in time, create new economic systems, or had within themselves the potential resources to become self-supporting, others were doomed if they remained free. This was almost instantly apparent in the case of Austria. It may well prove true in

the case of Czechoslovakia, and even of Hungary. It was as if the revenue-producing lines of a vast railroad system had been taken away and joined to other solvent systems, while the non-productive branches hitherto carried by the total earnings of the system, or fed by the traffic of the system itself, were suddenly condemned to run independently and thus to inevitable bankruptcy.

But it was not the nations immediately concerned which alone suffered. On the contrary, the devastation wrought in other countries as a consequence was only less disastrous. For not alone did the victims lose the resources with which to purchase abroad, but foreign states which were dependent upon their exports for money with which to buy food, countries which paid for their food supplies by the products of their factories, in losing their markets, lost their resources with which to feed themselves.

IV. WHAT IT MEANS

I have dwelt upon this economic phase, because it seems to me the single enduringly important one. The sins which the Paris Conference committed against right and justice, however great or small they may seem, are at the moment far less the source of peril to world peace and world order than the sins committed against the economic facts, or the evils which the Paris Conference failed to abolish, because it felt itself without the power or lacked the vision and will to abolish.

Now the application of all this is plain, when one turns to the Conference of Washington. Here the battle is to be for the future markets of the Far East. Japan, like Britain and like Germany, has become completely what the United States is tending ever more rapidly to become, an exporting nation pure and simple. Japan with sixty millions, Britain with nearly fifty millions on areas less than some of our individual States, cannot permanently maintain their populations at home unless they can sell abroad the products of their factories and their services, and thus earn the price necessary to purchase abroad the food they cannot produce at home.

The war in speeding up all of our own industries, both before and after we came into the struggle, resulted in the expansion of our own industrial system enormously. We shall not starve as will Japan and Britain, if we cannot find markets abroad for our

vastly increased production. But we shall have to scrap much of our machinery, and abandon much of our development. Moreover, there is no mistaking the fact that even before the war we were tending rapidly toward the point of becoming an importer, not an exporter, of food, and thus more and more desirous and needful of extending our foreign markets.

For Japan, for Britain, for the United States, the markets of the Far East are the one real hope for the future. As I have said, for the Japanese the question is one of life or death. For the British, taken in connection with the terrible shrinkage of their European markets, which may continue, the situation is only a little less acute. For us, it is the future of our industrial development of the last few years.

Now ostensibly we seek only an equality of opportunity in the Far East—the “Open Door” and the “integrity of China.” But these are as dangerous watchwords as some of Mr. Wilson’s Fourteen Points. For real equality of opportunity in the Far East almost inexorably means American supremacy. The time is at hand, if it has not already arrived, when our superior resources give us an unquestioned advantage over the Japanese; and it is open to serious question whether the British can permanently meet us on equal terms in the Far East.

Thus Japan has sought, seeks, and is bound to continue to seek, full advantage of her proximity and her political influence reinforced by military strength to fortify that position which we are assailing. And, with the example of Paris in mind, with the daily evidences of the fatal consequences of a neglect of the economic factor there, the battle for the control of the Pacific, and of the markets of the Far East, will be waged with extreme determination. To be sure, for France and Italy the Pacific is only a stake and not a vital question, although France holds colonies larger in area than the homeland, with a population of upward of 20,000,000 in Indo-China and the South Seas.

The real question lies between the United States, Japan, and Britain, with Russia as a remote future circumstance, and China, as a self-defensive unit, even more a matter for the future. And the real question is economic. Militarism plays little real part, save as Japan relies upon her army to coerce China and her fleet to meet any real or imaginary threat from us. Reduction of armament will not materially affect the Pacific Question,

although it may lighten the staggering burdens all nations, and particularly all sea powers, are now bearing. The world cannot afford arms, that is the plain fact. But in consenting to reduce armaments, no country will agree to surrender interests—above all, vital interests—such as the markets on which it must depend if it is to feed its home populations.

Paris was, measurably at least, the last chapter in the old order of European settlements. It differed in degree only from the historic settlements of the past from Westphalia and Utrecht down to Vienna and Berlin. Statesmen thought first of territory and of strategic frontiers. The remaking of the map of Europe was as keenly debated as at Vienna a century before. And in the background, the thought of the balance of power was ever present in British minds, as the desire for the Rhine frontier was in French. Questions of indemnities and reparations were discussed in the terms of another age, and without perception of their contemporary bearing.

In reality the historians of the future may point out that whereas the Congress of Vienna failed, because it ignored the tremendous and permanent changes which had occurred in Europe between the outbreak of the French Revolution and the Battle of Waterloo, the Conference of Paris failed because it took no account of the equally tremendous changes which had accompanied the transformation of countries under the modern industrial system. At Vienna the statesmen shut their eyes to the spirit of equality and the consciousness of nationality, which the Wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon had spread over Europe. But the spirit of equality and the sense of nationality in the end overturned their edifice. A hundred years later, other statesmen built a new peace based upon the principle of nationality, equality having ceased to be even debatable. But already economic considerations had become even more important than those of race and tribe. And in this lies the doom of the Paris settlement, so far as it is doomed.

Now Washington, in the very nature of things, will be the first World Conference in which the dominating factor will be economic. We in the United States, for example, have no desire to extend our territories in the Pacific, no need to rectify our frontiers, or to increase our area. We desire markets. Japan, despite her military and

expansionistic policy, is dominated chiefly by the same consideration. Britain must find her old markets, and discover new openings for her manufacturers, or export millions of men and women, no longer to be fed at home.

V. NEW HORIZONS

And in viewing the Washington Conference and the events which are to-day commanding world-wide attention, it is essential for the American people to avoid those easy and over-simple explanations which are so dear to the heart of certain public men, and so plausible as to obtain dangerous credence. Thus public speakers, of whom Senator Borah is an example, are telling us that the causes of the last world catastrophe were armaments and secret diplomacy, as President Wilson told us the cure for wars was open covenants openly arrived at.

But the cause or causes of the last war were not militarism and secret diplomacy—these were but incidental. When Germany took Alsace-Lorraine from France, decided to back Austria against Russia in the Near East, and challenged Britain on the high seas, commercially quite as much as with her war fleets, she made the war inevitable. The Treaty of Frankfort was not a secret document. The Triple Alliance was known for what it was the world over. All Germany joined in the high-seas competition with Britain.

The true cause of the war was the rise of modern Germany, her instinctive and inevitable effort to occupy the place already taken by other nations, and the resistance which they made to her efforts. This resistance led inexorably to alliance and arrived at a combination which left Germany no choice but to try the test of battle or abandon those aspirations which all her people without exception shared. Germany could be only what all Germans desired their country to be, if France, Russia and Britain were pushed aside. The effort to push all three aside led ineluctably to another such conflict as followed the development of similar aspirations in other centuries—not, to be sure, among peoples, but among Kings, notably in the cases of Philip of Spain, Napoleon and Louis XIV of France.

To-day the peril to world peace does not lie in excessive armaments. Their menace is to the solvency of nations. In our present situation, given the enormous debts which

the war has produced, no country can afford to engage in a competition in armed strength. This way lies national insolvency and worse. What menaces peace to-day, and will menace it even more to-morrow, is the brutal fact that the war, in destroying millions of lives and billions of wealth, has reduced enormously the purchasing power of peoples. It is no longer possible for the world to keep pace with the machinery which has been constructed. There are not cargoes enough to fill the ships which exist; there are not customers enough to buy the goods which the factories can produce.

But, for Britain, for Japan, for Germany to a degree, this means a new competition with death. For there are a certain number of millions of people in each of these countries who are fed by the sums earned through the manufacture and export of goods. If the goods cannot be sold, then the millions must migrate; for there is not the smallest chance that the country in which they live can maintain them. This is what the vast unemployment phenomenon means in Britain. This is the danger which overhangs Japan and Germany.

Now the real hope of avoiding the disaster must lie in the opening of new and the reopening of old markets. But it is clear that many years must pass before Europe can return to normal capacity for absorbing. The future markets for the manufacturing nations must be sought either in Russia or in China. Here are markets which might be developed. Here is an opportunity to sell and to expand which might keep the factories of Japan, of Germany, of Britain busy. But Russia remains closed; there is left only China.

And, in the meantime, we in the United States have developed. While Europe fought, we expanded our plants to do the work which had been done by the factories of the Old World. We continued to produce from 1914 to 1917 while Europe indulged in nearly three years of destruction. To-day we, too, suffer from the shrinkage in the world market. For us the question is vital, too. We have millions of unemployed, we have idle and semi-idle factories, empty ships. For us, too, the solution lies, measurably at least, in the opening of China, the development of that vast country with its tremendous resources and its vast population.

To-day we stand in competition with the Japanese and the British for that Chinese

market. But, if we have an equal chance, there is little question that we shall dominate it. And if we dominate it, millions of Japanese must starve or migrate. And, so far as Great Britain is concerned, it is unmistakable that if we and Germany maintain our factories in work and obtain markets for their products—and both countries are in better physical shape to do this than Britain—the result will be an enduring misery in Britain beyond words to describe.

Hunger is the incentive which drives British and Japanese statesmen to-day. World markets are the prize for which they contend, not as a detail in national development, but as a question of life or death. There are more factories in the world than there is need of. There are millions more human beings in Britain and Japan than can be supported, save through the result of sale and barter abroad of goods manufactured at home; barter against food. Half the nations of Europe are actually bankrupt, others are almost insolvent. The recovery must be slow and long. Meantime, the mill hands in Lancashire cannot wait, nor can the Government—the State—indefinitely continue to support them out of the public treasury.

To reduce armaments is a good thing, a necessary thing; but it is at best a detail. To agree upon policies in the Pacific is an excellent step. But, back of both of these circumstances lies the real factor which must menace world peace: the old question of hunger. We see it to-day in Russia. We have seen it in Central Europe. But Russia and the succession states, with few exceptions, can, in ordinary times, feed themselves on their own lands. This is impossible for Japan or Britain. It is, at most, barely possible for Germany under the most favorable conditions and with the certainty of much undernourishment.

Therefore, as they look to the approaching Washington Conference, and as they view Anglo-French quarrels from a distance, Americans must take cognizance of what has become the dominant fact in the world situation.

Militarism, in the language of the street, is "old stuff." It is as remote as "taxation without representation." So is "secret diplomacy." We are entering a new phase—indeed, we have long since passed into the new phase—and are just discovering the fact. Of all nations in the world the United States is, physically at least, best equipped for the struggle which is beginning. We came

out of the war with the fewest wounds, we hold the world to ransom in war debts, we have the raw materials for our factories at our doors, we can, again, if we choose to, feed ourselves completely.

But our success means measurable ruin for Britain and for Japan, that is, our success in the great competition for the world markets. There is not enough purchasing power to go round, not enough market for all that the world can produce; and if our products are sold, those of Britain and Japan will remain unsold and British and Japanese laborers must starve or migrate. There is the brutal truth of the existing situation.

There is the factor which may make war in the future.

As a contribution to future peace, Washington must do something to meet this situation or its failure will be as great as that of Paris. Nor is it quite clear that there is a remedy. But, in any event, we should beware of illusions, of catchwords, of oversimple explanations. We have invited the Japanese to discuss with us what is for them a matter of life and death. We need not modify our policy on that account; but we must perceive what the essential truth is. Otherwise we shall not only be the victims of deception but self-deceived.

HUGHES AND THE CONFERENCE

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, the American Secretary of State, will open the first session of the international conference for the limitation of armaments which assembles in Washington Nov. 11, 1921. It is altogether likely that from the beginning he will be one of the most conspicuous figures in the assemblage. It is upon the initiative of this Government that the conference is held; the United States becomes the host of all other nations represented; therefore it is natural that the head of the American delegation under any circumstances should be a leader, and, in the case of Secretary Hughes, it is certain that he will take a commanding position by virtue of his superior intellect and his knowledge of world affairs.

The Secretary of State is often designated as the Premier of the Cabinet, but he is not the premier in the same sense as such officials in the governments of England, France and other European countries where the Prime Minister is the actual head of the government. In the United States the Secretary of State is the senior member of the Cabinet, but only when he is a man of superior mentality does he dominate the Cabinet, and that has rarely happened. Presidents of the United States have always jealously guarded their positions and even the weakest of them have been assertive enough to maintain control of their administrations, no matter how strong may have been the men they selected to head the State Department. The Secretary of State instead of being the Cabi-

net Premier is in reality the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He deals almost exclusively with foreign governments, and when he is a man of real ability he becomes a great international figure.

Great Secretaries of State

It is an interesting fact in connection with the office of Secretary of State that many of the men who have held that position have been considered available for the Presidency. Six men who held the position of Secretary of State were subsequently elected President: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, and James Buchanan. Fourteen other Secretaries of State have been seriously considered for the Presidency: Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, William L. Marcy, Lewis Cass, William H. Seward, Thomas F. Bayard, James G. Blaine, Walter Q. Gresham, John Sherman, Elihu Root, Philander C. Knox, William J. Bryan, and Charles E. Hughes. Clay, Cass, Blaine, Bryan, and Hughes were actually nominated by their parties for the highest office in the land. That twenty men have been appointed Secretary of State, six of whom became President and the others seriously considered for the office, would indicate that the Presidents of the United States in selecting men for the position of Secretary of State have taken into consideration the prominence they had attained and their large following among the people. Several of the men who have been Secretary of State missed the Presidency by

very narrow margins; defeated almost by accident, or by some unfortunate circumstance. Clay, Blaine, and Hughes are notable instances of men who missed the Presidency under such conditions.

Mr. Hughes in Political Relationships

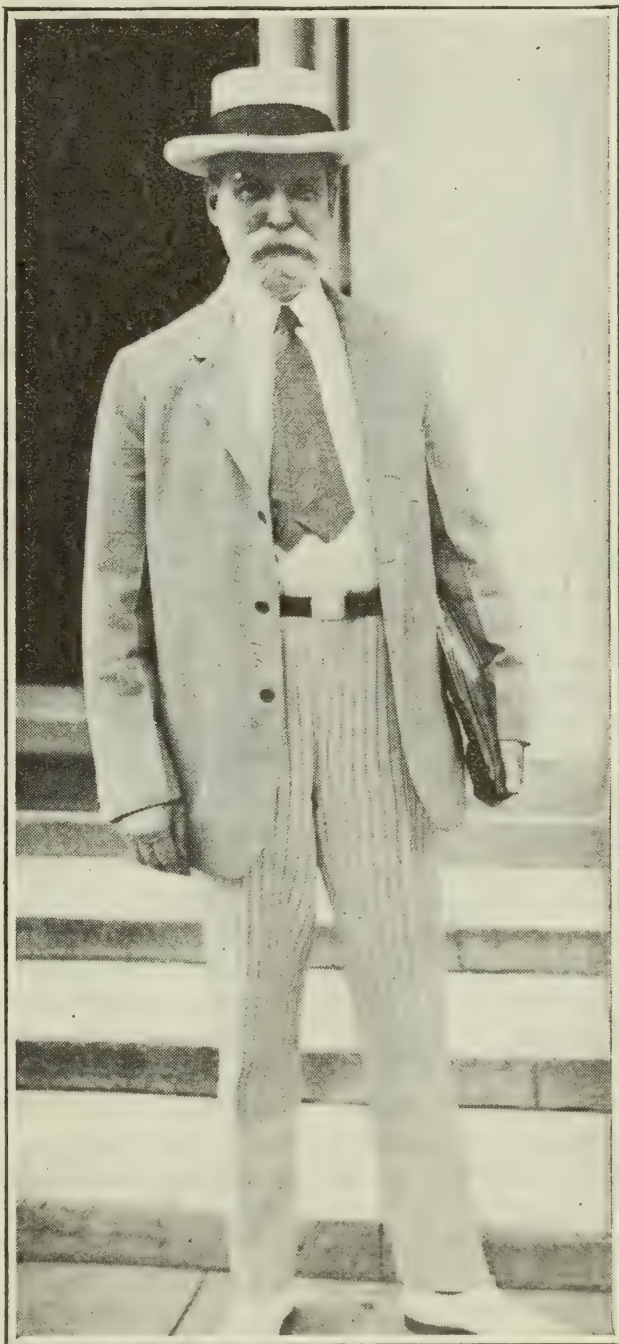
When President Harding selected Mr. Hughes for Secretary of State there were many misgivings and expressions of doubt among men in public life; and some of those who were pessimistic went so far as to say that Hughes would prove a disrupting element in the Cabinet and go the way of Blaine and Bryan. The public career of Mr. Hughes had not been such as to commend him to politicians. He had been Governor of New York for four years and during that time he had not been in harmony with the leading Republican elements of that State. He was not identified with the old machine politicians, nor was he linked with the progressive Roosevelt element. Even though both of his nominations for Governor were largely the result of Roosevelt's dictation, Hughes never considered himself in any way bound to shape his official conduct in accordance with the wishes of the then President of the United States.

In 1908 Hughes was presented to the Republican national convention as a candidate of the State of New York for President. He was voted for by nearly the entire delegation, but only a few delegates sincerely desired his nomination. On the contrary

most of the New York delegates were working earnestly for James S. Sherman for Vice-President. Mr. Hughes was not an active candidate for President, but after the New York delegates had been selected and instructed to support him he would not authorize the withdrawal of his name, even at the behest of members of the delegation.

Mr. Hughes was nominated for President in 1916 not because the men in control of the Republican party wanted him, but because he was the choice of the rank and file of the Republicans who elected the delegates. The efforts of the Republican leaders, with a few exceptions, to agree upon a man other than Hughes who could be nominated, created the only interest of that convention. Hughes had the advantage of being the one man who had not been mixed up in the Taft-Roosevelt fight in 1912. At that time he was on the Supreme Bench and naturally aloof from politics. He was the only man among all the candidates suggested whom Roosevelt said he would support if nominated.

Charles E. Hughes never was a politician in the sense of the term as it is applied to politicians of the present day—men who scheme and plan for the success of



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HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES, SECRETARY OF STATE

themselves or their friends, making trades and combinations, and shifting from one position to another in order to catch the popular tide. It is doubtful if in his public and private career he ever did anything for the purpose of increasing his popularity before the people. He was first nominated for Governor

because Roosevelt, then President of the United States, told the New York Republicans to nominate him. The Republican leaders, who were in control of the State convention at Saratoga in 1906, would not have acceded even to the demand of Roosevelt if they could then have united upon any other satisfactory candidate. They were at sea and without a candidate when President Roosevelt's message arrived to nominate Hughes.

During his first two years as Governor, Hughes did nothing to placate the Republican bosses or to insure his second nomination. He did not ask a second nomination, and he seemed absolutely indifferent as to whether or not it was tendered him. But again Roosevelt, with his political genius, saw that it would be inviting Republican disaster to refuse to continue a man like Hughes in the Governor's office, and the word went forth a second time from Oyster Bay, and the Republicans in New York took their orders and renominated Hughes.

Transferred to the Supreme Bench as Associate Justice by President Taft, Mr. Hughes became even more austere and more isolated, and came less in contact with the men who were active in politics than ever before. He attended strictly to his duties as a judge of the highest court of the land. He did not talk politics, nor did he seem interested in politics. Even when he was being considered as a candidate for the Republican nomination, and when that nomination seemed almost inevitable, he did not discuss the subject, and gave no indication of his position. Thus the great mass of Republicans who went to Chicago in 1916 did not know whether Hughes would accept the nomination for President if it was tendered him. But while he was withdrawn from public life in a measure during his term in the Supreme Court, and had nothing to do with politics, he was at the same time the idol of a certain portion of the American people, and was in their minds when they were seeking a candidate for President. There were a great many people in the United States who placed a halo about the head of Charles E. Hughes, and, it may be said in passing, he wore it gracefully. Of the disastrous campaign of 1916, the less said the better, although it may be remarked that if the halo had been less bright, and the politics of that year better managed, Hughes would have been elected President of the United States.

Reference has been made to the misgivings

which many leading politicians felt when Hughes was selected Secretary of State. In a few months all such misgivings disappeared like mist before the morning sun. It speedily became apparent that President Harding had made a wise choice, and that his Secretary of State would be, like most of the long list of his illustrious predecessors, a credit to the administration and the country. Secretary Hughes has handled every question that has come before him with tact and delicacy, and yet with a firmness which has been in keeping with the honest diplomacy of the United States Government. Every foreign ambassador and minister who has come in contact with the Secretary of State during the past six months has become aware that he was in the presence of a man of superior ability, a man of keen perceptions, and one who thoroughly understands the international subjects that arise. Our diplomacy is not like that of the old world; it is frank and without deviousness. There could not be a better man to give expression to it than the present Secretary of State. That is the main reason why Mr. Hughes is proving such a signal success in his office.

His Attitude Toward the Press

In these days, not the least important matter in connection with a high public office is that of publicity; the manner in which the public official reaches the people through the newspapers and periodicals. As is generally known, all the principal papers throughout the United States have representatives in Washington, most of them well-trained journalists—those handling the subjects of foreign relations being particularly well-informed on all international affairs and capable of writing intelligently on every phase of diplomacy which may arise. Diplomatic matters at best are rather delicate, and many foreign governments still maintain the idea that the utmost secrecy is necessary. The representatives of such governments are still very insistent that not a word about negotiations which are pending, or even the subjects under discussion, shall be mentioned in the public prints until they are complete. But such secrecy is now not only impossible, but inadvisable. At the same time it is necessary that the Secretary of State, dealing with many delicate and intricate subjects, should exercise great discretion as to what disclosures should be made relating to subjects of negotiations and controversy between the United States and foreign countries. Consequently,

one of the important functions of the Secretary of State is to deal with newspaper men with such tact as will secure the best results; that is, to secure the largest measure of publicity necessary, and without giving offense to the diplomats with whom he is negotiating.

A great many newspaper men, remembering Mr. Hughes as he was while on the Supreme Bench, were very dubious as to what kind of relations they could establish with him when he became Secretary of State. On the other hand, several correspondents, who met Mr. Hughes when he first became prominent, recalled that during the insurance investigation in New York he was particularly helpful and free with the newspaper men. Much of the testimony taken during that investigation was highly technical and involved. At the close of every session, at noon and in the evening, Mr. Hughes gathered the newspaper men around him and explained in a painstaking manner and with great clearness just what the developments of the day meant, and gave all possible help to the men who were assigned to report the important case.

After he became Secretary of State, and as soon as he had acquired a knowledge of his new duties, he became to the Washington correspondents the same Hughes that he had been when dealing with the New York reporters many years before. He talks with the newspaper men freely and frankly, gives them all the information which he believes compatible with public interest, and oftentimes takes them into his confidence regarding subjects which cannot yet be discussed in public. There never is a session with the correspondents in which the Secretary of State does not aid the newspaper men by giving them information which they can use in their own way and which enables them to discuss in an intelligent manner pending foreign questions. The most impressive thing about the conferences which he holds with newspaper men is the keen intelligence he displays, and the succinct answers he gives to questions. Any statements that he is ready to make on any of the subjects ready for

publicity are couched in language that can be used verbatim in a newspaper dispatch, and will clearly set before the reader the exact situation and facts. In the matter of his relations with newspaper men, Secretary Hughes is the equal, if not the superior, of all his predecessors.

An Outstanding Figure at Washington

Secretary Hughes has won the admiration of the members of the President's Cabinet. "It is a delight to listen to him," said the head of one of the departments with whom he comes in close and frequent contact, "when he has anything of moment to say at Cabinet meetings. With words that exactly express his meaning, and in language plain and explicit, he states a proposition so clearly that everybody at once understands it."

No less pleased were the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations after their first meeting with Secretary Hughes to consider an important matter, the new treaty with Germany. "Without reference to notes or data," said one of the members—one of the opposition party, by the way—"Secretary Hughes explained minutely every article of the treaty, its intent and effect. Never before had we met a Secretary of State who so thoroughly understood his subject, and who so clearly explained every phase of it." As evidence that President Harding is well pleased with his chief Cabinet officer, it may be said that he asked a number of members of the Foreign Relations Committee to be present at a conference with Secretary Hughes.

His position as Secretary of State, the Premier of the American Cabinet, his well-known reputation as a lawyer, his splendid record as governor of one of the greatest states in the Union, his years on the Supreme Bench, and the fact that he was the choice of a great party for President of the United States, make Charles E. Hughes a commanding figure. Of all men who may be sent to the conference for limiting armaments, none will have a better record of public achievement than the head of the American delegation.



PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BY DR. WILLIAM L. ETTINGER, OF NEW YORK

[This article was written at the request of the Editor, in order that the REVIEW readers might have a summary statement of a few of the problems of the public schools as seen through the eyes of the Superintendent of the largest school system in the world]

IN a recent address Chief Justice William H. Taft began by declaring that: "It has become the fashion to deplore the failure of our representative Government." With equal truth, it might be said that when our schools are made the butt of party politics the forum resounds with intemperate allegations as to their shortcomings. Because of the reiteration of such unrefuted statements, the schools are often conceived to be corrupted by political influences, and stumbling, if not retrograding, along the path of progress.

One unduly depressed by such clinical pictures should hearten himself by going forth into the schools. Watch the educational process in flux and flow and catch the inspiration born of youthful minds expanding under the beneficent influence of skilful teachers. You will quickly recognize that while there may be problems to be solved, there is substantial and enduring progress made year by year. What, for example, are such problems and progressions?

The Problem of Financing Education

The widespread and optimistic conviction that the most influential agency for the maintenance and advancement of our national life is the public school system has not led, as one might expect, to a clear determination of the relation that school systems bear to municipal governments. Although the well-established legal theory is that education is a function of the State delegated to the municipality as a matter of convenience, the fact remains that in New York City, for example, practically 80 per cent. of the cost of educational service is borne by the city. Furthermore, because of ambiguous statutes which purport to define the powers of the Board of Education and of the city financial authorities, there is a zone of divided responsibility and doubtful authority which is pro-

vocative of controversies that are most detrimental to the progress of the schools.

Although methods of school work should not fluctuate with kaleidoscopic rapidity because of change of political administrations, but, on the contrary, should have a continuity and stability born of well-matured educational policy, one must admit that because of the financial phase of the problem the schools are a recurring political issue. As the fortunes of the different political parties are closely correlated with their ability to control a rising tax rate, it is not surprising that in the absence of clear-cut statutes defining financial and administrative control of the schools, each succeeding city administration should be identified, for better or for worse—usually the latter—with the conduct of school affairs. Nor should we judge our city fathers too harshly, even though they see through a glass darkly. It is most unfortunate that we should hold each succeeding city administration responsible for the financing of school needs, calling for 25 cents on every dollar of the tax levy, and at the same time expect them to refrain from exerting a control, or possibly a coercion, that has no justification in law.

Progress in the Elementary Schools

Probably the most characteristic advance in elementary schools has been the rejection of the assumption that all children are practically alike in physical and mental endowments, and also that children with marked physical defects of sight, hearing, or limb have no place in the public schools. To-day progressive school administration requires that an earnest effort be made to sort our children on a scientific basis, so that group instruction may still be consistent with the recognition of the fact that as regards physical and mental traits, one group differs widely from another. Up to the present,

perhaps the greatest waste in education has been due to the crude classification of pupils. A vast amount of time, energy, and money is wasted whenever masses of children are grouped without regard to those physical and mental characteristics which individualize them and yet which, when properly recognized and made the basis of grouping, permit class instruction to be carried on very profitably.

If we are to eliminate waste, children of widely different abilities must not be grouped in unit classes. The child with anemia, with defective vision, the stammerer, the cardiac and the mental defective must not be placed in severe scholastic competition with normal children. A violation of this principle of organization means, as regards the children, not only extreme personal discouragement and the loss of self-confidence, but also considerable expense to the school system, because such children are repeaters in the grades. The proper classification and segregation of such children is therefore desirable, not only from an ethical, but also from an economical, standpoint.

In addition to such efforts to make definite segregations of pupils with marked physical and mental defects, a striking feature of the administration of our most progressive elementary schools and high schools has been the application of tests that bespeak an earnest effort to group children on the basis of their ability in order that they may more fully derive the benefits of instruction and in order that their achievements may be measured by definite standards of attainment, instead of by the unstandardized judgment of the average teacher.

Perhaps the day may yet come when, despite our graded class system, it may be possible, through the application of intelligence tests and also achievement tests, to eliminate the holdovers by providing that each child, although traveling as a member of a class group, will travel at his own gait and in terms of his own ability. The day of the educational lockstep, in which bright wit and dull pate were harnessed together, has vanished forever. The so-called retardation in our schools is simply a measure of the crudity of our methods of classifying children and measuring their attainments.

Only by the application of scientific standards as a substitute for the rule-of-thumb estimates of former days can we justify ourselves in claiming that teachers constitute a professional body keenly alert to the scientific

developments of the day. I am happy to state that many of our superintendents, principals, and teachers have equipped themselves through careful study to be leaders in this progressive movement. In many of our best high schools and elementary schools pupils are being graded and advanced on a much more scientific basis than ever before employed.

The Continuation School Law

Conditions incident to the World War, such as the revelation of illiteracy among drafted men, both here and in England, gave a great impetus to the enactment of continuation school laws that provide an extension of our elementary and our high school systems, to serve those pupils less than eighteen years of age who dropped out of the elementary schools or the high schools before securing the full benefits of a high-school education. Formerly we permitted immature children to leave school at the age of fourteen with the bare rudiments of an elementary education and, with blind optimism, we left them to their own initiative to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by our evening school system. Experience proved that either many did not avail themselves of such opportunities, or that their physical condition after the day's labor was such as to make such attendance unprofitable.

The law now on the statute books is properly regarded as an epoch-making advance in educational service. Commissioner John H. Finley, who sponsored the bill, called it "the children's charter." He defined the law as having a twofold purpose: the preparation of youth for participation as citizens in the political life of the State; and also the guidance toward and the training of youth for useful occupations.

In accordance with this law continuation schools have been organized throughout the city, and ample financial provision is being made for their support. Completely to work out the problem will involve the development of a parallel system of schools doing modified elementary school and high school work; will call for the expenditure of millions of dollars, and also will require a much longer period than the original statute contemplated.

The Growth of the High Schools

A very reassuring index of parental appreciation of the value of secondary schooling is revealed in the steady growth of our high school system. Not only has the high school

register doubled during the past ten years, but the increase in register during the past term was unprecedented. The school year 1922 will probably shatter all theories of normal increase in high school register. In fact, our high school pupils have rapidly outgrown our high school accommodations, so that at present we have such schools as the Washington Irving, the De Witt Clinton, and the Stuyvesant High School, with registers approximating 5000 each, making necessary the use of double and triplicate session programs, which tax school facilities far beyond their normal capacities. We are making provision for the erection of several new high schools, aiming to locate them in closer proximity to the pupil groups which they accommodate, thus lessening the dangers, inconvenience, loss of time, and expense incident to long journeys made twice daily.

As in the elementary schools, in which, in the interest of a more democratic type of curriculum, we have established citywide a system of junior high schools offering differentiated courses to the children in the seventh, eighth, and ninth school years, so in the organization of our high schools we are attempting to offer specialized work to children in accordance with their varying abilities. Thus, in addition to the typical classical, commercial and technical high schools, we have recently added a textile high school which will aim to train pupils for entrance into the clothing and allied industries, and also a coöperative high school, which permits pupils to alternate between the classroom and the commercial world, the school work being correlated with the type of real occupation in which the child is engaged.

Not only have different types of high schools been organized, but the courses of study generally have been undergoing constant modification and enrichment to meet the social demands arising during the period of war and reconstruction. Courses in civics, economics, and European history intended to give additional insight into current social problems have been organized, and Spanish and French have proved to be serious competitors of Latin. German is being studied by very few. Marked success has attended the development of certain phases of high school work in physical training and art.

An achievement worthy of record has been the organization of work in our evening high schools so as to secure from the Regents the same recognition for purposes of credit as

the work done in the day high schools. In other words, the day high school pupil who through force of circumstances has been compelled to go to work may carry his high school education to a successful completion.

A general survey of the different parts of our school system, whether it be the application of more scientific methods of classification in the elementary grades, the citywide extension of the junior high school, the organization of the continuation schools, the modification of the high school curriculum, or the development of new types of high schools, is all indicative of the fact that our school system is keenly responsive to the demands of a larger, better social life.

Our Teaching Staff

In the last analysis the effectiveness of our whole education scheme is conditional upon having an efficient, contented teaching corps. In this respect New York City is very fortunate indeed. The teacher supply is adequate and the teachers, approximately 24,000 in number, are conscious of the high esteem in which they are held as professional men and women. We are not without a limited number of those whose desire for personal exploitation and whose acidulous tongues make them apostles of discontent and radicalism. They claim that the teachers constitute a sort of intellectual proletariat who differ in kind and degree from supervisors and administrators. These latter, by analogy, are stigmatized as a sort of pedagogical capitalistic class, who challenge not only the kind of professional service which we should render, but who even scoff at the holy obligations that we owe to the State and to the nation. They inflict little real damage by means of their verbal bludgeons other than possibly misleading the public into the belief that we, as teachers, are incompetent, ungrateful, or pessimistic.

The truth of the matter is, of course, that our teachers render service without stint in a spirit of loyalty and gratitude. We know that as a profession we now have a rank and dignity never before attained by those in the teaching service. Admission on the basis of proved competency, adequate compensation for all ranks of the service, permanency of tenure, except for the obviously unfit, supplemented by assured pension benefits, are features incident to our professional employment that entitle the community to demand the exceptional service which the teachers are proud to give.

TEACHING CURRENT EVENTS AS TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

BY JULIUS H. BARNES

WHEN America's business men recently read the results of a "current events test" issued by the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, I imagine that most of them were less interested in the results of this first nation-wide test than in its existence and its possibilities. Whether, given time, we shall "pass" or "miss" a test in current events is vastly less significant than that a nation's attention is being called to the need for teaching current events, and the possibility of training for citizenship through such study.

To many of us who are beginning to relate public understanding to public support for schools, there are two other significant phases. It means much that magazines like the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will seek to encourage the teaching of current events by providing a means of knowing the results secured and a basis for better teaching in this subject. In some cases, even more interesting, is the fact that teachers, principals and superintendents representing more than 200,000 pupils requested copies of this test for use in their classes, and that State superintendents, city superintendents, principals, and heads of private secondary schools coöperated by distributing the test, by scoring the papers and reporting results.

While the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has not asked me for suggestions about extending this testing service, I am nevertheless tempted to express regret that 200,000 of America's taxpayers, and an equal number of women voters and labor leaders, could not have been given this same test. For, after all, is not the test of our teaching and of our public education the way in which adults, after leaving school, read and think about current events? Possibly many will want to take advantage of the future tests to be issued by the REVIEW OF REVIEWS during the school year.

The questions were not "catch questions" calling for freak memories. They called for a knowledge of twenty frequently mentioned persons, such as Warren G. Harding, Lloyd

George, Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles G. Dawes, Judge Landis; ten places often mentioned in the current press, as Ireland, Ruhr Basin, Moscow; an understanding of ten terms common to current history, like Sinn Fein, Sovietism, Budget, Soldier Bonus. Each person or subject was to be identified or explained in a sentence. Twenty questions, including these, were asked: "Name the presiding officer of the Senate," "Who was President Wilson's secretary?" "What changes were made in our country by the last two constitutional amendments?" A page containing photographs of ten prominent men and women—General Pershing, Secretary Hughes, Mr. Cox, Mr. Hoover, "Uncle Sam"—called for the naming of the photographs, and five cartoons for which captions had to be provided completed the test.

The group of questions found easiest was the one which required the furnishing of captions for the five cartoons. Students who know little about events had evidently looked at the pictures in current magazines and newspapers, as correct captions were easily supplied for the cartoons representing current problems. Naming the photographs was found more difficult. The picture most often missed was that of James M. Cox; next was Thomas A. Edison. The lack of knowledge regarding Mr. Cox may be explained by the fact that the test was given seven months after the election and the frequency of Mr. Cox's picture in current papers and periodicals had materially decreased. Within 100 miles of Mr. Edison's home 14 out of 27 students did not recognize his picture. In one State College three of 36 students failed to recognize Uncle Sam, and quite a number of others identified him as Senator Borah and "Uncle Joe" Cannon.

The papers from 15 fourth-year high-school classes were specially analyzed to find out which of the twenty persons, about whom they were asked to give some current fact, were best known. Every student an-

swered correctly the question about President Harding. The person next best known in this group was Eugene V. Debs. The facts that he was the Socialist candidate for President, is now in jail, and that efforts were being made to secure a pardon for him were missed by only 8 per cent. of these students. Lloyd George was missed by 14 per cent., Samuel Gompers by 15 per cent., and Robert Lansing by 18 per cent. These papers indicate that about two out of three high-school students will answer correctly when asked about people who enjoy nation-wide publicity similar to that conferred on William E. Borah, Madame Curie and John Burroughs. Judge Landis, the only name taken from the sporting page, was known as well as D'Annunzio and Obregon, being missed by 43 per cent. of the high-school seniors. This does not indicate, as some have claimed, that sporting pages get first attention from America's young citizens.

As examples of misunderstanding and misinformation with respect to current problems, the following answers have been taken from the papers:

Samuel Gompers was variously described as the head of the shipbuilding trade, a poet, head of the strikers, president of the sugar trust, leader of the G. O. P., president of the Steel Company, head of the Interborough, and minister to England, Japan and France.

Viviani was the first woman elected to Congress.

Senator Lodge, who was known to but seven of 21 high-school seniors in a New England city, and unknown to about 50 per cent. of high-school students taking the test in Pennsylvania, was described as a socialist agitator, a great politician, a believer in conversation with the dead, a Senator who favored the League of Nations, an English speechmaker, and an advocate of spiritualism. Sir Oliver Lodge's visit—made about the time the test was given—may be responsible for some of these incorrect answers.

That it pays to advertise was illustrated by the many students who credited John Burroughs as the inventor of an adding machine, and ingenuity was shown by one who states that "John Burroughs was a borough president."

George Harvey, the new Ambassador to England, was thought to have held such positions as secretary to ex-President Wilson, a famous aviator, Congressman, and an inciter of a social uprising in England.

Other answers gave Obregon as a "bill in dispute," Hymans as secretary to Harding, Madame Curie as an opera singer, Debs as Secretary of the Treasury, and Lenine as the Sinn Fein leader.

The average grade from approximately 17,500 students ranging from the seventh grade elementary school to college seniors is shown in the following table. The range covered by those reporting was from 8 per cent. to 100 per cent., with a country-wide average of 44 per cent. Of the 17,500 students, 330 received a rating of over 90 per cent., 1385 over 80 per cent. and 2708—one in seven—over 70 per cent.

Class	Reporting	Grade
College	519	55%
4th year high school....	4262	51%
3rd " " "	3133	50%
2nd " " "	2979	42%
1st " " "	2885	35%
8th grade	2250	42%
7th grade	1429	29%

One must remember that mixed in with these low general averages were many reports that show excellent results. An eighth grade of 94 students in one city made an average of 97 per cent.; 104 high-school seniors in another city answered correctly 87 per cent.; a private secondary school scored 95 per cent.; another high-school class, 97 per cent. There was a sufficient number of these high scores to illustrate that the students can be interested in current events and can rank as high in current facts as in ancient and medieval ones.

That greater attention is being given to teaching and testing current events as a regular study in our secondary schools and colleges—and perhaps in technical and professional schools for training such shapers of public opinion as lawyers, physicians, engineers and ministers—and certainly in training schools for teachers, is indicated by the reception which the lay press gave to this test, and the interest exhibited by all educators in the results.

After analyzing the results for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, the Institute for Public Service believed it found in them five lessons for the new school year:

(1) Unless schools teach current events, young people while getting an education in school and college will put off learning how to study them until after their school days.

(2) Instantaneous exposure or long-time exposure to current events, *i. e.*, reading or

hearing about them without being tested on what is understood and digested, will leave students confused and helpless in thinking about vital public problems.

(3) Where current events are studied and tested, young America can easily be taught how to read, to enjoy reading and to think straight about critical current events.

(4) What hundreds of teachers are already doing well, thousands can do so well that students will not lack training in an analysis of current events.

(5) No democracy can expect straight thinking from a public that is not trained while at school to read regularly, to enjoy, and to think straight about, current events.

QUESTIONING CANDIDATES

BY MARJORIE SHULER

WOULD the average voter, man or woman, remain indifferent concerning the officials at the bottom of the ticket if he were informed that the candidate for health commissioner was by profession an undertaker, that the candidate for alderman was opposed to adequate school appropriations, that the sole qualification of the candidate for commissioner of streets and markets was that he needed a job? In collecting evidence in answer to this question the women voters are making a valuable contribution to American politics.

Throughout the country where there are elections this autumn women voters are questioning candidates, and placing the results of their investigations directly in the hands of the average voter. This is their means of determining whether political conditions demand the short ballot. The short ballot, reducing the number of candidates to be elected and delegating to them the appointment of minor officials, seems to many women to abridge their hard-won right of suffrage. If it is possible to do so, they prefer to arouse the indifferent voter, man or woman; and instead of relieving him of any duties, to require him to live up to the full responsibilities of citizenship.

Questioning candidates is not a new idea. It has been successfully done by some civic groups of both men and women, and by some national organizations interested in specific federal legislation. But the work, as it is being done now, is on a more constructive, a more permanent, and a more general scale than ever before.

Take, for instance, the Pennsylvania women who have initiated a unique method of requiring candidates to appear at public meetings and state orally their answers to the required list of questions; the Boston

League of Women Voters, which has issued a very complete booklet on the nominees in the approaching election; or the New York City League of Women Voters, whose method of questioning candidates has been tested in three previous elections and is now being copied generally in other parts of the country.

The New York City League begins its work before the primaries by sending delegations to each candidate, asking him to fill out two blanks. One of these is a personal record of his place and date of birth, term of residence in the locality, education, occupation, the length of time he has been active in politics, previous political offices held, and his special training and experience for the duties of the office to which he aspires. The second blank deals more particularly with the problems likely to come before him while in office. This year, candidates for judgeships were asked among other questions if they favored women jurors. Candidates for Comptroller, President of the Board of Aldermen, and Borough Presidents were asked if they would work for an appropriation for the immediate erection of more school buildings; for making the present buildings sanitary; for a five-cent street-car fare; for abolishing the present method of garbage collection for a better and less expensive plan; for terminal markets; for remedying the housing situation. Candidates for the assembly were asked a number of questions, ending with a demand to know if they would favor revision of the rules of the legislature insuring discussion and action on all important measures on the floor of both houses.

The first year (1918) that they were thus approached, candidates were in many instances reluctant to answer, apparently

sharing the opinion of the man asking for reelection to the assembly who said, "My constituents don't weigh records, they weigh parties." Only about 75 per cent. of the candidates were persuaded to answer that year. Last year the response had increased to 90 per cent. This year it is practically 100 per cent., and for the first time the candidates themselves have given publicity to their replies through the newspapers. One of the candidates close to the head of this year's ticket wrote to Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman of the League, "If I do not hear from you to the contrary I will release copies of these answers to the newspapers on Thursday." Which he did.

The questionnaires are posted for reference at the League headquarters until after the primaries, when the replies of the winning candidates are printed and mailed to registered women voters. The average cost of compiling, printing and mailing each information sheet is about four cents. Additional copies are distributed at political meetings, and are available to organizations and individuals asking for them.

No comment other than the candidates' own statements appear on the information sheets; save such an explanation as Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of Manhattan Borough, uses for those distributed in her district: "This information has been obtained from answers to questionnaires sent out by the above non-partisan League, whose aim is to help New York to a better government. We are trying to interest women in the character and ability of the candidates—to encourage them to vote for men and not by emblem."

The interest aroused by these information sheets is remarkable. Women may be seen at political meetings checking the sheets as they listen to the speakers. In the lines of those waiting to vote at the polling places last year were hundreds of women holding in their hands copies of the information sheets which they had marked. Women whose lack of familiarity with political affairs evidently prevented their carrying in mind the names of the candidates were intent on making sure that they voted in accordance with the best records, qualifications and pledges of the men running for office.

The information sheets are not used solely by women. One man tells that he borrowed his wife's information sheet last year, marked

it according to the facts he read there, and then found when he was inside the polling booth that he had left it at home. "I tried to remember which candidates I had chosen," he says, and adds with a rueful smile, "when I returned home I found that in the case of every minor office I had voted for the wrong man."

At a Lawyers' Club luncheon last autumn fifty men discussed one of the sheets which had been received by the wife of a member of the club, and they said that their votes for judges were materially affected by the information they gained. Husbands have in several instances sent checks to the League out of "gratitude because my wife is a member and receives this information which I have no time to collect for myself."

Three letters received at the League headquarters illustrate the response of voters to such information:

"I want to express my appreciation of the very illuminating folders which you sent to women voters previous to the election of last Tuesday. I happen to be one of the many thousand working-women voters of this community, and found I had neither the time nor the ingenuity to look up the record of each of the candidates for whom I was asked to vote. I wanted to vote as intelligently as possible. You helped me to do this."

"I was seeking just such information; as, though I am a Democrat, I do not wish to be a blind voter, but to uphold the best people who present themselves for office."

The third is signed by the head of the civics department in one of the largest high schools in the city: "My attention has been called to the publication giving the stand of the various candidates, and, believing this to be of great value in connection with the instruction in civics in our school, I am taking the liberty of requesting about twenty copies of this publication for the use of the teachers."

Encouraged by the interest which the average voter has shown in this work, sentiment is growing for the extension of the Oregon pamphlet law, by means of which information furnished by the candidates is printed and distributed by the State at small cost to the candidates, but modifying the law by introducing the simpler, condensed answers on required topics which are the outstanding features of the women's plan for questioning candidates.

THE RECOVERY OF BUSINESS

BY J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN

I.

ALL was light and gaiety when war-prices were rising and wages and profits were at unparalleled heights. It is different now. As Satan said, "Descent and fall to us is adverse." The great decline of prices has brought hardship and failures in its train. To-day we find ourselves in a sick mood of depression:

"So comes a reckoning when the banquet's o'er,—
The dreadful reckoning, and men smile no more."

There is no need now to call in the leach, for the patient seems already to have been thoroughly bled. He has no profit from his ventures, and the unemployed are hungry at his gates, while winter is not far ahead. He seems listless and discouraged. There is an agreement of expert opinion that the illness is not fatal, and that recovery is only a question of time; but in this case time is money. Will it take long to purge the industrial system of its toxins? Must we trust the slow course of nature to bring back normal vigor, or should a hastening tonic be administered? Of course, the worse the illness, the slower the recovery.

II.

In casting up the reckoning, the entries show the main cause of illness: a huge figure of piled-up indebtedness on one side of the account, and insufficient or unliquid assets with which to meet them on the other. When earnings were fabulous, the optimistic manager had enlarged his buildings, bought heavily of new equipment, piled up stores of materials, increased his force, and pushed his borrowings to the limit of his credit at the banks. His obligations were in the figures set by the high level of prices. The workmen, too, lost their heads. Phenomenally high wages gave a hitherto unknown purchasing power over goods, without any greater efficiency or more physical exertion.

The claim of the dreamers that labor was to be "put on a new footing" seemed to have been realized. Visions of a new world

seethed in the brains of all who sat at this speculative banquet. The fever had entered the industrial system. But time brought a check. The Federal Reserve doctors first gave warning of dangerous symptoms in November, 1919. In April, 1920, the long decline began. A serious convulsion appeared in December, 1920, when earnings failed to feed the vital organs. Within, the tissues were still being consumed, when, by the advice of "sunshine" doctors, the patient in the following winter and spring arose too soon from his bed, only to be prostrated by a serious collapse in June, 1921, followed by a fainting spell in the succeeding August. Evidently, the fever had consumed more strength than was generally supposed, or the treatment had been unfortunate.

III.

The creation of enormous obligations entered into in a spirit of expansiveness would have been difficult to meet even in a time of hardy business condition. But just when the attack needed the strongest constitutional resistance, our industrial fibre gave way. If heavy losses and indebtedness had to be met, they could be met—if time were given—only out of current effort and production. Unfortunately for a quick recovery, however, demand fell off, carrying with it a fatal reduction in the production of goods. This seems to have been something of a surprise to the doctors, and a very disagreeable complication. So far as this country was concerned, war and destruction had ceased, workers and resources were as great in 1921 as in 1919, and yet production had suffered a serious decline with the inevitable unemployment of millions of men. Crops (except cotton) in 1921 were fair, and yet the farmers were crippled in their purchasing power. What was the *sabot* which had been thrown into the industrial machinery?

When a scaffolding has been slowly built up around a great building, one board nailed to another, to scantling on scantling, it affords us an illustration of the way in which reciprocal demand is built up through the

intricate maze of interdependent industries. By the offer of the products of one industry against the products of others, effective demand exerts itself; and the offer of others for the fruits of effort in the first group creates a reciprocal demand—a coöperative social operation in which supply is the basis of reciprocal demand. It is obvious that a diminution of production involves a reduction of supply, and so of reciprocal demand. Take away the means of buying shoes, and the group of shoe-producers cannot buy wheat. Draw the nails out of the boards acting as reciprocal trusses in the scaffolding, and a weakening in a "key" position will sooner or later bring down the whole interdependent structure. Where structural weakness exists, a very slight strain can pull down the whole fabric in splendid ruin. It may crash down in one dusty minute; but it will take months of painful toil, and much new timber, to adjust one piece to another in order to raise a new structure equally high. And the new one will never be exactly like the old one.

IV.

What we must face in studying the present industrial disturbance is the cosmic upheaval, in Europe and elsewhere, as well as here, of reciprocal demand and the accompanying reduction of production. These are the elements that have given an international character to the existing depression in business. The symptoms of this depression are very much alike in North America, Europe, South America and Asia. The reasons are not far to seek. They have their liaison in the widespread high level of war prices. The sources of supply of materials such as wool, wheat, copper, jute, leather, nitrate, all over the world, from Alberta to La Plata and from Stockholm to Melbourne, came under the influence of war demand and the speculation that invariably attends on rising prices; and added to them was the unregulated climb in the payment for all kinds of labor. Swollen prices of materials and human services spread over the world swollen expenses of production. Hence the general rise of prices in all the ports of the Seven Seas. *Sic itur ad astra* for prices.

But this phenomenon contained in its belly the seeds of its own undoing. Nature, in its economic workings, had to be reckoned with. It is axiomatic of the economic world that as prices rise demand tends sooner or later to fall off. There are no limits to

men's desires; but the limit to what they can buy is what they can offer as purchasing power—that is, the marketable goods they possess or can produce. It is not the amount of money or credit, but the amount of salable goods they possess, which can be converted into money or used as the basis of credit, that counts.

For instance, a farmer's crop is the limit of the money or credit he can use as purchasing power. Therefore, a limited purchasing power is directly constricted by the rising level of prices. The number of bushels of wheat produced by a farmer, multiplied by the price per bushel, stands opposite to the goods he wants, multiplied by their prices. If tools, machinery, fertilizer and shoes rise in price more than his wheat, he must buy less. High prices lessen his demand. So of all incomes, especially fixed money incomes. In short, a general change of prices such as that which came after the war forces a readjustment of demand and supply. If a fall from high prices causes a shift in demand, the quantities of goods produced are affected. Some industries are stopped. A lessened production in any one group in turn reacts on the demand of that group for the goods of others. Because of the interdependence of industries a blow to one is transmitted to all the industries of our system (much the same as in the hydrostatic paradox).

V.

Most important of all in causing a lessened demand has been the reduced production due to the destruction of war. If Europe cannot produce goods for export she cannot exert a demand for our breadstuffs and materials. She lacked copper, cotton, or rubber; and could get them only on credit, hoping to pay for such materials out of the proceeds of the finished goods when sold. Political unsettlement, however, actual war, or starvation have only too long choked off her production. Hence European demand has declined; and we have in crippled production the explanation of the striking decline in our exports and imports during the last year. To a certain extent, of course, the larger agricultural production in France and elsewhere reduces the demand for our breadstuffs. The difficulties arising from foreign exchange—apart from those due to depreciated currencies—are secondary, while those of production are primary.

The falling off of production, in its

effect on demand, works in two ways: (1) it may appear in a lessened number of units of product, or (2) it may show in a lower price per unit. The purchasing power of a cotton planter, for example, is a function of two variables: the number of his bales of cotton and the price per bale. If his crop is 1000 bales and each bale is sold at \$200, his purchasing power is represented in money by \$200,000; if the price falls to \$60 a bale, it is only \$60,000; and if the crop falls to 600 bales, at the low price, his purchasing power is only \$36,000; but if the price rises (as it has lately) to \$100 a bale, his purchasing power mounts to \$100,000, with which he can pay off his loans.

Instead of a war price of 40 cents a pound for cotton, the fall to 12 cents struck a vital blow at the purchasing power of our Southern planters. If obligations were entered into on the level of aspiring ambitions when prices were high, it may not alleviate the burden of debt to realize that the fall in prices of cotton (and breadstuffs as well) was due to the reduced production, and hence the reduced demand, of a Europe impoverished by war; but it should teach us that the way out is only by hard work in producing articles in which our efficiency is greatest, and not by blocking European demand through senseless customs duties.

Those who wish the Government, or the Federal Reserve Board, to relieve the sufferers from the decline of prices are following a false scent. Demand fell off from a world-wide upheaval in production. The remedy lies not in holding up goods for higher prices, because the elements entering into expenses of production, and the prices of goods, have fallen; materials and labor cannot again be put back on the high war level by any act of Congress or by any expansion of credit. In that way madness lies. The means are wholly unsuited to the end.

VI.

The question of immediate and vital interest to-day is not so much how we got into our present economic depression, as it is how to get out of it. The smart of loss is felt by all classes, and it would not be strange if the nation were again deluged, as in the years following previous crises, by a flood of ill-conceived schemes to bring about a quick recovery of prosperity. It is already clear that the recovery of business is not only of economic, but of political, concern.

From what has been already said, the crux of the whole problem seems to lie in a restoration of reciprocal demand through well-balanced production; that is, a production properly adjusted to the reciprocal demands of buyers and sellers; and carried on at such expenses of production (controlled by prices that buyers can afford to pay out of the proceeds of their own sales to others) that materials and labor are to be had by all groups of industry without special monopoly for some. The storm has been raging furiously; the surface of the sea of industry is yet uneven and dangerous; but now that the blow is over it is in the course of nature that normal equilibrium should in due time return.

In what way can this reciprocal demand be conjured up again? To many business men this is a hopeless quest, because of widespread losses and greatly reduced purchasing power. One company in the leather industry is reported as having suffered losses in its inventories of over \$30,000,000; and a fertilizer company, of \$11,000,000. Then the reduced value of products together with a great decline in sales has forced the passing of dividends to shareholders by well-established organizations. The dividends lost to holders of stock in perhaps nine sugar companies is estimated at over \$22,000,000. Moreover, some millions of workingmen are out of employment and their purchasing power is accordingly cut off. The fall in the prices of cotton and breadstuffs has halved the buying power of the agricultural districts. In the face of an enormous reduction in demand due to losses of this kind, how can we expect a recovery of business? Where can demand come from?

VII.

Even if the volume of water in a reservoir is drawn down somewhat below its usual level, the pressure in the pipes supplied by it remains much the same. It must be kept in mind that the depression of to-day is not a complete cessation of industry. Far from it. At the lowest point of production it is stated that the steel industry was working at about 20 or 25 per cent. of capacity. In bushels the corn crop is as large as ever. Although most of the mines are closed, the surplus of copper is steadily being sold. The low price of wheat is causing an extraordinary increase in our exports of late. Moreover, cotton is moving abroad and its price is rising. In brief, we are now witnessing

the beginnings of a phenomenon the very reverse of that happening when prices were found to be so high as to stifle demand. A reduced demand is a means of checking supply, until expenses of production and prices arrive at a point at which demand is again quickened. The long and painful decline in prices has in general about come to an end, although labor costs still keep up the expenses of producing many goods, especially in house-building.

But whence does the increasing purchasing power come? Who is buying the 25 per cent. of steel production? Other producers, who are making tools, machinery, or automobiles. Now, how can such demand increase all around? Here we come upon what may be described as the elasticity of expenditure within any given income (provided, of course, that it is above the necessities of life). Beyond a certain expenditure for food, housing and clothing, according to a person's habitual usage, there is wide opportunity for changing the direction of purchasing power, under emergency conditions. Unessential goods may lose demand. Hence in our present state we may first look for a quickened demand in essentials. In their production, materials and labor are likely first to reach stabilization.

From this basis the superstructure of a varied demand will rise—and often with surprising suddenness. Everywhere are those seeking to find out a market for goods. That means the discovery of someone who is trying to increase his products, provided a reciprocal buyer will offer him acceptable goods in return. This tentative reaching out of reciprocal producers goes on almost unnoticed, and on a small scale.

Salesmen on the road are the first to notice it. Economizing in outlay in order to lower expenses of production, and by creating a disciplined efficiency, goods are offered at prices so low as to tempt buyers. This process spreads. Then as prices are generally regarded as having reached the bottom, purchasing for future orders may be undertaken without fear of loss. As quantity-production is enlarged, overhead charges per unit of goods are reduced, allowing lower prices; and industry openly prospers.

No one knows when this may come; but unexpectedly the business world wakes up to find that a healthy recovery has come overnight. Demand returns; but demand at a price which meets the estimates of large classes of reciprocal buyers and sellers.

Recovery can come only through enlarged production. The scaffolding which fell with so much ruin is now being meticulously built up again, safely trussed. It is a process which takes time, and often exhausts patience.

VIII.

It is not necessary to spin a web of theory with which to catch some careless flight of economic fancy. The path to recovery lies straight before us. Recovery can come only from within, by the renewal of economic structure; that is, by using the factors of resources, labor and capital under such skilled management that each will exert its full efficiency and each be paid in a competitive market in proportion to what each contributes to the joint productive result. Whatever variation exists from such payments in the friction of industrial operations, the tendency must lie always in that direction. It must be worked out, not by politics, but by the concrete production which provides reciprocal demand.

In this process credit plays an important rôle. It is a function of credit to reach forward into the future. While based primarily on salable goods, it is granted on the evidence of goods in the processes of production. If skilled producers have lost heavily in the decline of prices, and if their bills payable have been long carried by the banks because demand has failed, it is in the very nature of credit, nay, its bounden duty, to help on the growth of newly born production. In a time of crisis it is the law of self-preservation for institutions of credit to lend freely in order to prevent undue sacrifices in the liquidation of assets—only out of which can their own liabilities be met. But to-day credit is sound and available for any legitimate loan.

Therefore, when producers see demand picking up, they should—and will—receive generous aid from the dispensers of credit. Credit will give the crippled business system a crutch to help it walk. Credit does not create capital, but it can direct it where it will be most effective. Through the item of bank loans to commercial operations we have a register of the different phases of business conditions. At one time, when the great break in prices came upon us, and demand fell off, the loans to business men were heavy. To have pressed for payment on maturity would have caused irreparable ruin.

The load of credit was the heavier

because our Treasury had used the Federal Reserve System and the member banks to carry tens of billions of Government loans. Our system of credit met the strain magnificently. The amazing resiliency of our industrial conditions, by which loans on Government securities have been reduced, and by which commercial loans have been paid off up to date, is one of the most encouraging manifestations of a return to sound health that have happened in all the confusion since the close of the war.

Credit allowed time for heaped-up goods to be sold and loans to be paid off; it gave a chance for economy to be introduced and to raise up savings to help in reduction of debts. In the stage of stagnation after the *debacle*, the call upon credit is less; reserves of gold have increased, and rates of interest

will fall. In the next stage of recovery, as new production slowly expands, it will be aided by credit; the increase of commercial loans will mark the rising tide of recovery. They will rise as more goods are produced and exchanged for each other.

Thus we need have no fear that there will not be an effective demand, when reciprocal and well-adjusted production picks up, because of any lack of purchasing power. That will follow production as the shadow follows the substance on a sunny day. Industry, skill, work, and a coöperative spirit on the part of labor and capital are the regimen for the ultimate and complete recovery of business. If the considerable rise in the price of cotton were to be followed quickly by the passage of the railroad refunding bill, it would act as a stimulating tonic.

FINANCING THE FARMS' MARKET

BY CHARLES MOREAU HARGER

THE American farmer has received from the Government new legislation in his interest, the most comprehensive in the history of the nation. It includes the Emergency Tariff bill, the law regulating grain exchanges to eliminate practices detrimental to fair marketing, packer control, increase in the capital of the Federal Land Bank to allow of more extensive lending facilities, and the expansion of the War Finance Corporation to enable it to help finance agricultural operations at home and to develop export trade.

Of all these the last has a particular interest for the producing area, affecting as it does the price of products through the influence of more efficient financial machinery for the establishment of credits at home and abroad. The farmer with his marketing done but once a year—at the end of the crop season—always needs credit; the development of foreign purchasing is dependent upon the ability of the consumer overseas to pay for the food he receives. With one billion dollars available under the new plan, it is expected that definite benefits can be secured in both directions for the farm country.

For a year the financial situation in the agricultural States, with special reference to the farmer and his crops, has occupied a

prominent place in banking and governmental discussions. This is due partly to the demoralization of the farmer's market as a part of the deflation process. In a few weeks he saw the price level of his products drop nearly to pre-war figures, antedating the reductions in the prices of commodities he must buy. He revolted and started the readjustment period in earnest—an experience through which we have not yet fully passed. Directly connected with this decrease in his income arose the question of the future and the problem of our export trade in farm products.

Exporting Our Surplus

As an example, the American farmer raises more wheat than this country can eat. He must have a market abroad to absorb the surplus if he is to receive a fair price for his production. For the past decade the domestic consumption has remained fairly steady, averaging approximately 600 million bushels a year. We have sent abroad the surplus. Generally speaking, from one-fifth to one-third of our wheat is exported; and about one-third of this exportation is in form of flour. Less than 2 per cent. of corn is exported; from one-half to two-thirds of our cotton. The influence on prices of this shipment of surplus abroad is evident. Without

it the farmer would find a glutted market far more dubious than it has been during the past few months.

In the pre-war period exportation was a simple matter of shipment and sale, foreign buyers taking all we could spare from our granaries. During the war governments financed the shipments, and while our troops were abroad much of the overseas movement was for their sustenance.

Now has arisen a new condition. Europe is hungry, but it is in a most unsatisfactory financial position. It desires our surplus products, but cannot assure prompt payment, at least on terms that warrant American exporters to send overseas commodities in which they must invest large sums. To carry on the exportation, they demand some assurance that the bill will be paid, that it can be collected in an emergency. Back of them are the producers who have demanded of Congress an agricultural program, part of which has been the establishment of governmental facilities for aid in disposing of surplus products.

It is axiomatic that the more perfect the machinery for transferring a commodity from the producer to the consumer, the better price will the producer receive. A breakdown of this machinery works against his interest and brings depression to the consuming market. For the time being, this machinery is badly in disrepair owing to the inability of the foreign consumer to pay on delivery for farm products he direly needs.

A concrete instance might be the position of a county in Nebraska that raised no potatoes and whose financial situation was so unsettled as to make it impossible for any of its merchants to buy outright the supply needed. Over in Illinois might be a plentiful crop with abundance to send to outside markets. The Nebraskans, though unable to buy outright, would be able to dispose of a cargo of potatoes were arrangements made by Chicago banks, for instance, for three months' or six months' credit. Could there be arranged some form of accommodation by which Illinois producers were assured of eventual meeting of the obligation, a trainload of potatoes might be secured. In the six months period the shipment might be sold out, a few bushels here, and a few there, until in the end enough funds would be gathered to meet the payment when due. The Illinois potato-raisers would have their money, the Nebraskans their food—all through the erection of financial machinery

for establishing the credit temporarily of a county that was poor in present resources.

This, roughly speaking, is the relative condition of the foreign buyer of our farm products and the American producer. What is needed, say students of the situation, is a governmental agency that shall establish credit for the impoverished foreign markets. They point out that to-day it is difficult for the shipper of wheat from the interior to be certain that he will receive payment for a cargo of flour or wheat when it is sent to central Europe. But if such assurance be firmly based, flour might be sent with confidence from Kansas City to Germany, Spain, Italy, Greece, Egypt, or elsewhere abroad. Three or six months might be given for its distribution. In that period from small buyers might be gathered the sums needed to meet the cost of the shipment. Thus would be regained the foreign market which is so important to American agriculture.

Financing Exports with Government Aid

This demand has concentrated on extending the functions of the War Finance Corporation to include the flotation of securities that represent the production of the American farm. During its existence the operations of the board have been limited to commercial business, and it has not entirely fulfilled the expectations of its early promoters. This, it is claimed, is because it has not been allowed to broaden its field to include the raw materials from the farm. Ordinarily this financing is done by private investors, but in the uncertain condition of foreign politics and business it is not strange that there should be timidity.

Even the country banks of the agricultural States, which might be supposed to be directly interested, have shown little desire to enter this field. An Iowa banker was asked if he had subscribed to the capital of a hundred-million-dollar corporation proposed by the bankers of the country to carry on this work. "No," he replied. "It is not our function. It is a valid task for the Government and it should undertake it. It cannot lose; we might win or might not—it is too much of a gamble without Uncle Sam behind it in these unsettled times abroad."

Much as the public, especially in the agricultural States, is interested in maintaining this foreign trade, no method seems visible for inducing the private capitalist to take what are admitted to be long chances. Export trade is always on a narrow margin;

uncertain credit is not attractive to capital. But it is an entirely proper function for the Government to lend its aid, particularly at this time when, because of the farmers' financial plight, all business is feeling a depression. Hence the agricultural "bloc" in Congress—Senators and Representatives from the farming States—has stressed the need of relief for the producer.

The movement of wheat, meats, cotton, etc., to foreign markets from the primary production areas can be conducted only by a sound basis of credit. The pre-war years saw flour, for instance, going abroad with the shipper credited promptly with its value on arrival either at seaboard or at least overseas. The draft with bill of lading was accepted by the consignee and paid by a bank. In the after-war period this has been possible only in a few countries, and cash at our seaboard has been required. The United Kingdom, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden have been able to make arrangements on this side; southern Europe, except Greece and to some extent France and Italy, has been with weakened resources.

How Farm Exports Have Increased

How extensive has become the foreign demand is seen in the record of recent years' exports of farm products, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Following are the five-year average and the 1920 and 1921 figures for the fiscal years ending June 30 (in thousands):

Article	Unit	1910-14	1920	1921
Grains				
Wheat*	Bu.	103,413	216,713	363,737
Barley	Bu.	7,896	26,571	20,457
Corn	Bu.	39,810	14,468	66,911
Oats	Bu.	8,304	33,945	4,302
Rice	Lbs.	18,489	483,385	440,855
Rye	Bu.	855	37,463	45,735
Cotton†	500 lb. bales	8,840	7,087	5,623
Beef Products				
Beef, canned		9,392	31,134	10,785
Beef, fresh	Lbs.	29,452	153,561	21,084
Beef, pickled and other cured	Lbs.	32,810	32,384	23,313
Oleo oil	Lbs.	‡113,758	74,529	106,415
Hog Products				
Bacon	Lbs.	182,474	803,667	489,298
Hams and shoulders, cured	Lbs.	166,813	275,456	172,012
Lard	Lbs.	474,355	587,225	746,157
Neutral lard	Lbs.	43,572	23,202	22,544
Pork, canned, fresh and pickled	Lbs.	54,526	72,130	91,448
Lard compounds and other lard substitutes	Lbs.	67,319	44,196	42,156

* Including wheat flour reduced to wheat equivalent.

† Including linters.

‡ Four-year average 1911-14.

One of the leading milling corporations of the Middle West has had a representative in Europe for eight months studying the situation as to credits. He reports that there, as here, are vast numbers of war-rich individuals. But companies and corporations, taxed heavily and bearing the burdens of depreciated currencies, are in no position to meet the conditions under which shipments of flour might be made. He points out that governmental agencies alone can insure to the American shipper of grain or meats, or manufactured products of either, the prompt payment necessary to the successful conduct of business. As a result, with the exception of the countries where credit is soundest, shipments have been limited and exports have been curtailed. Germany, it is supposed, is obtaining American flour and wheat from Holland, as that country is taking an exceptional amount of these products, far more than it requires for its own people.

In the unsettled state of foreign business the argument of the country banker that there should be Government backing for credits is valid. It was reported last spring that \$50,000,000 was represented in American goods on the wharfs of South American cities for which the shippers could not obtain settlement. Foreign export trade is on a small margin of profit, and to be desirable it must have prompt adjustment. The Government by its various agencies abroad is in a position to enforce settlement more fully than is an individual or company. This

argument is one of the bases for the demand that the United States back the movement of our farm products and thus insure a permanent and reliable export business.

Nor is it an unexampled step. Britain has appropriated \$100,000,000 as a guaranty of export credits, up to 85 per cent. of sale values, as a means toward encouraging trade activity. Germany for years before the war financed the operations of its industries under certain conditions. The United States with its commanding financial position must give definite support to the credit situation, if it is to dispose of

its surplus products of farm and range.

Under the War Finance Corporation, though the rules have not yet been fully formulated, it is expected that the exporter of wheat or flour, for example, will receive his payment when the cargo is aboard ship. The Corporation, through its foreign connections, will deliver the cargo, arrange to extend credit for a time, and eventually be repaid out of the returns made by the foreign buyer. The Government will have performed a great service without actual expense.

When also, in connection with this, is carried on domestic credit extension, agricultural interests will have had material encouragement. Executive committees being formed in agricultural and stock-raising sections of the West and South will attend to preliminary details of applications. For such assistance ten or fifteen committees are being formed now and others will be added as the business warrants.

The Corporation's policy for financing such advances has not been decided, but it is believed that little of the \$400,000,000 balance with the Treasury will be used for agricultural credits. Demands may be made on the Treasury to make the first loans, but as soon as the volume of needed credits can be gauged, it is believed the Corporation will begin issuing its own bonds.

Current operations of the Corporation in financing exports are being carried on almost exclusively out of a revolving fund automatically established by the repayments being made on the approximately \$100,000,000 in advances now outstanding.

*Permanent, Rather Than Immediate,
Advantage*

Too much must not be expected from the Corporation's activities for the present crop season. On September 1, 70 million bushels of this country's wheat, practically one-third the exportable supply, had been exported in the two months since beginning of harvest, a rate of 420 million bushels annually, an exceptional situation. The September estimate of the 1921 wheat crop is 754 million bushels, compared with 787 million bushels last year and an average for 1915-1919 of 831 million bushels. Hence, with the exportations already made, it is evident that we shall not be able to extend greatly our delivery to foreign buyers.

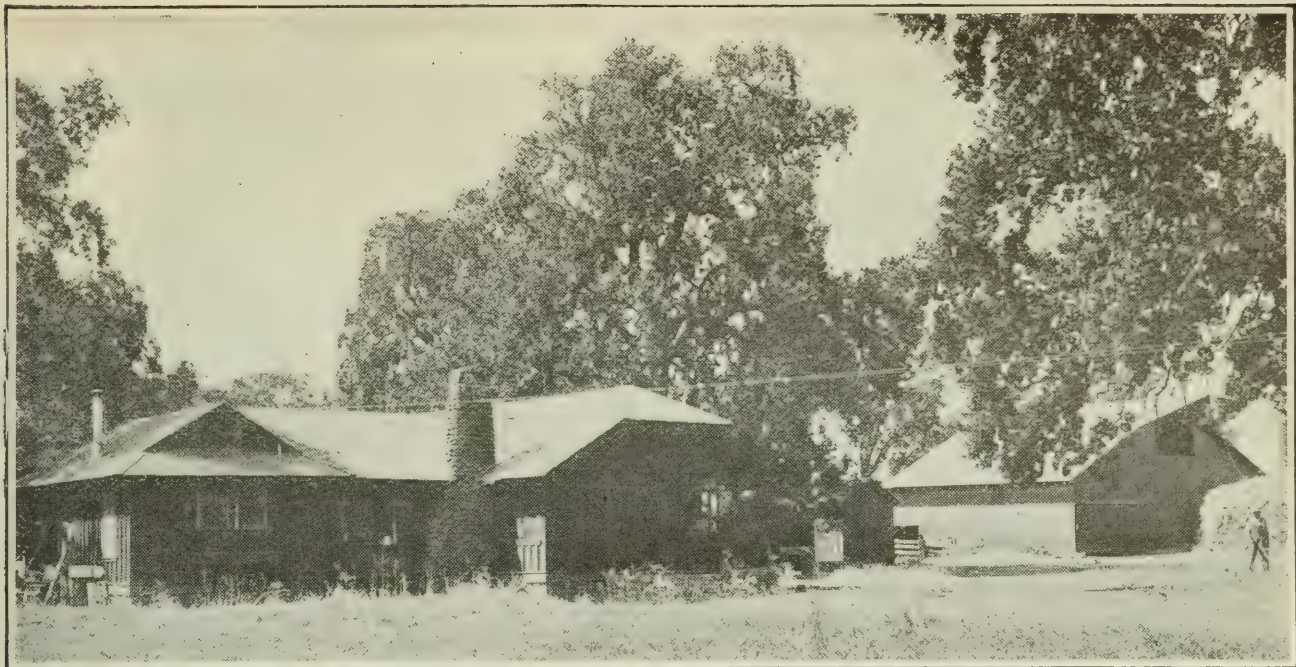
But the future is to be considered. Not only wheat, but other farm products are to be in demand from all Europe permanently. Government support of credits abroad will be needed indefinitely. Indeed, it seems desirable that this become a settled policy of the United States to the end that our producers may have the widest possible market for their output.

Every such facility adds directly to the farmer's income. When early in September the rail transportation on grain products from the interior to seaboard was reduced seven cents per hundred pounds, the price at primary immediately felt the effect. The farmer was the beneficiary.

Not alone the farmer, but every interest dependent wholly or in part on agriculture is affected by benefits that may come through a world market. Indeed, close observers of recent affairs declare that part of the agricultural depression which has so seriously hampered business in the past year is due, at least in part, to the failure of American banking interests adequately to finance the exportation of farm products. Thrown back upon the American market alone, there was lessened demand and a rapid decline in the price-level of farm commodities.

The rehabilitation of American farm interests is unquestionably of prime importance. Experiencing, as did the producers of grain, cotton and meats, the first decline in prices for their output, they have been—and to a degree yet continue—resentful toward the mere deliberate reduction in prices of commodities they must buy. Realization that the Government has undertaken a broad policy of assistance, framed particularly for the furtherance of their financial betterment, should have a helpful psychological influence.

More than that, if the purposes for which the new plan has been created are fulfilled, as it seems logically they should be, it will mean a direct permanent advantage to every farmer and stockman in the nation. The coming year should determine its usefulness, and with successful operation the financing of foreign credits will doubtless become a settled procedure. Such accomplishment will add materially to the soundness of our position as a world power and give to our producers a world market, and incomes definitely based on world demands.



A SETTLER'S HOME AND FARM BUILDINGS AT DURHAM, CALIFORNIA

(Three years ago the State of California established at Durham, in Butte County, an experimental farm colony, opening irrigated land for settlement and development on liberal terms. The results were so satisfactory, from the standpoint of the well-being of the whole State, that a second colony has been established at Delhi, in Merced County)

CALIFORNIA'S FARM COLONIES

IT was in our issue for the month of March, 1919, that there appeared a notable article by Dr. Elwood Mead, chairman of the California Land Settlement Board, which gave an account of an experiment that had been undertaken officially by the State in the field of rural development. Dr. Mead is a distinguished engineer, who has enjoyed a wider experience in dealing with the problems of land, irrigation, and the upbuilding of rural industry in our mountain States and the farther West than any other man. In Australia, also, he was for some years occupied as an official expert in projects for land improvement and settlement, and for the shaping of a new type of rural community.

A few years ago California was wise enough to recognize the fact that the future well-being of the State called for the settlement of land upon the basis of the associated group or neighborhood, and not merely the location of the isolated, independent farmer.

Our national reclamation service, with its great engineering feats by means of which a number of areas were irrigated and opened to settlement by individuals making instalment payments over a period of years, had been founded upon principles which were sound and valuable as far as they went. This policy started with the idea that the settlement of the country was a subject for statesmanship. The arable lands, under the old homestead

system, had practically all disappeared from the map of the diminishing public domain. But there remained great areas of public lands which if irrigated would support flourishing agricultural communities. It was proposed to build the irrigating works in advance as national enterprises, then to assess the cost of such undertakings upon the land that was benefited, and to arrange a scheme of yearly payments over a fairly long term, so that the settler would in due time repay the Government for its investment and become the full owner of his irrigated tract.

There were some mistakes in the execution of what upon the whole was a statesmanlike conception. And, although this policy will in the end be pronounced a far-reaching and substantially successful example of wise legislation, it would have been more fruitful of results if it had been better worked out on the human and social side. The weakness of the policy lay chiefly in its failure to provide for the careful selection of settlers, and their crystallization into organic communities, through what may be called the science of rural planning.

In the State of California, as in many other States, there are great tracts of land awaiting intensive cultivation. A generation ago many of the States west of the Mississippi River were supporting immigration bureaus and agencies and carrying on adver-



A SETTLER'S HOME AT DELHI, THE SECOND FARM COLONY ESTABLISHED BY THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

(It is necessary, under the Land Settlement Board's present rules, for the settler to have \$2500, and the State will lend him \$3000. The settler is thus enabled to purchase and develop a 40-acre farm, with yearly payments over a fairly long term. The State of California, when creating this Delhi colony, appropriated \$1,000,000 for loans to settlers)

tising and propaganda campaigns, not only in the older Eastern States, but throughout Western Europe. These efforts for securing the growth of population were, naturally enough, aided by the railroad companies and the steamship lines. Many of the Western railroads held large tracts of unsettled lands which they were anxious to sell to land-seekers at a very small price per acre, and which were ordinarily disposed of in quarter sections, i. e., 160-acre tracts. But that period has written its chapter in the history of our nation-making, and the large Western movement of land seekers came to an end more than twenty years ago.

Yet there are discerning minds that now grasp the idea that there may be a wholly new kind of westward movement of land seekers, and this upon a scale of increasing and considerable magnitude. It would be unfortunate to have this new stream other than a very small one, until the new methods of settlement are not only well understood by experts, but are also accepted in the Western States as worthy of confident public support. The new kind of settlement recognizes the fact that while the individual farmer will continue to migrate and to buy and sell land as seems to him best there is another type of citizen or family that could not wisely attempt farming or land ownership except as a member of a neighborhood group which, while not communistic or socialistic in any bolshevik sense, is coöperative in many of its activities (especially those having to do with buying and selling) as well as in its educational and social life.

The experts now recognize the fact that the States have the proper qualifications for

managing this new kind of rural development. First, the State governments readily command the requisite financial credit. Second, State sovereignty pertains especially to the landed domain of the commonwealth, and State authority is particularly competent to select and acquire the land needed for a farm colony. Third, the States, through their agricultural departments, and especially through their colleges of agriculture, have at hand precisely the right men and women to launch these new farm communities, protecting them against mistakes and giving practical application to the policy that the legislature of the State may have adopted.

It does not follow, however, that all agricultural colonies of the new type must be State enterprises in the full sense. Thus the colony described in our August number as locating on a tract of irrigated land in Idaho, while greatly aided by the Governor of that State and by the experts of the agricultural college and other officials, is being financed by a large irrigation and land company under the personal direction of Mr. Meredith, former Secretary of Agriculture. In that Idaho colony, led from Brooklyn by Mr. Scott, the advance guard of which made a picturesque migration by automobile caravan across the country during the summer (reaching their destination early in September) most of the essential principles of the California plan were recognized. These principles require that there should be advance preparation made for a suitable number of families upon a well selected tract of several thousand acres. It is seen that advance preparation, which the settler sub-

sequently pays for on the instalment plan, is far better than the individual struggle with wilderness conditions that settlers could not well make for themselves, and that in any case would retard their progress for a number of years.

The article in our August number on the Idaho experiment brought a letter from Dr. Elwood Mead, which, with other communications from him, will help our readers the better to understand the progress that California is making in this new kind of land settlement. The letter is addressed to the editor of this REVIEW and reads as follows:

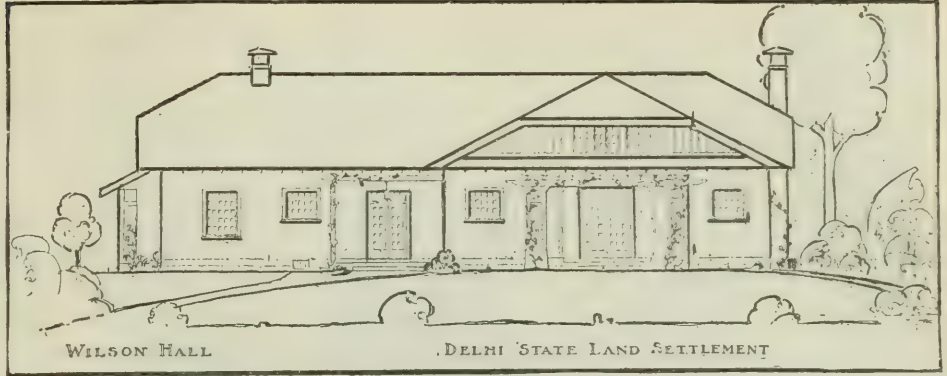
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE

BERKELEY, August 2, 1921.

DEAR DR. SHAW:

Your statement of things needed to create proper human relations in country neighborhoods in the August REVIEW OF REVIEWS is the best I have read. You have condensed in a few paragraphs, the fundamental needs of rural civilization. We are taking the liberty of quoting a portion of this in a letter sent to every newspaper in California, asking them to call attention to the two weeks' Short Courses to be given at the University of California. Notices of these courses are enclosed.

Nothing could be more gratifying than the changed attitude of the California land owner. During the last two months more than a score of owners have offered tracts varying from 4,000 to 50,000 acres to be turned over to the Board as a trustee without any cash payment. Some are



THE \$10,000 COMMUNITY HALL NOW BEING BUILT BY THE SETTLERS AT DELHI

willing to advance money necessary to carry out all the conditions of the State Land Settlement Act. All are willing to give the $36\frac{1}{2}$ years' time that the State now gives and wait for their money until the settler pays it. The Board believes that if men of large capital would organize to coördinate these landed interests, dealing with one community at a time, organizing it to function as the Durham and Delhi State settlements now do, we can bring back to rural life the kind of human beings that ought to occupy the land.

I was in one of the finest country districts of California last week. It has a fine county library. There is skilful and intensive cultivation of the soil. I asked where these people came from. They said quite largely from the province of Ontario, in Canada, and from the Middle West. The best rural communities that I can recall have been drawn together from widely separated portions of our own country, with a sprinkling of people from northwestern Europe. Those are the people that we want to draw to California. They will assimilate. The Caucasian, Servian, Portuguese, Armenian, and Italian are slower because of their racial traits and prejudices. We hope to create communities like those at Greeley, Colorado, Anaheim and Ontario, California, and Yakima, Washington. That is, communities that have behind them the spirit of the New England town meeting, and an interest in things that minister to the higher life, as well as to industry and thrift.

The last State legislature made land settlement one of the permanent activities of the State government. It is now one of the divisions of the Board of Public Works which includes roads, irrigation, water rights, and public buildings. This means, it is no longer an experiment but a permanent State activity. I believe its value will depend largely on its educational influence. We are working out in these settlements some of the practical methods of coöperation, and finding out by experience what an organized community needs.

An example of this is the cold storage plant at Durham. The settlers have established a reputation for milk of a superior quality. Restaurants one hundred miles away from Durham carry the sign "WE USE DURHAM MILK." To maintain their standard, they had to have a chilling plant. If they could combine with that chilling plant a cold storage plant, in which each settler would have a box, it would be possible to slaughter a sheep and keep the part not used until it was needed. Inquiry showed that it cost as much for a quarter of a lamb at the local butcher shop as the butcher would pay the settler



A PURE-BRED HOLSTEIN COW AT DURHAM

(Animals such as this one have made Durham a milk center in the Sacramento Valley. It is not necessary for the individual settler to purchase his cows hit-or-miss; the State Land Settlement Board offers expert service of this kind to the entire colony)



PEACH TREES ON A FARM LABORER'S ALLOTMENT
(A Durham scene—planted in 1919)

for the whole sheep. The economy of the arrangement is undoubted. The settlers' association could not borrow the money from a commercial bank, but our board has loaned it 60 per cent. of the cost and it is nearing completion.

At Delhi the settlers are building a \$10,000 community hall. They had to have it. There was no other meeting place large enough, no means of their becoming a social unit without it. Half of the cost has been given outright by Mr. E. M. Wilson, and the other half is loaned to the settlers. All that the Board has done was to put them in touch with the altruism of the State. The United States Department of Agriculture has detailed an expert to help the Delhi settlers buy their dairy herds, and arrange their crop rotation so as to grow the things that will furnish a balanced ration for the cows; and next year we believe Delhi will be a milk center in the San Joaquin Valley, as Durham is now in the Sacramento Valley.

Sincerely yours,
ELWOOD MEAD.

The Durham settlement in California is near Chico in Butte County, in the northern part of the State, and it now has been in operation three years, the legislature having made an appropriation for it of \$250,000 in 1917. The beginnings at Durham were so satisfactory that the State two years later appropriated a million dollars for the new colony at Delhi in Merced County, which already flourishes, though only a year old. Our illustrations show some of the accomplishments of this initial year at Delhi, and the progress of three years at Durham.

A recent letter from Dr. Mead describes the new Community Hall at Delhi and mentions the "coöperation and friendly support of the old-timers who live on the surround-

ing farms." An experienced farmer of the vicinity who was one of the judges called in to pass upon the best farm and the best laborer's allotment testifies that land which formerly was not farmed, and which "consisted chiefly of unsightly sand-blown fields has been brought under control and is commencing to blossom in a remarkable manner." He refers to a wonderful growth of alfalfa, not merely on one or two farms, but on all the farms throughout the colony.

There were held at the University of California last month certain short courses on land settlement, conducted by specialists of experience, and covering all the practical problems having to do with the colonization and development of rural California. Referring to the meetings at the University, Dr. Mead writes that large landowners are already converts to the State settlement methods and policies, and that the movement is steadily advancing with new legislation planned, which is to be based upon an investigation of the policies of other countries.

At the University Conference the opening address was given by Dr. Mead himself, and no more convincing array of facts and figures has ever been presented on this subject than was contained in this remarkable statement of last month. Dr. Mead's discussion is the more interesting because of its concrete references to the present status of land development in California. We are there-



A FIELD OF SWEET POTATOES IN THE SETTLEMENT
AT DELHI

(Fields such as this were unsightly sand-blown wastes two years ago. Through State aid to settlers they have in a single season become productive and valuable)

fore giving our readers the benefit of extensive quotations from the address in the paragraphs which follow herewith.

Whether they realize it or not, every citizen of the State is interested in rural development and in the creation of a land settlement policy which will broaden opportunities for land ownership. The State needs more farmers. Great areas now growing grain ought to be in orchards and alfalfa. The success of irrigation enterprises in which millions of dollars are invested depends on the transformation which can only be brought about through closer settlement. On the other hand, tens of thousands of people in the eastern part of this country long to come here. This State is to them the land of opportunity. Its rural life, with the absence of any dead season in the year, has an allure-ment that only those who have gone through months of cold and snow can understand. Our task is to work out a plan which will satisfy our needs and their desires. . . .

The last report of the State Water Commission shows that the State has 68 irrigation districts created under the Wright Act. Of these, 25 have been organized during the past three years. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent in surveys and in the employment of experts in order that the reservoirs and canals which are to water these districts should fulfil their purpose. Everyone realizes that this preliminary study and organization had to precede construction; that the whole undertaking had to be thought out to its finish before the first shovel of earth was turned. It was not always this way



A FARM LABORER'S HOME AT DURHAM, CALIFORNIA

(This particular two-acre allotment was developed by a man who had passed his sixtieth year. He borrowed the twenty dollars necessary to make the first payment, built the house, and cleared and planted the ground. The peach trees at the left in the picture above are only two years old)

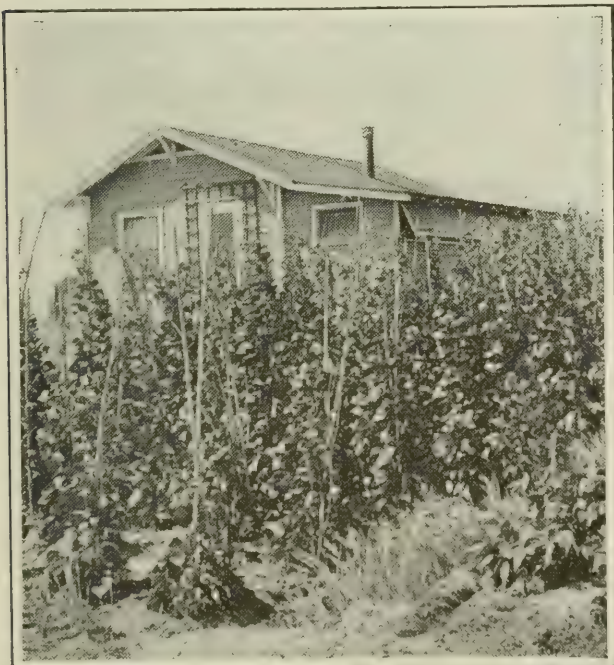
and the result was, immense sums of money were wasted. Now the State exercises a supervision and will not permit bonds to be issued or sold until the feasibility of each project has been established.

Relation of Closer Settlement to the Success of Irrigation

Other countries long ago learned, and we are beginning to learn, that building canals and reservoirs is not the whole of irrigation development. In fact, it is only the beginning. An irrigation canal is a liability until the water is used, because the money to pay water charges has to come out of the land. In the end, the farmer has to foot the bills, but before he can do so an immense amount of money has to be spent in making land ready for irrigation. In the past we have made the mistake of assuming that the only financing needed was to raise the money to build the irrigation works. How the much greater sum of money needed to build houses, grade land for irrigation, and buy equipment was to be provided, was either not considered, or left to be solved by the land owner or the unhappy victim of the speculative colonizer. We are going to change this in the future. Not alone in California, but everywhere. Durham and Delhi and the colonies in the cutover lands of Wisconsin are showing how it can be done.

Land settlement is the most important factor in irrigation development. The payment of interest on bonds, the value of land, the returns from cultivation, and the contentment of the people depend more on the manner in which the irrigated area is subdivided and how the people who own it are settled upon it, than on all other influences combined. I will illustrate this by conditions in one undeveloped district, Madera, and by one of the oldest and best managed, Turlock.

There are 350,000 acres in the Madera district; over 200,000 are held in large tracts, running from 600 to 60,000 acres. Practically none of this is ready for the irrigator who will be needed as soon as the water is ready because interest will have to be paid on the \$28,000,000, which it is estimated the works will cost. That cannot be done out of the income from grain farms.



A FARM LABORER'S HOUSE AND GARDEN IN THE SETTLEMENT AT DELHI



THE OFFICE OF THE STATE LAND SETTLEMENT BOARD, AT DELHI, CALIFORNIA

Before the water can be used, the surface of the land must be prepared for its even distribution. That will cost not less than \$50 an acre or about \$15,000,000 for the district. Where is that money to come from? The land owners, acting as individuals, cannot raise it. Furthermore, preparing the land for irrigation is only the first step. Present owners cannot cultivate their great holdings. They have neither the labor nor equipment. Besides, only the small farm pays. Subdivision and settlement must follow closely on the heels of irrigation construction and now is the time to make the plans for this.

Thus far, we have only dealt with development needs, but when the plans for the new people and new life of this district are made, let us go farther and include the things that will add to comfort and beauty. Let us look ahead and consider what kind of people the State needs on this great domain to make it a source of social and political strength in future years; what can be done to bring to full fruition the great resources and attractions of this domain. On it there will be homes for more than 10,000 families, not counting the people of its cities and towns. There ought to be one- and two-acre gardens for farm laborers. There ought to be community centers. The farm laborers' homes and the community park at Durham are contributions to rural democracy whose value has been recognized in every part of this country. Every community in Madera will want them. There will be ten- to eighty-acre tracts for farmers. The best engineering talent in this State has been employed to design the irrigation structures. Why not give these settlers the benefit of educated taste and experience in designing the 10,000 houses that will be needed on these farms and to advise in laying out the orchards, gardens, and fields?

The whole world goes to England to study and admire the country planning at Letchworth. We can, if we only will it, create something here infinitely finer and larger because nature gives us so much more to work with. More than that, we can do it at less cost than by leaving settlers to straggle in and struggle alone. To build these 10,000 houses and the other farm buildings, buy the livestock, implements, trees, and vines needed will cost at least \$150 an acre or \$45,000,000 for the district.

The settlers who buy this land will bring a large part of this money and the more we do to

make this a district with comfort and beauty in its homes, the better the type of settlers seeking entrance and the more money they will bring. If the settlers have an average capital of \$5000, it will be a total of \$50,000,000. The average assets of the Durham settler were \$6000. What we are considering now is not where the money is to come from for this part of the scheme but the working out of plans to make it give the largest results in the shortest time.

Subdivision and Settlement of Irrigable Areas

We know that it would be impossible for each land owner to build his own irrigation works, and so a district is created to do this for all. Now we need to consider what we could accomplish by organizing to build 10,000 houses, lay out 10,000 farms, and help 10,000 new families buy livestock and equipment. This is nothing new or untried. It is being done elsewhere at a saving from one-fourth to one-half of the cost and with tremendous gains in other directions.

I am aware that this seems revolutionary, but the time has come for blazing new trails. Durham and Delhi have shown what saving can be effected in having one committee buy the cows for 100 settlers rather than have each individual spend time and money only to compete with his neighbors. These two communities have shown how much settlers gain by having expert advice and direction from the Agricultural College and by having a superintendent like Mr. Kreutzer or Mr. Packard planted in their midst. Thousands of letters come from people all over this country and from other countries asking when the next settlement will be started. They show how attractive they are to people who want to get homes on the land.

A policy of this kind will require State action. It cannot be carried out by the individual land owner, but it ought to have his coöperation. What is urged is that we begin now to study this as a State problem and have our plans made when the next legislature meets. We want to know how the colonization associations of Germany secured their wonderful results between 1906 and 1914. We want to know how the land mortgage banks help the Danish farm buyer borrow money up to 90 per cent. of the cost of his farm plan. We want to know what Australia has achieved by lending postal savings to settlers at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Why we lend those savings to banks at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per

cent. Then naving all the facts, we can build a foundation broad enough to support all we have to undertake.

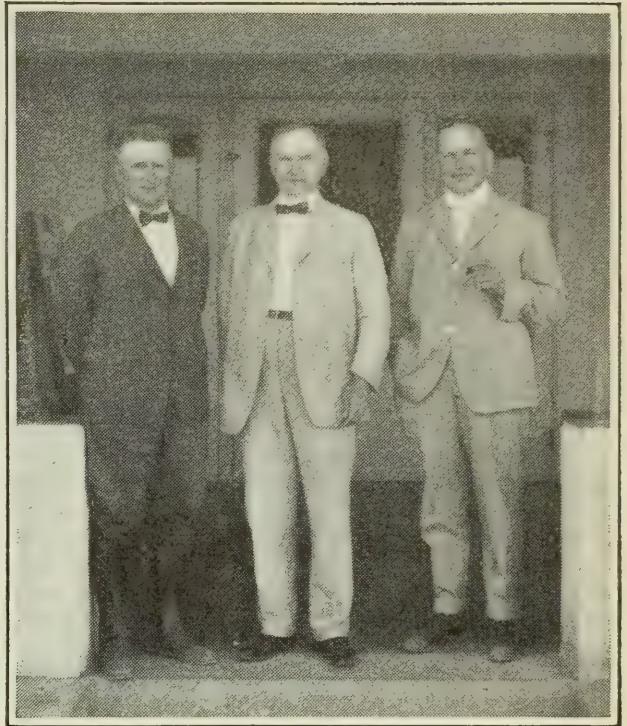
There is nothing experimental in a scheme for planning and financing a great area like the Madera district. It is new to us, but it is the established practice in Denmark and Germany. It regenerated Ireland. It saved France. It will take a century to show what it is doing to rescue Australia from the radical ideas and experiments. It is our way of escape from racial settlements, or a debased and dissatisfied tenantry. The plans for this should include:

1. A study of all the factors that affect health and production so that settlers can be assured of the first and guided in preparing for the second.
2. Provide for long-time payments on land and low interest rates.
3. Fix the minimum capital a settler should have. This ought to be a percentage of the cost of the improved farm.
4. Require actual residence for at least ten years. That will attract more and better settlers than it keeps out.
5. Aim at creating communities. These should have not less than 100 families; 500 to 1000 would be better. Provide each of these communities with an expert but practical adviser.
6. Help the settlers in each community to organize for coöperation in business and social affairs.
7. Provide some credit scheme under which approved settlers can borrow money to complete the development of their farms.
8. Select the settlers. Restrict these opportunities to citizens. Try to have everyone understand all the obstacles and risks and only accept those who seem qualified to succeed. Even then some will fail. . . .

The Great Areas Awaiting Settlement

Madera is not the only district in which land settlement is the key to success. Few, who have not studied the irrigation problems of the State, realize the tremendous area awaiting to be transformed. More than 3,000,000 acres of irrigable land are involved. More than 1,000,000 people can live in comfort on the farms which can be created. To the Madera district with its 350,000 acres, there are to be added the Merced with 200,000, Glenn-Colusa 103,000, Honcut-Yuba 50,000, Corcoran 48,000. Surveys and plans have been completed or are nearing completion for the irrigation of other large areas. The Iron Cañon project has 300,000 acres, Kern Delta 400,000, Klamath-Shasta 100,000, Mendota 87,000, Suisun 41,000, West San Joaquin 208,000, Yolo 50,000. The federal Government is preparing plans for irrigating 300,000 acres above the present Imperial Irrigation District. The new districts and proposed districts have a total area of 2,237,000 acres.

The need for settlers is not, however, restricted to new districts. Along many of the old canals there is urgent need for closer settlement. The Turlock District is an example. It is one of the oldest and most prosperous irrigation areas in the State. Settlement has been going on for thirty years, but in 1919 the State was able to buy 8700 acres, commanded by the Turlock canals, of which not a single acre was being irrigated or ever had been irrigated. Since then, the Land Settlement Board has been offered 4000 acres, 1200



DR. ELWOOD MEAD (CENTER), CHAIRMAN OF THE CALIFORNIA LAND SETTLEMENT BOARD

(With George C. Kreutzer [left], superintendent of the colony at Durham, and Walter E. Packard [right], superintendent of the colony at Delhi)

acres, and a score of tracts varying in size from 40 to 640 acres, all in the district and none of it irrigated. The water has been there, the irrigation charges have been paid, but the opportunity which irrigation gives has been wasted. Delay in bringing the land under intense culture has cost the State millions of dollars and Turlock is not a striking illustration of either delay or waste.

Think of what it would mean to California and to thousands of aspiring homeseekers if the lands of Miller & Lux, the Kern County Land Co., the Natomas and Sutter Basin Companies were settled in 20- and 40-acre farms. If there were a hundred colonies like Durham on these lands with the people working together in buying and selling, and interested in everything which builds up their social and economic life. Think what it will mean if these areas should not be developed or become the home of discordant racial colonies.

The Farm Buyer Needs Credit

The increasing cost of farms and their equipment makes a credit scheme for the farm buyer a necessity if we are to have a nation of farm owners. What Germany, France, and Denmark have done shows that it can be made good business. Let us consider some of the conditions which are forcing us to follow the same road.

In 1860 the average price of land in California was \$5.58 an acre. In 1910 it was \$51.95 an acre. In the next ten years, from 1910 to 1920, it jumped to \$104.67 an acre. This average includes land irrigated and unirrigated. The price of good irrigated land is far higher. Little can be had for less than \$200 an acre and from that the price goes to \$5000 an acre.

The cost of building irrigation works has risen in like measure. Thirty years ago, in the Rocky Mountain region, \$10 an acre was regarded as

a high price for a perpetual water right. Twenty-five dollars an acre was so regarded in California. No such figures can be quoted now. Water rights for the higher lands of the Imperial Valley will cost \$100 an acre. The average yearly cost of water in southern California is over \$20 an acre. Higher pumping lifts, costly storage works have been factors in this increase.

In the future we must know how much money a settler will need and either insist that he have it all or fix the part which he furnishes and help him borrow the remainder. Farmers without money and no means of borrowing it have caused the failure of more irrigation schemes than all other causes combined.

Four years ago I was one of a commission to investigate irrigation conditions on Green River in Wyoming. A costly irrigation enterprise was a total loss. Thousand-dollar district bonds could be bought for \$5, yet the land was good, the canals well built, and there was ample water. Failure was caused by lack of money to improve farms. The cash payment on a water right was \$1600. It cost about \$1600 to prepare a quarter section for irrigation. A log house and fences cost \$1200. Horses and farming implements cost about \$1000 and living expenses at least \$300. This was a total of \$5700. Not one homesteader in ten had \$500. When their money was gone they also had to go. On 60,000 acres only five farms were being irrigated. The whole enterprise was shipwrecked. There was no way to raise the \$5000 each homesteader needed to bring his land under cultivation.

The settler in Denmark must have 10 per cent. of the cost of the completed farm. The settler in Australia must have \$1500. At Durham he had to have \$1500. At Delhi \$2500. The Board believed a Durham farm could be developed with \$4500. It could lend a settler \$3000. He must have the remainder. Now the Board believes it needs more than \$4500 so it requires the settler to start with more. There has been some criticism of this. Men who do not know say a man with \$2500 does not need help. Let him try it on a 40-acre farm and see where he gets off.

It seems like a large sum of money, but studies by the Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin showed that it takes from \$4000 to \$6000 to fix up a 40-acre dairy farm in the cut-

over lands of that section. A barn, house, and other small buildings to cost \$3000, fences \$300; horses and harness \$600; cows, pigs and chickens \$1200; implements and machinery from \$500 to \$1000.

If land seekers had money enough to finance themselves, development would be far easier than it is, but the experience of the Land Settlement Board, the studies at Wisconsin, and the increase in tenantry in the Middle West show that there are comparatively few farm buyers with money enough to pay cash for everything, and in California they usually buy improved farms. The man with capital usually comes to California to enjoy life. He does not want to do pioneer work on a 40-acre unit. The great bulk of inquiries which come to the Land Settlement Board do not give the writer's capital, but a majority of those who apply have less than \$2000. But the number with from \$3000 to \$5000 is large.

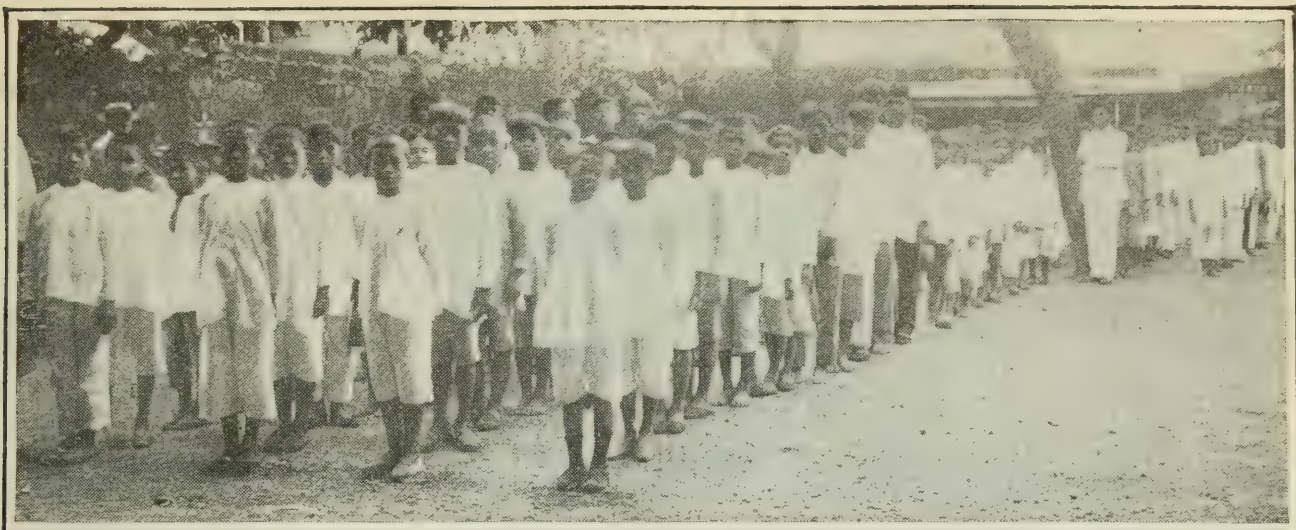
What we must work for is a colonization scheme that will take care of the family otherwise qualified who has from \$3000 to \$5000.

The reconstruction of rural life is a problem at once so fundamental in principle and so complicated in practice that its achievement is not a matter of a season or of a decade, but of a generation or a half-century. Nor will it come about by any single method. Nevertheless there are certain principles hitherto neglected which must have a foremost place in almost every method or plan. Among these are (1) the principle of neighborhood coöperation for the best results in producing and marketing; (2) the principle of financing agriculture and rural industry on long-term credit, under public encouragement; and (3) the use of scientific and expert aid in lifting rural life from the plane of peasant drudgery, or from the plane of the hardships of old-time pioneering, to the plane of modern life, with improved facilities in the home and on the farm, together with all the social advantages of a refined community life.

A. S.



A HERD OF TOGCENBERG GOATS ON A FARM IN THE COLONY AT DELHI



A SCENE IN THE YARD OF A FILIPINO SCHOOL—THE PUPILS READY TO MARCH INTO CLASSROOMS AFTER RECESS

EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE OF THE FILIPINOS

BY O. GARFIELD JONES

[This article follows a somewhat similar one in our September number, which dealt with educational progress in Porto Rico. Dr. Jones has made four visits to the Philippines to study political and social conditions there; and during one of those sojourns he was supervisor of schools in outlying provinces. He is now professor of political science at Toledo University.—THE EDITOR.]

EIGHT years of Democratic administration in the Philippine Islands have made it clear that our Philippine policy is, after all, an American policy and not a party affair at all. This fact has been certified to by the Filipino leader himself, Speaker Sergio Osmeña, who said recently that the Democratic policy had been "quite in accordance with doctrines and policies enunciated by Republican administrations which preceded it. It was, therefore, quite as much a Republican as a Democratic policy to have given us a gradually increasing autonomy."

In short, twenty years of administration have demonstrated to both the people of the United States and the people of the Philippine Islands that President William McKinley was the voice of the American people when he declared in 1900:

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the [Philippine] Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands; and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices

to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

As the first step to make this policy effective, President McKinley called Elihu Root to his cabinet for the express purpose of planning the government for our insular possessions. The results achieved have vindicated the judgment of our martyred president, and have proved the statesmanship of Secretary Root. The second step was the appointment of Judge William H. Taft, of Cincinnati, to head the commission sent to the Philippines in 1900 to establish civil government and work out the practical details which such an idealistic policy required for its complete realization.

In brief, this policy was one of education. We set out to teach the Filipinos to govern themselves. But even in an American school successful instruction has many prerequisites, such as a good building, sanitary and hygienic conditions, discipline among the students, education and ability on the part of the teacher, freedom from outside interference, etc. Consequently, the task of the First Philippine Civil Commission included the maintenance of order, the development of public works, the establishment of sanitary

conditions, and many other necessary conditions for "just and effective government." The main task, however, was the establishment of a system of public instruction that would provide the basis of general enlightenment without which democratic government is a farce, sanitary and hygienic conditions are impossible of realization, and economic prosperity is unattainable for the great mass of the people.

The First American Teachers

As a matter of fact, public schools were opened by the United States Army authorities before the Philippine Civil Commission reached the Islands. They found that a soldier detailed as teacher was often more effective in establishing peace and order than a regiment of soldiers detailed to suppress opposition and arrest recalcitrant Filipinos. These soldier-teachers were largely "free-lance" instructors with no set curriculum, few if any texts, and frequently no school except a room in a house with no chairs, no table, and no blackboard. They taught chart-class English to people of a foreign tongue, and, not infrequently, the pupils ranged in age from six to thirty-six years. The pathetic feature of this situation was the ease with which the six, eight, or ten year old children got ahead of the adult students in learning the new language.

The Taft Commission took over the administration of the insular government from the army authorities on July 4, 1901, and as rapidly as possible established civil government in the provinces and municipalities. This same year some eight hundred American teachers were brought from the United States to take over the schools opened by the soldiers and to open new schools. Most of these teachers were sent to isolated posts among the seven hundred municipalities of the archipelago to teach chart-class and second-grade pupils and to open new schools under their own supervision just as soon as the second-grade adult pupils could be trained to teach a chart class in English.

During the next five years all chart classes, all second-grade classes, and practically all third-grade classes were turned over to these Filipino student-teachers. The number of schools was doubled and trebled. The school enrollment increased to four hundred thousand, and the American teachers became supervisors of primary schools or teachers in the intermediate schools that were being opened for the first time in most provinces.

Native Teachers Installed in Lower Grades

Thus Filipinization began in the Philippine Bureau of Education just as soon as the schools were opened. The policy of making first-grade teachers of Filipinos who had completed only the second grade has been severely criticized. It was argued by these critics that our first step should have been the opening of a normal school in each province to train the Filipino teachers for two or three years before opening the regular public schools. These critics would have been all the more certain of their contention had they visited one of these Filipino-taught classes in 1904 or 1905 and heard the instructor patiently and confidently teach his pupils to say, "See Juan run and hump (jump). He humps at home and he humps at school. See Juan run and hump."

However, when these criticisms have been given due consideration, the fact remains that no other policy was practicable at that time. Neither the American people nor the Filipino people would have permitted a delay of three years in opening the public schools while the demands of pedagogical theory were being fulfilled. It is idle to ignore public opinion when attempting to arrive at the best public policy.

Aside from the political phases of the situation, experience has proved that this policy of sending the first American teachers to isolated posts to teach primary classes, and to make teachers of Filipinos having only a second-grade education, was the best policy in the long run. Philippine educators believe to-day that the Islands' school system is more nearly perfected and better adapted to the needs of the people being educated than any other colonial system, perhaps better than any other school system organized as a complete national unit. The superior adaptability of the system is attributed to the fact that the American teachers sent to the Philippines were compelled to learn by direct contact with the Filipino mind and with geographic, climatic, and agricultural conditions just what modifications of texts, methods, ideas, and ideals were necessary to make the schools meet the needs of the Filipino people.

Any other method would have tended to make Americans of the Filipinos, which was not our purpose. Instead, the Philippine Bureau of Education has made Philippine Americans of the American teachers in order that they might be most effective in making

the best type of Filipino citizen out of the native children. The great service rendered by these Philippine Americans in adapting the school system to the needs of the Filipino people will appear in the succeeding paragraphs as the specialization of the school curricula is explained.

Establishing Municipal Government

Still another reason for sending these first American teachers into the uttermost parts of the archipelago in 1901 was the need of the Filipino municipal authorities for counsel and supervision. The greatest step yet made in Filipinizing the government was made by Governor Taft when he gave the Filipinos control of their own municipal affairs. The Philippine municipality, like the Roman *municipio* of old, is the fundamental political unit of the country. Territorially it corresponds to our counties, but its political organization is like our cities having the mayor and council plan of government.

When Governor Taft first established the civil government in 1901, he gave the Filipinos a large measure of autonomy in local government and permitted them to elect their



ENCOURAGING NATIVE MUSICAL TALENT

(These Igorot girls in a mountain province bought their instruments with money earned by weaving while going to school)

own municipal officials by popular vote. Since they were unaccustomed to popular elections, and since the small measure of local autonomy of the Spanish regime was exercised very largely by the Spanish priests of the respective towns, the Filipinos were quite unprepared for this grant of democratic local self-government in 1901. In consequence, it became the duty of these first American teachers to instruct the people in the use of the franchise, supervise elections, assist the local officials in the performance of their duties when called upon to do so, serve as local health officers (especially when small-pox and Asiatic cholera were raging as they did in 1903 and 1904), and in every way be a demonstration of the good intentions of the United States toward the Filipino people.

English the Common Language

English was the language of instruction in the beginning, because it was the only language in which the American teachers could instruct. Certain Spanish textbooks were secured and used for awhile, but it was soon ascertained that not more than one-tenth of the Filipinos knew Spanish. Since there was no one native dialect used by more than 20 per cent. of the population, and since many of the Filipino leaders desired that English be made the language of



AN AMERICAN TEACHER AND HER IGOROT PUPILS

(Under the initiative and direction of American authorities, these Filipino children advance from semi-savagery to civilization within the period of school life—one of the educational marvels of all time)



A ONE-ROOM SCHOOL BUILDING OF STANDARD TYPE
IN THE PHILIPPINES
(Accommodating sixty pupils)

instruction, it became obvious that the best solution of the textbook problem was to adopt English as the future common language of the archipelago. This decision was influenced by the fact that English is the commercial language of the Far East, and also is the language which makes available to the Filipinos more of the world's literature than any other. To-day English is the only language spoken in the primary and intermediate grades, whether the schools are for the Christian Filipinos of the lowlands, for the pagan Igorrotes of the mountains, or for the Mohammedan Moros of Mindanao and Sulu.

The aim of this school system was to provide a minimum of education for every Filipino, just as we in America aim to give every child a common-school education. But since we fall 50 per cent. short of this ideal in America, it was obviously unwise to plan an eight-year "common school" course for the Filipinos. A three-year course was finally decided upon as the minimum which every Filipino must have if the Filipino people were to attain democratic self-government. By 1908 school attendance had so increased, and the curriculum of the three-year primary course had become so crowded with "essential studies,"

that the "common school" course was increased to four years. A certificate of graduation was given to the students who satisfactorily completed these four years of study. This certificate entitled them to enter any intermediate school in the archipelago.

800,000 Primary School Children

In September, 1919, there were 300,277 pupils enrolled in the first grade, 141,094 in the second, 101,780 in the third, and 69,352 in the fourth—a total of 612,503 pupils. During the school year of 1920-21 this total increased to some 800,000. Since the total school population in the archipelago is not more than 1,300,000, it can be seen that the Filipinos are rapidly approaching the ideal of universal education.

The curriculum of this four-year primary course is similar to that of the first four grades in American schools. The content of the academic subjects is more practical, however. For instance, the study of plant life is directly connected with the school and home gardening. During the school year 1918-'19 there were 4385 school gardens in the Philippines, and 120,975 home gardens cultivated under school supervision. The school gardening course was taken by 114,206 boys, and 24,371 pupils were members of agricultural clubs. Four thousand hogs were owned by members of these clubs, and 36,000 fruit trees were cared for by them. The work of the agricultural clubs centers around six contests—10,309 pupils entered the gardening contest, 2513 the hog-raising contest, 7530 the poultry-raising contest, 1746 the fruit-growing contest, 1557 the corn-growing contest, and 696 the cooking contest.

Manual training and arithmetic are



A PRIMARY SCHOOL IN RIZAL PROVINCE, COMPLETED IN 1915
(In such schools the Filipino child receives a four-year course)

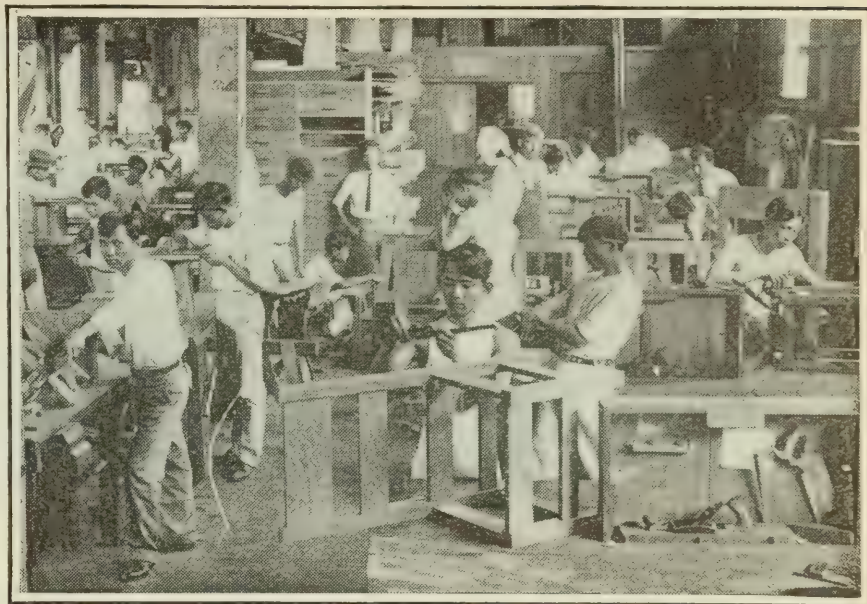
directly connected with the instruction in practical mat-, basket-, and hat-weaving, lace-making and embroidery, and carpentry. Mats serve both as chair and bed for the peasant Filipinos; consequently, this mat-weaving, while simple, is eminently practical. As the result of fifteen years of public school training in lace-making and embroidery, the export of Philippine lace and lingerie rose from only a few thousand dollars a year prior to 1910, to almost four million dollars in 1919.

In the fourth grade, cooking is taught to the girls, while rattan, bamboo, or wood carpentry is taught to the boys. It is not presumed that the brief manual instruction given will make skilled artisans of these fourth-grade boys. The real vocational training is given in the specialized courses of the intermediate grades. The function of the four-year primary course is to provide each pupil with the minimum essentials for self-governing citizenship and for self-supporting workmanship.

Settlement Farm Schools

Not only has this primary course been adapted to the needs of the Filipinos as a whole; it has been specialized sectionally in its industrial and agricultural features. For instance, buri mat-weaving is taught where the buri palm is plentiful, while pandan mat-weaving is taught near the seacoast where the pandan grows. Mountain rice-growing is taught in the hill regions, while lowland rice-growing and irrigation methods are taught in the lowlands.

Still another type of specialization of this primary course to meet a special situation is the Settlement Farm School, 162 of which were in operation in 1919. This is a four-year primary school, with a dormitory, located on a school farm among the nomadic hill-people like the Bokidnons of northern Mindanao or the Tagbanuas of Palawan. The pupils spend half time on the farm and the remainder of the time in the classroom or on the playground. The parents of the pupils are induced to settle near the school, and the school farm helps to feed the entire



A SCENE IN THE CARPENTRY SHOP OF THE PHILIPPINE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND TRADES, AT MANILA

community. Thus the Settlement Farm School serves as the nucleus for a permanent settlement of these roving hill-folk, who have not as yet reached that stage of civilization characterized by settled agricultural life.

It has been estimated that about 50 per cent. of the roving hill-people of the Philippines have been induced to settle on permanent homesteads as a result of these schools. The development of this technique for civilizing savage peoples is no insignificant contribution to the progress of the world.

Vocational Training

The studies of this four-year primary course are required subjects—oral and written English, arithmetic, geography, physical training, industrial work, good morals and right conduct, and literary work; except that there is a differentiation of the industrial work for girls and boys, and occasionally a choice between gardening and carpentry in the fourth grade. In the intermediate grades, however, there is a definite vocational specialization of curricula, so that a student may take either the “housekeeping and household arts course,” the “trade course,” the “farming course,” the “general course,” which includes considerable training in gardening and carpentry, or, until recently, the “teaching course.” The teaching course has been eliminated from the intermediate grades because the educational requirements for teachers have been raised to exclude beginning teachers having only an intermediate school education. In several of the larger intermediate schools the specializa-



A MODERN PROVINCIAL SCHOOL PLANT IN THE PHILIPPINES—AT SAN FERNANDO

(Note the athletic field and swimming pool)

tion of courses is carried farther so as to provide a "mechanics' course," a "wheelwrights' course," an "automobile mechanics' course," a "cabinet-makers' course," etc.

The effect of this vocational training is manifest all over the archipelago. Whereas in Spanish times Chinese artisans had to be imported to do the skilled work of the country, to-day Filipino craftsmen trained in the public schools are building the houses, making the furniture, carrying on scientific farming and the like.

The Intermediate Schools

In 1919 there were 57,392 pupils in the intermediate grades, of whom 27,020 were in the fifth grade, 17,519 in the sixth, and 12,853 in the seventh or last grade before the high school. It should be of interest to note that the Filipinos studying in a foreign tongue complete the elementary work in seven years, whereas eight years are required in our American schools. The graduates of this seven-year Philippine course do just as well in the secondary grades as the graduates of our eight-year course. However, this must be said: Bright pupils in America frequently complete our elementary course in seven years and sometimes in six, whereas the sequence of courses in the Philippine elementary grades makes it practically impossible for students to finish in less

than seven years. Perhaps it is true that the Philippine system is a hard pull for the average pupil. Certainly the American system is a drag on the bright pupil.

As to courses, the intermediate-school enrollment in 1919 was: "General course," 34,468 boys and 6585 girls; "teaching course," 41 boys; "trade course," 2607 boys; "farming course," 1947 boys; "housekeeping and household arts course," 11,744 girls.

In the Philippines, as in America, the popular standards in the matter of education are continually rising. In 1900 the Filipino who could read books was an outstanding figure in the average town. In 1905 he had to be a third-grade graduate to be "educated." By 1908 an "education" in the Philippines implied completion of the four-year course with a year or two in the intermediate grades. To-day high-school graduates are common, and the Filipino who wants to be sure of intellectual leadership in his community must spend one or more years at the University.

Secondary and university education in the Philippines is quite similar to that in the United States, both in specialization of curricula and in the content of particular courses. In addition to the regular high schools to be found in all the provincial capitals and in other large cities—with a general course, teaching course, trade course,



THE GIRLS' DORMITORY AT THE NORMAL SCHOOL IN MANILA

farming course and domestic science course—there are a number of special technical schools supported by the provinces and by the insular government. Of these the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, the Philippine Normal School, the Philippine School of Commerce, and the Philippine Nautical School, all in Manila, and the Central Luzon Agricultural School at Munoz, Province of Nueva Ecija, are the most important. Additional insular normal schools, similar to the "State normals" in the United States, are being developed at Zamboanga, Cebu, Iloilo, Albay, and Laoag.

"Farm Schools" and Higher Institutions

A "farm school" is a regular day school of intermediate and secondary grade located on a farm and giving a specialized, practical farming course. More than half of the provinces of the archipelago already have "farm schools" and the plan is that every province should have one. An "agricultural school" is a boarding school, largely of secondary grade, located on a farm and equipped to give even more specialized agricultural training than the "farm schools." These "agricultural schools" are similar to the agricultural colleges in the United States. The subsistence of the students at these boarding schools is paid for in part by the government. There were thirteen "agricultural schools" in operation in 1919.

The Philippine system of public instruc-



THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES.

tion culminates in the University of the Philippines, which has a college of liberal arts, a college of law, a college of agriculture, a college of education, a college of medicine, a college of engineering, and a school of fine arts. It compares favorably with State universities in the United States. Under the able direction of Dr. Guy Potter Benton, who was inaugurated president last June, the University of the Philippines should continue to improve in quality and increase in size to the end, much desired by the Filipinos, of being the outstanding university in the Orient.

There are many private schools and colleges in the Philippines. In fact, the oldest university under the American flag is in Manila. The College of Santo Tomas, established by the Dominicans in 1619, was given the right by papal authority in 1645 to bestow higher degrees under the title of the Royal and Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Unfortunately, the private schools serve mostly the aristocratic class and tend to perpetuate the two-class system which characterized the Spanish régime.

The Moro Problem

At least one-fourth of Philippine territory has been occupied by Mohammedans since the fifteenth century, and during that period these fanatical Moslems have been the aggressive element in the native population of the archipelago. When the Spaniards reached the islands in 1565 they made an easy



ONE OF THE FIRST MORO SCHOOLS (IN PALAWAN) TAUGHT BY A CHRISTIAN FILIPINO

conquest of the pagan Malays of Luzon and the Visayas, but the datus of Mindanao and Sulu were as much the rulers of Moroland in 1898 as they were in 1498. Furthermore, these piratical Moros of the southern islands ravaged the coast towns of the northern provinces and carried the Christian Filipinos off to slavery in open defiance of the Spanish authorities until the arrival of the steamboat put the tiny Moro "vintas" at a hopeless disadvantage with the swift Spanish gunboats. While the Spanish soldiers and the Spanish friars completed the conquest and conversion of the northern two-thirds of the archipelago by 1650, there was no conquest and no conversion in the southern islands during the three and a half centuries of the Spanish régime.

This fact is of tremendous significance to the future of the Philippine Islands, because to date no nation has been able to exist half-Christian and half-Mohammedan. In fact, the existence of sixty million Mohammedans among the three hundred million people of India is cited by competent authorities as the chief reason why India cannot become a national state. However, the leaders in our Philippine administration have refused to be daunted by any such obstacles in carrying out our original policy of developing a self-governing Filipino nationality.

Public schools for Moroland were simply out of the question in 1900 when we opened the schools in the Christian provinces. There were far too many Moros who desired to win eternal bliss in the next world by killing Christians in this world. Moroland was not even a healthful place for soldiers at that time. In 1903, however, General Leonard Wood inaugurated the policy of disarming the Moros, and this policy was carried to practical completion between 1909 and 1913 by General John J. Pershing. By disarming the Moros, by a fair and impartial administration of justice based on Mohammedan law as well as on Philippine civil and criminal law, and by opening up schools in the more peaceful communities, the United States Army authorities prepared these fierce Mohammedans for the civil government under a civilian governor which was inaugurated in January 1914.

Even before the army authorities relinquished control of the Moro country in 1913, several thousand Christian Filipinos were given homesteads in the rich Cotabato valley, which is in the center of the Mohammedan country where no Christian dared to

venture ten years before. Under the civil government of 1914 the public school system of the Christian provinces was extended to include this region. A few Americans and several hundred Christian Filipino teachers went among these one-time fanatical Mohammedans to teach the fundamentals of twentieth century civilization and Philippine citizenship. To-day there are more than 40,000 pupils in the schools of Moroland; a thousand Christian Filipinos are teaching in these schools; and Christian emigrants from the northern provinces are entering Mindanao and Sulu at the rate of a thousand a month to take up homesteads in this richest agricultural region of the archipelago. Mindanao is bound to be the garden-spot of the Philippines, because it has the richest soil, because it can produce a greater variety of tropical plants, including rubber and spices, and because it is never swept by the typhoons which cause such terrible destruction in the northern islands every year.

This remarkable progress in Moroland since 1913 has not been achieved without difficulties. At times entire communities have become antagonistic to the government to such an extent that armed forces had to be employed to carry on governmental functions. In 1917 several battalions of infantry and a battery of field artillery were used to break up an insurrection near Lake Lanao. And only a few months ago a press dispatch reported that ninety Moros were killed in a similar rebellion. These Moros are still Mohammedans, and Mohammedanism is a "militant" religion. It takes only a spark of conflict between the Moro community and the Christian Filipino teacher or administrator to set the entire countryside ablaze with rebellion.

The close student of Moro progress will find many indications that Mohammedans and Christians of the Philippine archipelago are being amalgamated into one Filipino nationality which may, in time, be capable of complete self-government under American protection. But this process of amalgamation has just begun. The difficulties to be overcome are tremendous. Universal public-school education is a powerful amalgamating force, but every care must be taken to see that the process does not end in an explosion. American personality, American ideals, and the irresistible force of the United States Army have been the catalytic agents which have made possible the present friendly relations between the Christian Filipinos and



FILIPINO SCHOOLBOYS AT PLAY—A MANILA BASEBALL TEAM

(The B E insignia on their sleeves shows that the team represents the Board of Education, the boys attending several different schools at Manila)

the Mohammedan Moros. To withdraw these agencies too soon would make an explosive, infusible compound of these two religious groups.

Vast Influence of the Public School

It is to the Philippine public-school system that we must look for the future of the Philippines and of the Filipino people. It is the primary schools in every town and village that provide the literate citizenry which alone is making local self-government possible. There can be no enduring democracy without a literate citizenry and without the political training which comes only from local self-government. There can be no Filipino state without a common Filipino nationality. It is the primary schools that are laying the foundation for this common nationality by teaching a common language, a common patriotism, and a common Philippine tradition to the one-time head-hunting Igorots, to the fanatical Mohammedans, and to the peaceful Christian Filipinos. The hygiene and sanitation taught in the primary grades and the food campaign fostered by the public schools are responsible for the increase in bodily vigor without which the easy-going Filipinos of two decades ago would soon be a vanishing race like the Kanakas of the Hawaiian Islands. It is the industrial training of the public schools that

is preparing the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands for that relentless economic competition which no race can escape in this industrial and commercial age.

The physical training and competitive athletics of the public schools have done more than provide the pupils with physical and mental alertness. They have given the Filipinos the leadership of the Orient in athletics. In addition to inaugurating the Oriental "Olympiad" at Manila in 1913, the Filipinos have won more points than either the Japanese or Chinese in four of the five "Olympiads" held to date. In 1915 President Yuan Shi Kai took occasion to thank the Philippine Government for the fine influence Philippine athletics were having on Young China. In June, 1921, the Philippine Olympic team at Shanghai won the championship in track and field events, in baseball, in swimming, in tennis, and in the decathlon. The Chinese team won in football, in basketball, in volley ball and in the pentathlon. The Japanese won only the marathon, although they did push the Filipinos hard in baseball, tennis, swimming, and the track events.

Political Future of the Islands

A fundamental change in government must be accompanied by a new political generation, because the political constitution of

a country is, after all, nothing more nor less than the political ideas and ideals of the people. A study of the changing State constitutions reveals the influence of new political generations in the United States every twenty or thirty years. Now the new political generation in the Philippines is just beginning to make its influence felt on the political ideas and practices of the Islands. Such youngsters as Conrado Benitez, Camilo Osias, and Antonio de las Alas are evolving, not an American political ideal, but a twentieth-century Philippine ideal; and this ideal is thoroughly democratic, thoroughly moral, and quite as practical as ideals usually are. But the rank and file of younger Filipinos are undecided whether to follow the untried paths pointed out by these idealistic young leaders, or whether to cling to the well-tried ideals and practices of the older generation.

In short, the present generation in the Philippines is a generation of transition. There is much confusion in the Filipino mind as to just what kind of government they do want. But give such leaders as Benitez, Osias, Alas, and Sanvictores twenty years in which to clarify and spread their ideals through the press, the schools and the lecture platform, and there will be a real political constitution in the minds and hearts of Filipino people that will adequately serve their political and social needs. When that time comes there will be no question as to who should govern in the Philippines, just as there is at present no question as to who should govern in Canada or in Australia.

General Wood and ex-Governor Forbes are trying to ascertain just what the Filipinos do want in the matter of independence. Practically everywhere they have gone in their trip through the provinces the people have asked for "independence under American protection." What live American boy has not desired the same relationship to his father when he reached the age of sixteen, the age of opposition? The Filipinos realize that they have no money for national defence; but perhaps they do not realize that their large appropriations for education have been possible only because they have had no military, naval, or diplomatic expenditures to consume their national budget. As it is,

the Philippine Government is in a rather serious financial condition to-day.

President Harding has expressed his intention of arriving at some definite settlement of the Philippine question during his administration. It is, therefore, high time that the Filipinos decide whether or not their desire for the status of an independent state is to be gratified by the assumption of a tremendous overhead expense which will mean necessarily the cutting down of expenditures for education and the subjecting of their country to the danger of absorption by some powerful state less charitably inclined than the United States. This independent status would also mean the loss of their present preferential treatment in the American market, where the Filipinos sold 50 per cent. of their exports last year. In fact the United States buys almost all of the more promising Philippine exports, such as coconut oil, tobacco, sugar, embroideries, and hats.

It is a foolish father who says, "Son, do as you please and I will stand back of you." Such an arrangement does not usually ruin the father financially, although it may break his heart. But it does ruin the boy very effectively. The wise father says, "Son, you may come into the business and work your way up; or you may come in as a junior partner, provided you remember that you are the junior partner. But if you insist on doing as you please, you will have to get out and shift for yourself. You can not keep your cake and also eat it, not in this world."

Our Philippine policy has been a most worthy American policy. It has succeeded as no other colonial policy has succeeded in so short a time. As the Filipino president of the Philippine Independence Commission said in 1919: "The Filipinos are contented and are accomplishing much." It may be that when certain elements in America see the situation clearly and stop encouraging the Filipinos to believe that they "can have their cake and eat it too," the facts of the situation will become so apparent to the Filipino leaders that they will stop talking of "independence under a protectorate" and ask for a relationship with us that will be practicable and to the mutual advantage of both peoples.

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY IN PERSIA

BY AN AMERICAN OBSERVER

NONE of us who were professional observers of events in Petrograd in the latter part of 1917 seems to have been able to get into the public mind the one big, significant fact that Kerensky fell and Lenine arose primarily because the Allied diplomats failed either to understand or to support the Revolution. History will lay the downfall of a régime of constitutional liberty in Russia at the doors of the embassies in Petrograd. Had the Entente Powers given reasonable support to the Kerensky government, the Russian Revolution would have developed in the orderly fashion of the American Revolution, which was its chief inspiration. There would have been difficulties, of course; but there would not have been Bolshevism.

The American embassy gave Kerensky sympathy and approval, but little active assistance. The other Allied embassies were even less helpful. Certain of them were really Czaristic in their sentiments, and scarcely concealed their contempt for the revolutionary government. None of them had any adequate sense of the gravity of the occasion. They were unable to perceive an hour of destiny when it came upon them. An extraordinary situation could not be grasped by ordinary men.

So the floodgates of Bolshevism were left open; and a world inundation, with consequences beyond computation, has followed. A share of the condemnation that has been poured upon the heads of Lenine and Trotzky really belongs upon the "trained" diplomats of Europe.

Bolshevism at the Gates of Asia

At present there seems every likelihood of repetition in 1921 of the blunder of 1917. What was done—and left undone—in Petrograd is being paralleled in Teheran and Constantinople. This time the larger responsibility rests upon America, which, thanks to Ambassador Francis' simple and real democracy, was least culpable in 1917.

Then, at Petrograd, the Pandora's Box of Bolshevism was opened upon Europe;

now, at Teheran and Baku and Tashkent, it is being opened upon Asia. This latter crisis may be the graver of the two, by so much as Asia is more subject to mass movements than Europe.

Brakes have been applied to Bolshevism in Moscow, for prudential reasons. Lenine has even promised Lloyd George to desist from propagating radicalism in the Orient—a promise which he cannot keep if he would, for the present center of power of the Reds is in the Middle East. They have Sovietized the little Caucasus countries of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. They have forced the British out of Persia, as well as out of the Caucasus, and have set up a Bolshevik cabinet in Teheran. Tashkent is a center of Red Revolution from which Turkestan is dominated and Afghanistan entered. India and western China have both come under the influence of this three-fold "crusade," which is at once anti-British, pan-Asiatic or pan-Islamic (as may suit the particular people addressed), and pan-Bolshevik. The Russian alliance with Nationalist Turkey, which is now known to the general public, is one of the first fruits of the Asiatic drive of Bolshevism.

Overlooked by the world, because staged in that ancient center of history, mid-Asia, which to the average person is almost as unreal as the Mountains of the Moon, there is now under way a vast project for oriental dominion by communism. Enver Pasha, with his base at Baku, is one of the directing minds of this sinister attempt to marshal the hordes anew against civilization.

What Should America Do?

All of the foregoing is by way of being a brief preface to the real point of this article. My purpose in writing is simply to raise the question, "What are we going to do about it?" The situation is fully as portentous as that which the Entente embassies allowed to get out of hand in Petrograd in 1917. In some respects it is analogous. This new orientation of radicalism is still in

a condition to be diverted and neutralized. Prompt action by the one power potent to act effectively may reshape the history of the Near and Middle East.

That power is America. Europe is at war with Asia. The bitterness and intensity of the antagonisms that have been aroused by the British and French conflicts with Eastern peoples, since the armistice, is not generally understood. Suffice it to say that it has well-nigh palsied the arm of Great Britain, "the policeman of the world." To-day, over the larger part of her oriental sphere, Great Britain is waging a defensive warfare: she is the object of attacks in Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, the Caucasus, India and Afghanistan. The proper interests of Great Britain in the East are in need of succor to-day. She cannot help herself, much less help the general cause of civilization.

Why Persia Needs America

America is the one nation trusted by all nations. The East in particular confides in the United States. Nobody ever suspects her of reactionary or imperialistic designs. Instead, she is the idealized exponent of liberty, justice, and good-will. Her character has been written in alms all over the world. It is no exaggeration to say that at the present moment the moral influence of America over the weak and troubled nations of the East is greater than the military might of European countries. What the troops of another power cannot do, the mere wish of America is sufficient to accomplish. An unmeasured store of accrued good-will toward the United States is available for diplomatic uses.

This is particularly the case in Persia—and Persia is the key to the Eastern campaign of Bolshevism. The Reds simply must have Persia, if they are to carry out their program; since Persia, a next-door neighbor to Russia, also looks toward Turkey, the Caucasus, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and India. A glance at the map shows how central Persia is to the old, old world; and explains why it used to exercise dominion over the whole known earth. Modern Persia has fallen sadly from the estate of "the Great King," but it is none the less a strategic

center in the new schemes of world conquest.

Our Favorable Position

And present-day Persia is friendly to the point of devotion toward the United States. When she was being rent between rival imperialistic plans, it was America that stood out in disinterested service of Persia's rights and welfare. American missionaries have been the only American "interest" in Persia for a century past; and a large proportion of her leaders have been educated in American missionary schools. When famine and plague, two years ago, smote the land, it was from America that succor came. Moreover, America is the embodiment of free institutions; and of a spirit of simple friendliness, as expressed in all official and unofficial dealings with the Persians.

Therefore America's diplomatic representative at Teheran may, by a proper use of his powers, bring such friendly pressure to bear upon the Persians that their country will be kept from extreme engagements to the soviets and retained in the ranks of constitutional democracies. This is for us a national opportunity and obligation. In the Middle East the United States does not share with the Entente Powers, as at Petrograd, the responsibility for thwarting Bolshevism: if the peril is to be overcome, and a repetition of the blunder of 1917 avoided, only America can act effectively. This does not imply any departure from our historic policy of avoiding foreign entanglements: no political or military commitments are involved. Simply by a wise use of American influence and prestige, any alert diplomat may lead Persia to see wherein her own and the world's advantage lie. He would simply "cash in" the invested friendship of decades; and solely for the benefit of Persia and the whole Orient.

Without our will or desire, America has been made watchman at the gates of the East in a crisis of magnitude. If awake and efficient, we may thwart the enemy, save the people, and avert a catastrophe of dimensions beyond any man's power to foresee. The historic failure of the West at Petrograd, in an emergent hour, may be atoned for by faithfulness at Teheran, in another day of destiny.

IN MEMORY OF A GREAT AMERICAN

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

DEMOCRACIES have ever been prone to honor their citizens who "have deserved well of their country"—after they are dead.

To be sure, Theodore Roosevelt was such a Police Commissioner in New York City that President McKinley brought him to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy; a few months later he was such a Colonel of Rough Riders in the Cuban campaign that New York State promptly, on his return, demanded, and got, him for Governor; his two-year record there brought him to the Vice-President's chair—which he proceeded in his own colorful phrase to make "a perch instead of a shelf," so that when, upon McKinley's death, he succeeded to the supreme authority, every American felt that fate had managed well; and the country sealed its approval three years later by electing him President for another four years. Surely, even the enemies such a personality was bound to make recognized the man as a power to be used in our public life.

Yet it was still true that when he crossed the Great Divide, on January 6, 1919, the country and the whole world awoke to an entirely new sense of what he had stood for, of his prodigious net accomplishment in his sixty years of life. And ever since that day the movements to erect fitting memorials to this many-sided American have increased and multiplied.

Three days after his death the Republican National Committee, at a special meeting in Chicago, created a non-partisan Roosevelt Memorial Committee; and since February 1, 1919, these eighty representative men and women have been working at the development of plans for a triple memorial:

(1) A monumental memorial at Washington; (2) a park at Oyster Bay; (3) an incorporated society for the development and application of the policies and ideals of Theodore Roosevelt for the benefit of the American people.

Three committees (headed, respectively,



MR. EDWARD CLARK POTTER'S MODEL FOR AN EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

(The statue represents the late President as Colonel of the Rough Riders, in the Spanish War period; and the pedestal will bear four bas-reliefs commemorating phases in the career of that regiment)

by Elihu Root, William Loeb, Jr., and Gifford Pinchot) have had these efforts in charge. Under their stimulus Mr. Roosevelt's birthday, October 27, 1919, was celebrated by millions of school-children and adults all over the country; 300,000 meetings were held during that week throughout the United States, and a million Americans enrolled in the Association, subscribing a million and a half dollars to the memorial fund. Cuba, Panama, Hawaii, the Philippines, Alaska, the leper island of Molokai, Chile, China and the Virgin Islands vied with the States in enthusiastic observance and contribution.

These funds were transferred in May, 1920, to the incorporated Roosevelt Memorial Association, the president of which, Colonel William Boyce Thompson, has contributed not only his time but about a quarter of a million dollars to the movement. (The late E. L. Converse paid for the designing and printing of two million

certificates of membership for the Association to use).

This Association has become the center of Roosevelt work. It has bought the land for the Oyster Bay park, where there is to be a Roosevelt house and library and other features; it has a Bureau of Research and Information collecting photographs, moving pictures, facts and stories about every side of Mr. Roosevelt's activities; a fellowship in Roosevelt Research has been founded at Harvard; it has established a committee for the perpetuation of Roosevelt's ideals, and Mr. Hermann Hagedorn, a member of this committee and secretary of the parent Association, has just prepared, after exhaustive study and patient collection of first-hand material, the first volume of an authoritative series of Roosevelt books—"Roosevelt in the Bad Lands."

The Association has issued a 66-page booklet describing the more interesting of the thousands of suggestions it has received from all over the world for the still undecided monumental memorial at Washington, and other projects of similar nature elsewhere. It takes no less than fifteen headings merely to classify these: Americanization; Conservation of Wild Life; a Seaside Park at Oyster Bay; a Cemetery in France; General Educational Projects; Agricultural Endowment Fund; Monuments; Newspapers; Homes for Children; Hospitals; Museums; Clubs; Highways, Parks and Cities; Trees; a National Holiday.

Many of these ideas, of course, are amusing or grotesque; but a surprising number are deeply impressive—evidencing the profound way in which the life and achievements of Roosevelt have stirred millions of our people.

In addition to this congeries of activities centering about the Roosevelt Memorial Association, there is an energetic Women's Roosevelt Memorial Association, with a national organization, which is raising the money to purchase and restore the birth-place of Mr. Roosevelt at 28 East 20th Street, New York City; in September a bronze commemorative tablet was dedicated at the Good Will Farm, a boys' school at Hinckley, Maine, visited by the President;

at Mattawamkeag Lake, where he is said to have been in the habit of reading the Bible under a certain tree, while on his woods trips, a large Bible has been fastened to the tree so that passersby may read it; New York State has established a Roosevelt Wild Life Forest Experiment Station at Syracuse, and expert scientific specialists last summer were studying the birds and fishes of the 7000-acre Allegheny State Park; similar investigations have been carried on in Yellowstone Park—of the food capacity of trout streams, of the beaver, with actual detailed maps of their dams and ponds, and, under Edmund Heller, the naturalist of the Roosevelt African Expedition, of the status of the large game mammals in the park; and many other vitally interesting and varied commemorative efforts are being constantly reported.

The picture reproduced herewith is a photograph of a rough first sketch for an equestrian statue of Colonel Roosevelt, at the Spanish War period, by the distinguished sculptor Edward Clark Potter—who is universally recognized as perhaps the foremost living American sculptor of horses, and who has done such notable statues as the General Hooker in front of the State House in Boston, the rarely beautiful De Soto at the St. Louis Exposition, the Custer in Michigan, and so on.

The pedestal of this proposed statue is to bear four bas-reliefs: the Rough Riders coming into San Antonio to begin training; their departure for Cuba; the charge up San Juan Hill; and the parade after the war was over.

It has been suggested that this admirable work be erected in San Antonio, where the regiment was trained, by joint subscription of the State of Texas, the city of San Antonio, and the members of the Rough Riders Association, there being some 700 or 800 still left of the original thousand.

While there will doubtless be many statues, it is safe to say that few will have a better chance than this of being visited by pilgrims in 2021—not only because it represents a great American but because it is a true work of sculptured art of which any American may feel proud.



"HIS SOUL GOES MARCHING ON"

THE familiar words from the refrain of "John Brown's Body" form the title of a touching story by Mary R. Shipman Andrews in *Good Housekeeping* for October. It is a Roosevelt story, as the same author's "Perfect Tribute" was a Lincoln story. The hero, "Jimmie," had seen Colonel Roosevelt only twice in his life—once as a thirteen-year-old boy fishing near his home in the Middle West, and later when the boy had become a man and marched with his regiment up Fifth Avenue to be reviewed by the Colonel just before embarking for France in 1918. Yet in the Argonne it was his memory of Roosevelt's face and his devotion to Roosevelt's ideals that made of weak-kneed Jimmie a hero who won the *Médaille Militaire* of France.

Jimmie comes back, after the armistice, severely wounded, and his first journey is made as a pilgrimage to the grave at Oyster Bay. The final episode of the story is related in the following paragraphs:

There are always automobiles standing at the side of the road which runs past the Oyster Bay cemetery. The great American who sleeps there, under the trees of the peaceful hillside, is never without homage of Americans. On a soft, gray April morning of 1919, when a line of five or six cars was drawn up at the edge of the road with its wide grass border, another car stopped, and from it stepped down a spectacled young man in uniform, who limped a little. He was pale and very serious, and as he turned after a moment's speech with his chauffeur in the direction which the chauffeur had pointed out, he drew the overseas cap from his head, and the light shone on thick, red hair. The *Médaille Militaire*, the highest honor in the gift of France, to be won only by enlisted men and by general officers, but by no rank between—was pinned on the breast of his blouse. As he walked, slowly enough, for he was yet weak from wounds, and shell-shock makes a slow recovery, one or two quiet groups of people coming back to their cars from Roosevelt's grave looked at him, at the wound-stripe on his right sleeve, and then back, a bit anxiously, to his young, worn face.

In the boy's look was a quality which marked him as different from the ordinary reverent visitor. This gaunt, gray-faced, big youngster had an air of something which he meant to do. He stood apart quietly when he reached the spot under the whispering trees, where the shadows of the dimly sunlit spring morning swept softly back and forth, back and forth, over all that was left of a strong body, the house of a strong soul.

"Earth to earth; ashes to ashes." Yet Theodore Roosevelt's triumphant personality triumphed yet through the end of his mortality. "Oh, grave, where is thy victory?" Jimmie considered as he stood with bowed, bared head, and held his overseas cap crushed against his breast, as Roosevelt had held his hat crushed that day when the Division marched up the Avenue and those keen eyes, now closed, had gazed out at America's soldiers with a rapture of tenderness and suffering.

For the spirit of the place was inspiration. From this place, as long as America lasted, Americans must go with a new breath of loyalty and of consecration to America with a desire to serve the land with one's might, as Roosevelt would have it served.

"His soul goes marching on," whispered Jimmie, catching his breath to remember how that great soul had marched with himself through hardship and weariness in France and had swept him by sheer power of a name through battle flame and shell fire.

Near this place might one day rise, the boy dreamed, a mighty flagstaff, the highest in the world, it should be, as fitted the tribute of a great nation to its great son. And from this should float always, into the ages to come, the flag for which Theodore Roosevelt had spent himself; the flag which stood to him and stands to us for the last word in the cause which "shall not fail, for it is the cause of humanity."

At last—it might have been about one o'clock—for a space of time Jimmie stood alone in the hushed, bright place; all the quiet footsteps had gone away over the gravel; the wind whispered unhurried memories through the trees, memories of a small boy fishing and of a Personage who had played and fished and talked with him through an unforgotten hour; memories of light feet marching in a great rhythm up the Avenue and of a face looking down at them—a second's glance to be remembered for a lifetime.

Jimmie came forward quickly with his halting step. The gate of the railing which protects the grave was not locked, and he opened it as by right, and passed in. He dropped his brown cap on the earth then, and with stumbling fingers unpinned his most precious possession, the *Médaille Militaire*, and knelt and laid it above where Roosevelt's heart might have been.

"It's the best thing I own, Colonel. It's yours, anyhow," he whispered. "I kept my promise, Colonel."

A moment he bent his head, and a big tear fell on the dim yellow and green ribbon of the medal lying among flowers. Then Jimmie picked up his cap, and passed through the gateway, and went back through the trees to his taxi, no badge of honor on his breast now and a mist yet in his eyes, limping and gaunt and very tired, but with a deep contentment in him that he was one of the Americans who had not failed the cause of humanity.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE WORLD'S NEW STATESMEN

WHAT has the League of Nations done by way of creating a new type of international statesman? Mr. H. Wilson Harris attempts to answer this question in the *Review of Reviews* (London). It is true that the League has been in existence less than two years, that much time has necessarily been spent in organization, and that few great problems calling for great decisions have thus far presented themselves. Yet it may be said that the League has already conferred on a number of men hitherto little known outside their own countries a stable, international reputation. In the opinion of Mr. Harris, this is much more true of smaller states like Belgium, Norway, Switzerland than it is of the major powers like Great Britain and France. Several of the leading personalities in the Assembly of the League are sketched herewith by Mr. Harris, beginning with M. Hymans, the Assembly's first President:

M. HYMANS

Of the men with whom this article is specially concerned no better example could be found than M. Paul Hymans, the representative of Belgium on the League Council and Assembly. Before the war the name of M. Hymans was hardly known outside Belgium, though as former Belgian Minister he had many friends in England. He became Foreign Minister later, but Belgian Foreign Ministers have, as such, an inconspicuous place on the international stage.

During the Peace Conference in 1919 M. Hymans placed his considerable abilities at the disposal of the Commission entrusted with the task of framing the Covenant of the League of Nations, and he sat, appropriately enough, as the representative of his country at the first meeting of the League Council in the Clock Room of the Quai d'Orsay in January, 1920. He has held that position without a break ever since, and when the Assembly of the League, meeting for the first

time at Geneva last November, had to open its proceedings by electing a President, only one was seriously considered.

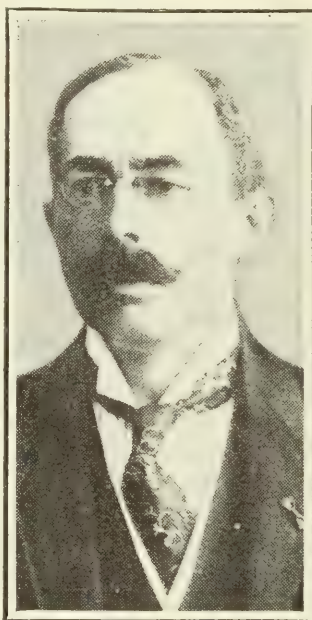
M. Hymans had attended every Council meeting since the League was formed. He knew the League's problems through and through. He was a former diplomatist, a former Foreign Secretary, a lawyer of distinction, a man of keen intellect and most attractive address. It needed all, and more than all, those qualities to control the discussions of a gathering of men of forty different nations and a dozen or more different tongues, with no precedents, no rules of procedure, no common parliamentary tradition to guide them, but there can have been few members of the Assembly who at the end of five weeks' sittings would have claimed even to their wives that they could have done better than the Belgian delegate.

But M. Hymans has had other responsible tasks to discharge for the League besides presiding at its Assembly. He was the author of a most able memorandum on the tangled question of the relations between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the League in the matter of mandates. When the Polish-Lithuanian dispute over Vilna had reached a deadlock, it was M. Hymans who was chosen

by the League as conciliator, and his project of settlement, unanimously approved by the League Council and accepted by both disputants as a basis of discussion, is at the moment of writing the subject of conversations going forward between the two parties at Brussels under M. Hyman's chairmanship.

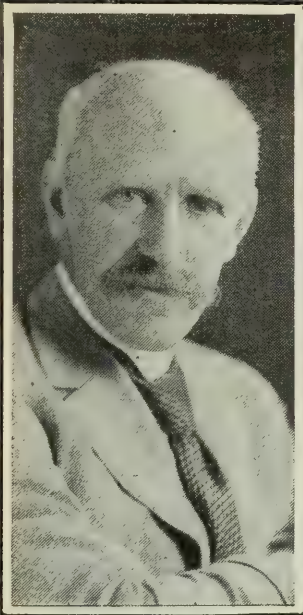
DR. NANSSEN

Turn now to a different type again. In Dr. Fridtjof Nansen the ideals of the League of Nations find not merely whole-hearted support but personal embodiment. Generous-minded, direct alike in speech and in purpose, conspicuously just and at all times palpably sincere, always more a believer in doing things than in talking about them, Dr. Nansen represents as a man what every nation loyal to the League should be as a nation. As organizer of the enterprise which has resulted in the repatriation of more than 350,000 war prisoners scattered from the Rhine to the Pacific he has done a great work for the League.

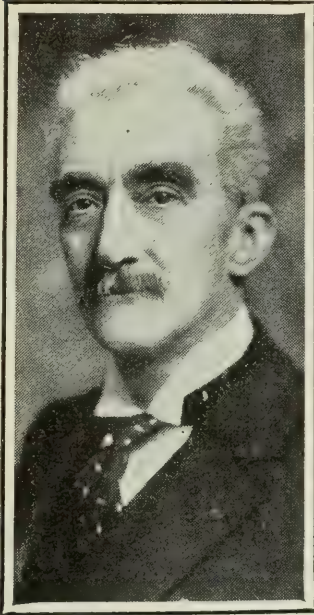
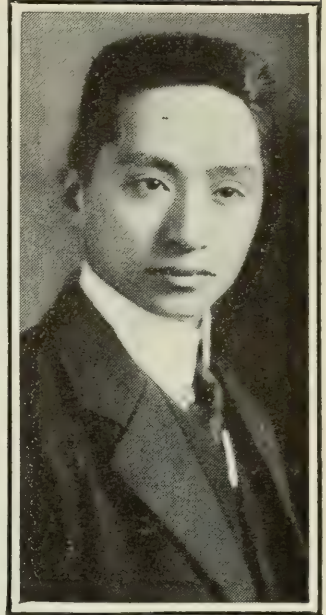


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DR. H. A. VAN KARNEBEEK
(Dutch Minister of Foreign
Affairs, chosen President of
the League of Nations As-
sembly at Geneva)



Photos © Harris & Ewing

DR. F. NANSEN
(Norway)M. PAUL HYMANS
(Belgium)M. GIUSEPPE MOTTA
(Switzerland)DR. WELLINGTON KOO
(China)

[FOUR STATESMEN OF WORLD RENOWN CONSPICUOUS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS]

He did work only less valuable as representative of Norway to the first Assembly.

At the same time the League has done much for Dr. Nansen. Till he struck alliance with it early last year he was a world-figure, indeed, but a world-figure in one narrow field, that of Arctic exploration. To-day he is a world-figure in the affairs of nations. Not that he either sought that rôle or welcomed it. He is far happier among the pack-ice than in a crowded Assembly hall. The danger that he may hark back to his old love is said to be serious. For the sake of the world that must not be. Other explorers can unveil the frozen North. Few, if any, probable delegates to the Assembly can supply quite what Dr. Nansen contributes. Nor could the League have any more persuasive advocate before the public. A fluent speaker of faultless English, he could do inestimable service by putting the claims of the League for three months—or even three weeks—before the people of England and America.

MR. ROWELL

Mr. Newton Rowell was one of the Canadian delegates to the last Assembly. In a gathering where plain speech was the rule his fearless sincerity was conspicuous. An experienced and very competent lawyer, a former Cabinet Minister, and a profound believer in the League, Mr. Rowell made a contribution that could not have been dispensed with, and that came from no other quarter. His attack on European statesmanship, voicing as it did views more commonly heard to the south of the Great Lakes than to the north, will not soon be forgotten. Unfortunately, he has lately resigned his seat in the Canadian Parliament, and to all appearance abandoned his political career. If he cuts himself off at the same time from the League the loss to the League will be great, and to Mr. Rowell himself not slight. But a regional development of the League is inevitable. Its members in the New World must for certain purposes group themselves together. Such a group will need leaders, and it will be

matter for profound regret if it does not find one of them in the office of Rowell, Reid, Wood, and Wright, Toronto.

DR. KOO

But if the League needs leaders in the New World, it needs them equally in the Far East, and above all in China, that land of illimitable and unfathomed possibilities. One at least it has ready to hand. The League Assembly did its generous instincts credit when it chose Dr. Wellington Koo, Minister of the Chinese Republic in London, as one of the four elected members of the Council of the League. Educated in America, possessed of intellectual gifts of a high order, still young in years, Dr. Koo is essentially an apostle of the new diplomacy rather than the old; of publicity rather than secrecy; of settlements on the basis of justice rather than as elements in a bargain. The irreproachable delicacy and the shattering completeness of his reply to a Japanese critic of China at Geneva last year are unforgettable. If his country held a more stable place in the commonwealth of nations he would speak with more authority than he can to-day.

M. MOTTA

Finally, and in repair of an inexcusable omission, one word on M. Giuseppe Motta, late president of the Swiss Republic. M. Motta has been heard of too little in connection with the League. Last year, as head of the Swiss delegation and President of the Helvetic Republic, he was chosen président d'honneur of the League Assembly, but he modestly declined the proffered seat on the platform and remained in the place allotted to his delegation near the back of the hall. No man more consistently distinguished himself by the soundness and liberality of his judgment or by the restrained and persuasive force of his speech. M. Motta is too little known outside Switzerland. The League will be the sufferer if it does not make him better known. It needs work done, and it most assuredly needs men of M. Motta's stamp to do the work.

HAS BRITISH FREE TRADE COME TO AN END?

IT is startling to read in English reviews intimations that the free trade policy, long held sacred in the British Isles, is now seriously threatened. The opening sentences of an article contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for August, by Sir Godfrey Collins M. P., now classed as an Independent Liberal, indicate such a fear:

It is not a matter of opinion, it is a matter of fact, that we won the war under a Free Trade policy. It is not yet matter of fact, but sober opinion has already all too clear grounds for fearing that, unless we walk more warily, we shall lose the peace on Protection.

At the end of the war, according to this writer, England was, "from a point of view of large scale and cheap production, far more able to compete freely in the world's markets than at any time in our history." But the situation in which the consumer found himself is suggested in the following paragraphs:

The betrayal of the consumer was being slowly accomplished. During the war the manufacturers of this country became associated more closely than had been the case since the industrial revolution. Government restrictions, together with the continued pressure of the trade unions, led to mutual understandings. As competition broke down, these understandings became firmer; prices were arranged, agreements come to, the whole position of the manufacturers was consolidated to a degree far beyond the peacetime fears of the most pessimistic consumer. In some cases a Whitley Council meeting that brought masters and men together would send the latter away permeated with this strange new

creed that the interests of the producer were greater than the interests of the whole community.

Year by year the manufacturers saw their power solidify. The war seemed unending, yet with an eye alert for the main chance, they began to prepare for the end. Powerful sections amalgamated to do battle for the maintenance of selling arrangements and of prices; for it is as natural that a producer should wish to see competition fettered as it is that a consumer should wish to see it free. Obdurately, when the armistice came, this maleficent *camorra* of producers began its siege of Parliament. Month after month they renewed their efforts; and now, at last, they see their sustained and clever propaganda coming to fruition in the Safeguarding of Industries Bill.

Those who still adhere to the free trade argument believe that the adoption by the Indian Government of a protectionist policy, while profitable to particular Indian interests, will prove costly to the people as a whole. England could do nothing to forestall the adoption of protection by India because she was herself abandoning her own system of free imports. The *London Review of Reviews* proceeds to argue that the Safeguarding of Industries Bill represents a similar attack on the British consumer, and that it is certain to raise prices. On the whole Mr. Collins seems confirmed in his free trade faith in spite of the inroads that protectionism has already made.

Sixty years of peace and six of war have demonstrated to the nations that it is freedom of trade that has made Britain great. . . . What Europe needs is peace. Tariffs mean militarism; Free Trade is pacifism expressed in economics.

EARLY DAYS OF THE TELEPHONE INDUSTRY

AN intensely interesting chapter in the history of the telephone as a business enterprise is contributed to the September *Harper's* by Albert Bigelow Paine, author of the forthcoming book, "In One Man's Life," an account of the personal and business career of the late Theodore N. Vail. The American public is fairly familiar with the facts relating to the invention and early use of the telephone, but concerning the ups and downs of its commercial history, comparatively little has been published.

The telephone was patented in 1876, the year of the Centennial Exposition at Phila-

delphia, where the instrument was exhibited and was seen by Emperor Dom Pedro, of Brazil; by Lord Kelvin, the distinguished British physicist, and by others who gave it a world-wide newspaper publicity. During the next few years a small corporation, taking the name of the inventor, Alexander Graham Bell, manufactured telephones at Boston, but the cost was very heavy, and the business suffered from lack of capital.

In the spring of 1878, Theodore N. Vail, General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service, through his acquaintance with Gardiner G. Hubbard, the first president of the



GARDINER G. HUBBARD

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

THEODORE N. VAIL

THREE PIONEERS IN THE TELEPHONE INDUSTRY

Telephone Company, and father-in-law of Dr. Bell, became convinced that the invention had a future, and resigned his office in order to become General Manager of the Bell Company. To Mr. Vail's friends this seemed like a reckless venture. The financial problem that faced the company is thus described by Mr. Paine:

The Bell Company had no capital with which to construct a general telephone system. It could hardly construct the telephones themselves, to supply orders. Vail and his associates realized that there was just one way to carry out the work. Local companies must be promoted in the towns, the stock to be locally subscribed, a percentage of it to go to the Bell Company for the franchise, with a rental charge for the use of the instruments. It was a big idea, one of the biggest ever conceived; also one of the simplest—at least in theory.

Putting it into operation was another matter. Rarely has there been such a chaos of business affairs as Theodore Vail found when he took hold of those of the Bell Telephone Company. A good deal had been done, but most of it had been done wrong. Energetic men had, in effect, been running around in circles, trying to create a mighty industry, with no precedent to follow, no directing hand, no capital, nothing but a patent right—a Yankee toy—and such funds as had been scraped together by a manufacturer of shoe soles, whose heart was in the right place, but whose gifts hardly qualified him to become a captain of industry.

The new manager directed his first efforts to the territory outside New England, where there were in operation 6335 telephones,

with an average net rental of something less than ten dollars per year. The company was reorganized with Mr. Vail as the only salaried officer. The company secured its cash capital by obtaining a loan of \$25,000 on 1000 shares of stock (worth \$100,000), and 500 more shares were to be sold at \$50 a share. This secured only \$50,000 in all for the company's cash capital, but there was no little difficulty in raising even that amount.

In those days of discouragement, Manager Vail was far from being dismayed:

He worked always as if he had infinite resources of capital as well as courage, and an army with banners behind him. He laid out his campaign on a large scale and constantly introduced new features—among them a five-year standard contract which required the local companies to build exchanges, and confined them to certain areas. There were also contracts which provided for connecting two or more towns, though for these there was little call. How could the telephone ever be made to work at any distance when often it refused to be heard across the street? Vail, however, never for a moment doubted the realization of the last possibility suggested by Bell's invention, and provided accordingly. In his vision he saw wires extending from city to city and across the States. He even began securing interstate rights, in a day when there was no wish to deny a privilege the value of which was considered negligible. The plan in his mind was to create a national telephone system, in which the Bell Company would be a permanent partner. Perhaps he did not then put into words his later slogan, "One policy, one system, and universal service," but undoubtedly the thought was in his mind.

NORWEGIAN STUDIES OF THE AURORA

POPULAR interest in the aurora borealis has recently been stimulated by the display of last May, associated with an exceptionally violent magnetic storm and the usual demoralization of the telegraphic service. Moreover, on March 22, 1920, occurred one of the most beautiful auroras ever witnessed in the United States. Newspaper comments on these events would hardly suggest that science has made great progress in explaining auroral phenomena, but such is the case. The leading experts in this field have been Norwegians. At present, Prof. Carl Störmer, of the University of Christiania, is the world's foremost student of the aurora. In the *Scientific American Monthly* (New York) he presents an account of his researches that is most interesting and lucid, though marred by misspelled personal names and scientific terms, such as "Poulsen" for Paulsen, "Perseur" for Perseus, "caronæ" for coronæ, etc.

As in so many other lines of scientific investigation, photography has been an invaluable adjunct in the investigation of the aurora. The author says:

As all usual observations of the northern lights are more or less subjective and unreliable, it is of the greatest importance to obtain an objective method, and the only reliable one is in the present case photographic. For many years the problem of photographing the northern lights resisted all efforts. It was not until 1892 that Brendel succeeded in obtaining a fairly serviceable picture by an exposure of seven seconds during a stay at Bossekop in the north of Norway. More pictures with short exposures were not published, until in 1909 I commenced systematic investigations in order to solve the problem. By the use of a small cinematograph lens with a 25 mm. aperture and a focal length of 50 mm. and *Lumière étiquette violette* plates, I succeeded in obtaining serviceable pictures with exposures of a few seconds, and in consequence I undertook two northern lights expeditions in 1910 and 1913 to Bossekop, in order to apply photography to the study and measurement of altitude of the northern lights. Bossekop, which is situated near Alten Fiord, 80 kilometers south of Hammerfest, is a classical spot for the investigation of the northern lights, and in the course of time has been visited by many scientists.

The method by which the altitude of auroral features above the earth is measured is thus described. The reader will recall that a kilometer is a little less than two-thirds of a mile.

From two stations at a distance of about 30 km.

from each other, and connected by telephone, the northern lights are photographed after orders by telephone, both cameras being directed toward the same star. From the different positions of the northern lights on the plates, the altitude above the earth can be estimated, since the situation and the time are known.

As early as in 1910 there were obtained in this way a series of reliable calculations of altitude, and in 1913 the work was continued under considerably improved conditions. The result was no fewer than 2400 determinations of altitude, which showed that the northern lights do not extend lower down in the atmosphere than about 87 km., and that the bulk of the northern lights, and those with the greatest intensity of light, occur between 95 and 120 km. Some forms, however, particularly the summits of the auroral rays, lay considerably higher, *i.e.*, more than 300 km.

In recent years the same method has been employed in southern Norway. From my main station at Bygdø, near Christiania, I have had telephonic connection with a number of secondary stations, at distances varying from 26 to 250 km., and a large amount of material, consisting of about three hundred simultaneous auroral photographs, was obtained during the years 1916-1921.

That there is some connection between auroras and solar activity has been generally believed for many years. It is especially attested by the fact that a great outburst of sunspots is, as a rule, coincident with the occurrence of brilliant auroral displays. The nature of the connection is now known in a general way, though many details are still uncertain. Prof. Störmer says:

As early as the year 1881 Goldstein formulated the idea that the sun sends out into space streams of particles charged with electricity, which possibly cause electric and magnetic phenomena on the earth. Later on, in 1893, Adam Paulsen, the Danish meteorologist, put forward the theory, based on his observation of the aurora borealis in Greenland, that the phenomenon is due to cathode rays. According to Paulsen's opinion these rays were formed in the upper strata of our atmosphere.

My deceased colleague, Professor Kristian Birkeland, however, by his series of remarkable experiments, was the first to give a reliable basis to the theory that the aurora borealis is caused by electric rays from the sun.

In 1896 he discovered the highly interesting effect of a magnetic pole on a beam of rays, *viz.*: that of concentrating them to one point like the concentration of rays of light by a lens. This discovery suggested to his scientific mind the possibility that the earth, which is in reality a huge magnet, might in like manner concentrate cathode rays or similar electric rays from the sun, toward the southern and northern aurora zones.

Birkeland verified his hypothesis in a brilliant manner by his now famous experi-

ment of directing cathode rays toward a magnetized metal sphere suspended in a glass vessel exhausted of air. This sphere, representing the earth in miniature, was coated with a phosphorescent substance, which glowed under the discharge. Instead of being spread over the whole hemisphere exposed to the rays, the patches of illumination were found to be concentrated in two zones corresponding to the parts of the

earth, near the polar circles, where auroras are most frequent. A non-magnetized sphere showed no such zonal distribution.

Taking Birkeland's investigations as a point of departure, Störmer and his collaborators have worked out with profound mathematical skill the actual spiral paths followed by electrified particles coming from the sun as they approach the earth and come within the influence of its magnetic field.

A UNION OF BALTIC STATES

WHILE the peoples of southern Europe are trying to reach a basis for an alliance, the work of bringing about a union of the independent states on the eastern side of the Baltic created after the war has been resumed more vigorously than ever. It is undoubtedly the growing power of the new Russia which is reflected in these efforts to combine, which naturally take their impetus from the three Baltic states which broke loose from Russia. For this reason the Baltic states are seeking an alliance, for the mutual protection of their interests, with Finland and Poland, although the Lithuanian conflicts with Poland, exemplified by the Vilna coup, are many and serious. A survey of the situation appears in the Swedish *Forum*.

During last year many conferences were held and many attempts made to form a Baltic union, and Sweden was invited to join this league, but during the peace parleys with Russia these endeavors were put aside for the time being. This year, however, they have been resumed and have assumed a more definite character. Personal conferences between the leading statesmen, exchange visits of journalists, and other means have prepared the ground better than has been possible before, and the Lithuanian foreign minister, during a recent visit to Reval, invited the Estonian and Latvian governments to a conference in Kovno, where the question of an alliance between the three Baltic states will be discussed. After this meeting it is planned to hold a second conference in Warsaw, arranged through Polish initiative. To this conference the Finnish Government will be invited and the question of a general "border-state league" between Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Poland will be considered.

In Finland not only the Finnish-language press, but also the Swedish-language press, advocates a firmer orientation to the south,

although in many instances with great hesitation. It is pointed out that because of the way the Aland controversy ended, what was generally supposed when the independence was won, *i.e.*, that Finland's political orientation would be westward and toward Sweden, must be considered out of the question at present, even if this conflict in reality is not taken as seriously in Sweden as a superficial observation might indicate. But *Huvudstadsbladet* (Hälsingfors) says that this is not the deciding factor; the deciding factor in the question of Finland's political alliance with the Scandinavian entente is that Sweden—and in still greater degree Denmark and Norway—probably would not be in favor of assuming the risk which a union with a country so exposed to Finland would involve.

"Our country," this journal goes on, "in the threatened position in which it finds itself, cannot be satisfied in a political orientation with general friendly relations which carry with them no obligations. We cannot receive from the Scandinavian countries the guaranty of assistance which we absolutely require. Undoubtedly, we have better prospects of obtaining this to the south. The reason therefor is perfectly natural—the same danger that threatens us looms up at the borders of the Baltic states and Poland, namely, Russia's ambition to retake her lost territory." But even this paper emphasizes that such a defensive alliance would impose exacting conditions, that it should not go beyond the limits of military obligations, and that Finland's cultural relations with Scandinavia certainly ought not to be affected by these defensive measures.

Forum believes the time at hand for Sweden to follow with the closest attention what seems about to take place on the other side of the Baltic Sea and still farther east and to take such steps as may be found necessary.

A REUNITED CENTRAL AMERICA

AT the one hundredth anniversary of Central America's independence from Spain there seems a fairer prospect of a reuniting of the five states than at any time for many years past. Four of the little republics—Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica—are already joined in a central government, and there is good ground for hope that Nicaragua will soon unite with her neighbors.

In the *North American Review* for September, Miss Mary W. Williams, professor of history at Goucher College, writing on "The New Central America," reminds us that during the colonial period the five states formed a single unit in the Spanish Indies, and constituted the Captaincy-General of Guatemala. After declaring independence in September, 1821, these states were known for fifteen years as The United Provinces of Central America. However, they soon became the victims of selfish leadership and inexperience in self-government. Strife and chaos resulted, and after 1839 the union was legally, as well as actually, at an end. Yet the idea of ultimate reunion persisted, and during the last century there were at least a dozen unsuccessful attempts to bring back the states to a common nationality.

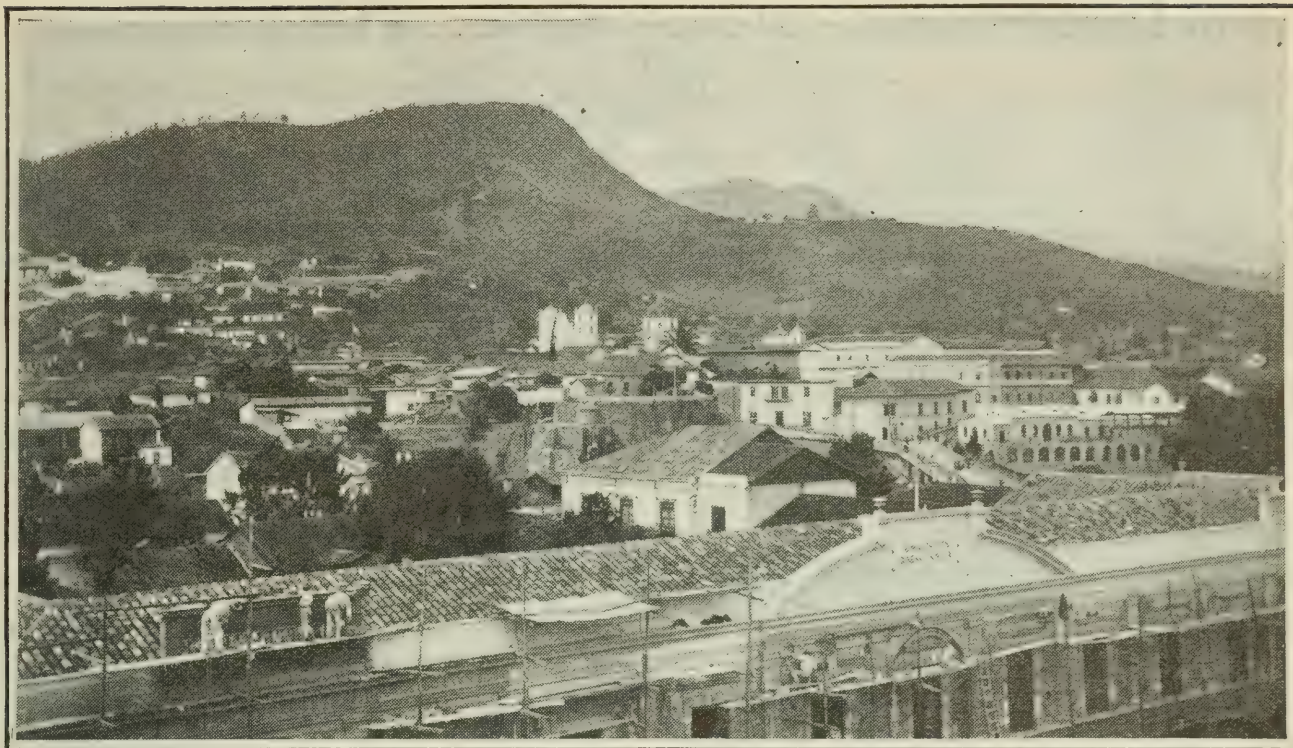
In 1902, with the object of laying a foundation for better relations, the five republics entered into mutual treaty engagements. These, however, did not prevent the outbreak of a bitter war in which Mexico and the United States jointly intervened, and in 1907 brought about the Central American conference at Washington. In the treaty at that time signed all the states pledged themselves to refrain from meddling in one another's affairs. This agreement succeeded little better than the former one in preventing war, but it is conceded that it did have some restraining effect. Meanwhile, a Central American Bureau was created by this conference, and has done good service in collecting and disseminating commercial information and in fostering international coöperation. The attempt to found the Central American Court of Justice, to which the states agreed to refer all disputes, fell short of the expectations of its founders. The Court ceased to exist in 1918 when the treaty limit expired.

For the protection of the lives and property of Americans the United States intervened in Nicaragua during the administra-

tion of Zelaya in 1909. American marines were sent there in considerable numbers, and the country has never been entirely free from our military occupancy during the past twelve years. Treaties negotiated between our own Government and Nicaragua have failed of ratification in the United States Senate. In 1916, however, a treaty was negotiated giving to the United States the canal concession and ninety-nine years' lease of the Corn Islands and the naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca, in return for \$3,000,000. In this form the treaty was ratified by the Senate, with an amendment providing that, in view of the protests of Costa Rica, Salvador, and Honduras against the pact, ratification was given with the express understanding that nothing in the agreement was intended to affect any existing right of the three states mentioned. This is what is known as the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. This amendment was far from satisfactory to the three states named, which maintained that the agreement violated the Treaty of Peace and Amity made at Washington in 1907. When the four other states united in forming the new confederation Nicaragua refused to join, giving as the reason her rights and obligations under the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. Nicaragua withdrew her delegates from the conference. As to the present situation in Central America, Miss Williams says:

Obviously, the crux of the question is the clause of the treaty giving the United States the exclusive privilege of building a canal. Whenever the United States may decide to make use of her right, another treaty, providing for the payment of many millions of dollars to some power in Central America, will, of course, be necessary; and Nicaragua desires to insure the safe delivery of this fortune to her own coffers. With the matter left indefinite, the money might have to be divided up with Costa Rica—who would certainly be entitled to compensation should the San Juan, the only practicable route, be decided upon—or be paid largely into the common Central American treasury. The Nicaraguan authorities would probably have been satisfied with the reservation of the right later to negotiate independently with the United States with reference to the canal, but this would be disastrous to union and so not satisfactory to the other states.

But from the first the Nicaraguan officials, who were well aware of the benefits to be derived from union, were inclined to be conciliatory, and the hearty approval of the union expressed by our Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, at a dinner given in honor of the Nicaraguan Minister at Washington, doubtless greatly reinforced the inclination to come to terms with the other states. Hence, on



Pan-American Union

VIEW OF TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS, THE CAPITAL OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN FEDERATION

(The city is 3500 feet above sea-level and has an average temperature of 74 degrees)

July 3, last, the newly formed Central American Council was pleasantly surprised by a request from Nicaragua for a statement of terms which might serve as a basis for negotiations looking toward Nicaragua's participation in the union.

Meanwhile, the new federation has gone ahead without Nicaragua, and a preliminary agreement has been drawn up providing for a federation of autonomous states, with legislative, executive and judicial departments which shall have their seat in a federal district to be created. The place of meeting for the time being is Tegucigalpa, Honduras. The new constitution stipulates that there shall be an executive council, similar to that of Switzerland. The members of this council are to be elected for five years, and shall choose from their number a president, whose term is limited to one year, with prohibition against immediate reëligibility.

The importance of recent developments on the Isthmus becomes manifest only when it is realized that the completed federation will be fifth in population among the independent nations of the Western World; and yet, as compared with England—which has but two-sevenths as large an area with seven times the population—it is an empty country. The establishment of peace and financial security will surely invite a great flood of immigration, for in natural resources Central America is one of the richest regions in the world, and her proximity to the Panama Canal affords her tremendous commercial advantages.

In the September *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union (Washington, D. C.)

Professor Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, gives an account of the movements for independence in Central America. He says:

Central America is a neglected portion of the historical field, but some local writers have demonstrated that its history will repay careful research. Their work shows that it is worth while to study how Spain's administrative units became the republics of a later period. They also point out the significant features that brought about the separation of the area from Spain. No great battles marked the achievement of independence a century ago, but the occasion does not thereby lack dramatic incident, nor are its data valueless for the student of comparative history.

Despite the remoteness of the region, its people received some impulse from the French Revolution. A few of its literary men were influenced by the prevalent French political philosophy and had heard distorted accounts of the successful revolt of the English colonies, of Miranda's defeat in Venezuela, and of the repulse of the British before Buenos Aires. A knowledge of these facts was calculated to disturb official equanimity when Napoleon's intervention in Spain fired these smoldering influences. The first effects in Guatemala, as elsewhere, revealed themselves in an intensified loyalty on the part of all classes to the Bourbon monarchy. Apparently none of Napoleon's agents actually reached the remote captaincy-general. Its population, therefore, caused little anxiety to the Regency or to the Cortes that successively attempted in the name of Ferdinand VII to rule both the Peninsula and the colonies.

These governing bodies had perforce to make concessions to the colonies, and to alter administrative units, so as to stimulate contributions.

THE DRAGO DOCTRINE: ITS ORIGIN AND MEANING

THE recent death of Dr. Luis M. Drago, the Argentine statesman and jurist, has tended to revive discussion of the famous formula which was promulgated nearly twenty years ago as the Latin-American counterpart of our own Monroe Doctrine. In the *Pan-American Magazine* (New York) for July there is a brief account by Christina M. Wharton of the circumstance which led to the Drago note of 1902.

Dr. Drago, who was born at Buenos Aires in 1859, had been a judge of both civil and criminal courts and Solicitor General in La Plata. In 1902 he was elected Senator, but almost immediately appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Presidency of General Roca. About that time England, Italy, and Germany undertook to compel Venezuela to pay the service of her national debt. The ports of Venezuela were bombarded by an allied squadron belonging to the three nations mentioned, and this proceeding caused intense excitement throughout South America. In December, 1902, Dr. Drago, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed a letter to the American Minister at Washington on the subject of the allied intervention in Venezuela. In the course of this letter he said:

The collection of loans by military means implies the occupation of territory so as to enforce payment; and the occupation of territory implies the suppression or the subordination of the local government of the territory thus occupied.

Such a state of affairs is evidently opposed to the principles which have often been proclaimed by the nations of America, and more especially to the Monroe Doctrine, so zealously maintained and defended, at all times, by the United States, and to which the Argentine Republic has adhered on former occasions.

We do not, by any means, wish to imply that the South American nations are to be exempted, for any reason, from any of the responsibilities which must be incurred by any civilized nation which violates the principles of international law. We do not claim, nor could we claim, that these countries should occupy an exceptional position, in their relations with European countries, which are undoubtedly entitled to protect their subjects as efficiently here as in any other part of the world, against any persecution or injustice to which they may be subjected. All that the Argentine Republic maintains, and would be very glad to see maintained, in connection with what has happened in Venezuela, by a nation which, like the United States, enjoys such power and prestige, is the already accepted principle that there can be no expansion, on the part of Europe, in Amer-

ica, nor any oppression of the people of this continent, due to the fact of an unfortunate financial situation compelling any of them to defer the fulfilment of their undertakings. In a word: the principle that the Argentine Republic would like to see recognized is to the effect that a government debt cannot give rise to armed intervention, and much less to an occupation, by a European power, of territory belonging to an American nation.

The loss of prestige and discredit incurred by states which fail to meet the obligations which they have incurred with lawful creditors gives rise to difficulties of such magnitude that there is no occasion for a foreign intervention to oppress the country, and increase the transient calamities of its insolvency.

To show how unnecessary is armed intervention in such cases, Dr. Drago cites the history of the Argentine Republic, which spontaneously resumed the service of the British loan granted in the year 1824 after an interruption which lasted thirty years, and which was caused by the anarchy and unrest which disturbed the country during that period. All back debts and all interest were scrupulously paid without the creditors having taken any steps whatsoever. At a later time the Argentine Government was obliged to spend once more the service of her foreign debt, but she resumed payment a short time afterward at a great sacrifice, but of her own free will, without intervention or threats on the part of any foreign government. Dr. Drago mentioned these circumstances for the purpose of making it clear that his government was not at that time (1902) actuated by any selfish feeling or consulting its own interests in stating its wish that a country's foreign debt should not serve as a pretext for military aggression.

The Hague Conference of 1907 accepted almost unanimously the Drago Doctrine. In 1905 it was applied in the case of Santo Domingo and later on in Central America.

In 1909 Great Britain and the United States named Dr. Drago as arbitrator in the matter of the long-standing Atlantic fisheries dispute. The court of arbitration met at The Hague in 1910, and its deliberations lasted for a year and a half. The award was well received by both nations.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, recognizing Dr. Drago as the most eminent exponent of intellectual culture in South America, invited him to visit the United States.

AIRPLANE VERSUS BATTLESHIP

IN view of the recent controversy as to the respective merits of the airplane and the battleship, and as to which will hold the ascendancy in the wars of the future, an article of interest and value has appeared in the *New York Times*. It was written by the Hon. Frederick C. Hicks, Congressman from New York and chairman of the Naval sub-committee on aviation. This gentleman was one of the observers of the recent tests off the Virginia Capes, in which the former German warships *Frankfurt* and *Ostfriesland* were sunk by American aircraft.

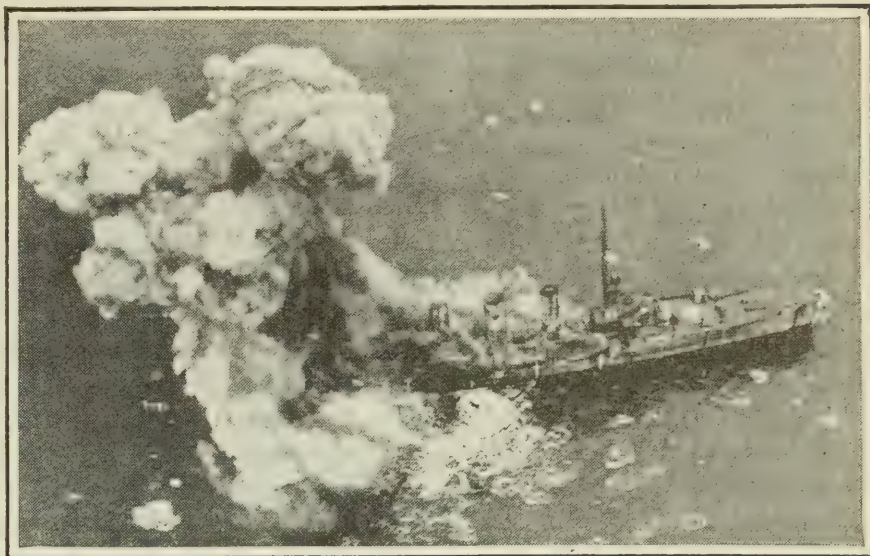
The *Frankfurt* was sunk by a 600-pound bomb after a seven-hour bombardment of missiles ranging in size from 250 to 600 pounds. The final bomb struck a few feet from her starboard side, wrenching open the seams of the vessel by the concussion, and thirty minutes later she went down. The *Ostfriesland* was destroyed by a 2000-pound bomb exploding close to her stern on the port side. The vessel sank within twenty-five minutes. The final shot was the sixth bomb dropped from the planes.

This feat yielded some evidence on the question as to whether the expensive, unwieldy dreadnought of the present day is growing obsolete before the rapid and deadly maneuverings of airplanes carrying high explosives. Mr. Hicks discusses the problem from both sides, but seems rather to favor the airplane as the weapon of the future.

The reader is reminded that in our March issue we printed the views of Brigadier-General Mitchell on this subject. General Mitchell has been the foremost believer in the supremacy of the airplane over the battleship, and as a result of his arguments and convictions the tests were held.

To refute those who claim that no changes should be made in our naval program in spite of these remarkable tests, the writer quotes Admiral Percy Scott and Lord Fisher, both of the British navy, who claim that the future lies with the airplane and that it tends to revolutionize naval warfare. Such able testimony should not be ignored.

The writer admits, however, that all



THE FORMER GERMAN BATTLESHIP "FRANKFURT" AS A TARGET FOR AIRPLANE BOMBS IN THE OFFICIAL NAVY TESTS

advantages lay with the airplanes during the recent tests. He says:

In all fairness, it should be stated that in the tests—which ostensibly were to demonstrate the effect of heavy bombs on armored decks and steel plating—advantage lay with the attacking force. The battleship was merely a mark; a stationary, inert, defenseless target, over which the airplanes maneuvered without fear of punishment or derangement of sights. The weather conditions were perfect. No limit prescribed the altitude at which the planes were to operate; no smoke screen obscured their vision; no anti-aircraft guns challenged their approach; no enemy pursuit planes disputed their control of the air. It would, of course, be impossible for these conditions to prevail in wartime.

Yet, no matter from which angle the argument against aviation may be presented or reasons advanced for the destruction of the vessels, the fact remains that ships were sunk by bombs dropped from airplanes operating eighty miles out at sea. And they were sunk in an incredibly short space of time after the heavy bombs were brought into play. The aviation enthusiasts claim they can repeat the performance irrespective of the movement or gunfire of the target, and that with improved sights and heavier bombs no battleship can survive their attack.

While the German battleships were unable to be maneuvered and had no means of defense, the dangers of an exploding magazine were eliminated by the absence of any armament aboard. Also, in actual warfare a ship may be put out of action by demoralization of the crew, or by injury to the fire-control or operating systems. Gas bombs would hamper the crew of a war vessel seriously and would add much to the general demoralization caused by an airplane attack.

Congressman Hicks, writing both as a student and an observer of the tests, sums up his conclusions as follows:

First: Aircraft is a weapon of such great value that it warrants a general expansion of the service, both in types and numbers of the planes, and also in aviation ordnance. Airplane housing ships should also be constructed for the carrying and maintenance of the planes.

Second: Airplanes are indispensable for coast defense. The preponderance of strength would naturally rest with the defense, and the attack would be carried 75 or 100 miles farther out to sea. The opposing fleet would thus be placed at a serious disadvantage.

Third: Heavy bombs should be employed from the very outset, except in special cases. By using large bombs and armor-piercing shells, aircraft are placed in the same position as the heavy-gun, single-calibre dread-

noughts. Big guns and big bombs go together.

Fourth: Underwater hits are more deadly than direct hits on the decks. Aviation has always claimed that the target is the zone within which damage will be inflicted, and is not confined to the actual structure. The damage caused by explosions beneath the water has been proved more deadly by the recent tests.

Fifth: Surface craft must be provided with better means of protection from both explosive and gas bombs. Aviation is in its infancy. Battleship construction is the climax of a century of development. The margin of progress undoubtedly lies with the newer service. Our building programs should be adjusted to the great lessons learned from the sinking of the *Frankfurt* and the *Ostfriesland*. The potential value of aviation is very great, and its development will constantly continue with the future.

GERMANY'S POTENTIAL AIR FORCE

IN the *Mercure de France* for August 15, M. Jean Orthlieb writes at length on the "German Aerial Menace."

Article 198 of the Versailles Treaty reads: "Germany's military forces must not include any military or naval aviation. No dirigible balloon shall be preserved." But, says the writer, the machinery and means of production remain essentially intact in Germany. A nominally civilian and commercial aerial fleet can be easily metamorphosed. The complete surrender required, and promised, has never been fully carried out nor honestly undertaken.

From German sources, available since the war closed, a detailed account is given of the remarkable gradual progress during the period of hostilities and the varying preponderance of force on either side. France was throughout greatly in advance of all her allies and, as a rule, nearly on a par with Germany.

The immense stimulus given by the war to aerial invention is illustrated by an interesting table showing the progress in construction of dirigibles on the German side. They rise from a maximum of 28,000 cubic yards to 135,000, from 600 to 2600 horse-power, from 10 to 90 tons of ammunition carried, in speed from 37½ to 105 miles per hour, and, in elevation attainable,

from 1½ to 5 miles! The latest step in this ascending series was, to be sure, a balloon not actually completed and in service when the German armies so suddenly collapsed.

It is of especial interest, though certainly not a matter of national pride for ourselves, to note that when the strife ended, the Germans had in use 2600 planes against 3400 in French hands, 2100 in English, and 700 in American (*these latter being of French construction*). The tale of the "missing" on each side is nearly as large as that of the known dead.

The author's main purpose is by no means statistical or historical. Chronicling the renewed bombing of London so late as May, 1918, he remarks:

It seems dangerous to forget such lessons. He who holds to the belief that at the present day a mountain chain, an arm of the sea, or even an ocean, assures protection, cherishes a most perilous delusion. Those who are separated from Germany merely by a river or a frontier line are not the only ones who should dread her. It is her aspiration to undeceive all optimists.

The tone is grown familiar of late. It should be noted that we Americans are not forgotten whenever "perfidious Albion" gets her warning.

The writer calls attention to the societies

of old veterans, sporting clubs, and various other organizations that are avowedly keeping up the interest in flying. The factories, also, that have so easily turned to making harmless bathtubs or casseroles can easily be again metamorphosed. There were 10,000 able-bodied and experienced German fliers when the armistice befell. "Steel and coal are abundant, especially if Upper Silesia is retained. . . . The only problem is fuel, and that can probably be supplied by chemical invention or through friendly commerce with Russia, Scandinavia, Austria, and Switzerland."

The only safety, to the writer's mind, is the complete prohibition of aerial navigation or construction. Even the building of planes for an allied or associated power might well become a subterfuge. The secret construction of an air fleet for Germany elsewhere can hardly be prevented. The prohibition should be effective for a term of years, and until Germany shall have made adequate atonement and shown unmistakable evidence of repentance. Then, in the more probable event of war, her armies will be completely blinded. But, also, the cordon should be permanently held at the Rhine and even extended seventy miles into Germany (to include, for example, the Black Forest) so as to give her no less full protection.

A digression as to our treaties of alliance has no place in this study. Suffice it to note that Germany is in touch with us, whereas England, and especially America, are already much farther away.

Even now the secret appropriation by the German Government for irregular purposes like aviation can be descried, camouflaged "like everything else in Germany," when the army of defense, limited to 100,000 men, is reckoned as costing 70,000 to 100,000 marks per man.

Especially disturbing to the writer's soul are two powerful aerial navigation companies in Bremen and Hamburg, closely allied with the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-American Line, and financed by the *Deutsche Bank*. They are regarded as an effort to assure German power throughout the world by such a network as were of old the two great Atlantic steamship companies, the German Levantine line, the Bagdad railway, and so forth. It is noted with apprehension that negotiations with Holland, even with Italy, are already in progress.

The whole tone of the article echoes that of a recent discussion of the Silesian problem which demanded a strong and prosperous Poland as the only ally on which France could really depend, and her sole hope in an imminent war of German revenge.

COÖPERATION AS VIEWED FROM THE ARGENTINE

TO present a comprehensive statement of "free coöperation" throughout the world the editors of *La Revista de Ciencias Economicas* (Buenos Aires) requested the collaboration of a number of eminent men "of all tendencies": the result is an informative collection of data and opinion that gives a clear outline of the entire subject from every standpoint. We believe the readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will be interested in a brief review of this report, stressing the Argentine aspect.

Just what is this "free coöperation" that has attracted more than 150,000,000 members throughout the civilized world? Señor J. B. Justo (author of a plan to control coöperative societies in the Argentine, presented to the Chamber of Deputies in September, 1915) tells us that it is the free economic

union of workers for mutual help; both in consumption and production. The movement is active all over Europe, Great Britain leading—with a membership of over four million.

One of the questions that has arisen in the successful operation of such societies is the compensation to be paid employes; labor unions have demanded certain standards, but it has been found best to give moderate pay, as competition must be upheld with capitalistic concerns. It is noted that there has been very little dishonesty among employes—losses from theft, etc., being almost unknown.

To the enormous blocks of private capital it opposes the agglomeration of innumerable small holders, reinforced by the voluntary solidarity of the consuming mass. . . . Coöperative accumulation (of capital) is to produce useful articles, not to produce profit.

The French economist Charles Gide, considers that the virtues of coöperation lie in its tendency to:

(1) Better standard of living, (2) cash payments, (3) economy without effort, (4) simplify business relations, (5) combat the power of saloons, (6) win the interest of women to social questions, (7) emancipate the common people by education, (8) make property ownership possible to all, (9) reconstruct a collective property, (10) establish just prices, (11) suppress the preoccupation of gain, (12) abolition of conflicts.

The enemies of coöperation are, says M. Gide, composed of the following groups: (1) Exterior enemies, consisting in part of women in general, cooks, and other domestics accustomed to commissions from storekeepers, and saloon-keepers; (2) interior enemies, those who (a) desire to profit largely through large dividends, (b) those who wish to speculate, (c) those who purchase at the coöperative store only when the prices there are lower than elsewhere, (d) the individuals who purchase large quantities of articles sold very cheap in order to resell them, and finally (e) the victims of individualistic greed.

The agricultural coöperative association in the Argentine is particularly necessary, says Señor N. Repetto (author of a projected law for agricultural coöperation in the National Chamber of Deputies). After analyzing the reasons for centralization of population in large cities he goes on to give authorities who have found the remedy lies in the abolition of the present holding of land by large owners and migratory labor. The farmers should be furnished with State aid so they may buy proper farm implements, he states. The low standard of living among the small Argentine farmers prevents successful running of coöperative societies today, though they flourish in Europe, North America, and Australia among similar classes. During 1914, 73 coöperative societies functioned in the Argentine—30 were "mixed" (bought and sold articles). There were 22,351 members, with a capital of \$6,099,501 (pesos); the total of operations (omitting 14 societies, which sent no figures) was \$11,819,006.

Señor M. T. Lopez considers the subject from an ethical point of view. He comes to the conclusion that coöperation is a strong force for justice, morality, education, altruism, emancipation, democracy, equality, health, defense of both consumer and producer. The existing 200 societies in the Argentine will form the basis of a great social improvement; progress in this way does not require great struggles, great sacrifices—it

only requires constancy, method, honesty, and coöperation.

The most successful society in the Argentine is "*El Hogar Obrero*" (The Workman's Hearth), of Buenos Aires, which, founded in 1905, began operations in 1907. It is an institution, says Señor R. Bogliolo, of edification and credit. Its primary object was to facilitate the purchase of homes (as its name shows). The war and recent abnormal building conditions have prevented a rapid growth in that direction since 1914. It has been the inspiration of the coöperative movement in the Argentine. Señor Bogliolo believes that in coöperation lies the remedy of many modern evils, both in his own and other countries.

Señor M. Schulze made a careful study of prices, comparing those of the *Hogar Obrero* with those in force in the general market. In the period between 1914 and 1920, inclusive, he found that the *Hogar Obrero* in 1915 sold 55 articles 15 per cent. below current prices; in 1917, 15 articles 14.60 per cent. lower; and in November, 1920, 34 articles were 17 per cent. lower. This gave an average of 15.53 per cent. in favor of the coöperative members. During the same period the members received an average dividend of 2.67 per cent.; in 1915 over 2 per cent.; in June, 1917, 2 per cent.; and November, 1920, 3 per cent. These figures were based on the consumption of a family of four (two adults and two minors), including 53 articles of food. This proves that coöperation can ameliorate, if it cannot wholly cure, the high cost of living.

Señor E. Lahitte has carefully analyzed the proposed special law for agricultural coöperation, which was approved by the Coöperative Congress in November, 1919. In addition to general laws covering coöperative associations, it is proposed that the Bank of the Nation discount or rediscount notes of the members of such associations, no expenses to be charged for this service. Ground for grain elevators on railroad property is to be given free of charge to the members. Members must necessarily be farmers or graziers (either proprietors, lessees, or part owners). Persons owning a business or acting as agents for others should be refused membership.

Throughout this article it is urged that no financial aid be given *general* coöperative societies by the Government; the *agricultural* societies need such encouragement, and it is to the common interest that people be induced to go back to the land, especially in the Argentine.

OUR SINS IN "PUBLICITY'S" NAME

"FRENCHMEN who do not understand the American newspaper get excited over finding from time to time articles or despatches that wound their national pride, and seem to menace the future of Franco-American friendship," begins M. G. Hanet-Archambault in the *Mercure de France* of August 1st. "There is no need of taking these things in tragic earnest. It is well to study the situation before one acts." The explanation, and the key to the whole development of our journalism, is summed up in the title: "'Publicity' in America."

The author quotes, repeatedly, published utterances of Capt. Samuel T. Moore, ex-aviator and correspondent of the Associated Press, who illustrates thus the most mercenary phase of this new art: "A publicity house in Chicago has just accepted a contract to raise a hundred million dollars for a European country in distress: their commission will be 40 per cent." The Congressman who loses his reelection, and publishes widely gratis, through the *Congressional Record*, his new law partnership and place of business, is a more harmless and amusing illustration. The elaborate staging in a New York City hotel of the arrival of a party of nine Turks, bent on recapturing the lovely "Maid of Stamboul," all merely an "ad" for the newest movie melodrama, is described with graphic detail.

Quite a similar method was also used for so meritorious a cause as the Red Cross. Here the arrival in "Stamboul" of a live Russian princess, devoted to the discovery and rescue of an American war-hero and prisoner, is such a clever mixture of appealing romance, moderately fresh news, and loud trumpeting of the efficient aid everywhere given her by the U. S. A. Red Cross, that no newspaper can refuse to print it.

And none of these are regular paid advertisements. The aim is always higher, at the "reading notice," the news columns, or even the editorial page.

Everybody is in quest of it: cabinet ministers and administrations, political parties and private citizens, ironmasters and contractors, theaters and hotels, railroads and novelty shops, sportsmen's clubs and religious sects.

A still blither view of ourselves as others see us is afforded in describing how far the up-to-date newspaper has strayed from its original function of gathering news and

commenting editorially upon it. Gradually the effort to render the most direct special service to each reader has developed. Special departments undertake, through the columns of the paper or by private letters, "to give advice on legal questions, hygiene and medicine, to furnish sporting, financial, literary, musical, artistic and even religious, information, to advise as to travelers' tours, agriculture, sewing and a thousand other topics." Nowadays a modern newspaper publishes sermons and prayers, cooking recipes, beautifying devices, jokes and caricatures. One is told what orator or preacher to hear, what play to see, what book to skim through, what securities to buy, what picture to admire, what form of sport to follow, what misery to aid. "The daily paper is the universal adviser."

A Frenchman will probably think his author has caught the familiar Yankee habits of exaggeration and extravagant humor. Even Benjamin Franklin redivivus would be almost startled to see the complete natural developments from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and "Poor Richard's Almanac." With a somewhat uneasy laugh, we shall have to confess that the sketch can be criticized only as incomplete.

It is remarked that of the forty daily papers of Chicago only twelve are in English. The majority are German, Bohemian, Polish, Yiddish, Italian, Hungarian, Slovenian, Slovak, Lithuanian—but not one in French. (The curious fact might be added that there is not a Portuguese publication, daily, weekly, or monthly, discoverable in New York City itself.) "There are in the United States 23,000 newspapers, published weekly or oftener, but only 2,500 are dailies. Before the war, a single issue might reach 100 pages. The average business man devours three or four per day, besides the two or three received at his home."

The whole article is full of homely instruction as to a giant that, "familiar grown," threatens to swallow up the true reading habit, the consultation of accurate books of reference, the storing of the mind with the best thoughts and utterances of wisest men, in short, all leisurely culture, and deliberate thought. Yet there is comfort in the reiterated assurance that it is all an instinctive effort to meet the ever-growing demand for prompt, practical, personal service.

THE RETIRING CHIEF OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

AN article in the *Survey* (New York) for September 1, entitled a "Great Public Servant," pays a remarkable tribute to the administration of Miss Julia Clifford Lathrop as head of the Federal Children's Bureau at Washington. The writer, Mr. William L. Chenery, recalls the fact that during the last year of the Taft Administration, Miss Lathrop went to Washington to assume direction of "what might easily have become an insignificant agency of petty reform." He declares that the office and organization which she now leaves, "measured by far-sighted purpose, instinctive loyalty to democracy, and capacity to achieve, are almost without parallel in Washington."

Of the first, and perhaps the most important work that was undertaken by the Children's Bureau, namely, a study of infant mortality, the *Survey* article says:

When Miss Lathrop directed the bureau's efforts into that field some good citizens imagined that she had abandoned her faith as a social reformer for the subtleties of statistical research. A commonplace official would have tripped into that pit. Not so with the first chief of the Children's Bureau. Her reports were dry only to the dull. Infant mortality was studied with the immaculate passion of pure science. But the inquiries were not arrows loosed at random into the darkness of mortuary facts. On the contrary they were aimed at discovering important human relationships. When completed they made apparent conditions and tendencies of primary importance to the entire nation.

The Children's Bureau sought to ascertain the facts concerning the wastage of infant life. In that pursuit a veritable unknown land was charted. The bureau grappled with poverty and ignorance and social maladjustment. The conclusions reported were appalling, but they were curative. Miss Lathrop discovered that the babies of the very poor perish with amazing rapidity. Her investigators returned with the information that one child out of every four born to families where the father's earnings were \$10 or less a week died within twelve months. But families



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MISS JULIA C. LATHROP
(First Chief of the Children's Bureau)

whose income approached in the pre-war days \$100 a month lost only one in twelve. Community after community revealed similar conditions. In time a social principle as absolute as mathematical logic began to emerge.

Miss Lathrop told the American people that the lives of tens of thousands of children were being sacrificed to poverty. The full import of that truth has not yet sunk into the minds and the hearts of the millions of men and women in whose judgment lies

the destiny of this republic. But the message came back once and again. Calmly, dispassionately, with the detachment of the scientist the word was uttered. The findings did not stop there. The death of children was studied in connection with other social and economic facts. Congestion, housing, sanitation, the employment of mothers before and after their babies are born were studied in their relationship to this cardinal fact of infant mortality.

Under Miss Lathrop's direction the campaigns conducted by the Bureau to enable women better to care for their children have been wonderfully successful. At one time it was reported that 8,000,000 American women were working with the Bureau, weighing and measuring babies. The Bureau may, in fact, be fairly described as an educational institution. It has done much to make knowledge available to the people and to induce the people to act in accordance with that knowledge.

Besides this work in the educational field, the Children's Bureau was given responsibility for the enforcement of the first Federal Child Labor Law. Miss Grace Abbott, who now succeeds Miss Lathrop, was placed in charge of the operation of the law.

Miss Abbott had already won distinction as an authority on immigration and as a practical reformer in that field. Under her lieutenantancy the Children's Bureau gave an admirable example of intelligence and vigorous law enforcement. The bitterness of the feeling of many Southern textile mill operators against the women who were the agents of the nation in the protection of young people against premature labor is one measure of the thoroughness of the service rendered.



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MISS GRACE ABBOTT
(Successor to Miss Lathrop
as head of the Bureau)

THE SOUTH CHINA GOVERNMENT

CHINA has been invited to participate in the international conference which President Harding called to meet at Washington on November 11; for the scope of that conference will include Far Eastern readjustments. One unlooked-for result of China's new prominence is a realization by the rest of the world that the Peking government is not in entire control of affairs at home. There is a government of South China, with a President and a parliament at Canton, which not only dominates several southern provinces, but claims—absurdly, as yet—to be the real government of all China.

Some idea of the present strength of this Canton government, and its justification for existence, is given in a frankly sympathetic article by Philip Haddon printed in the *Weekly Review of the Far East*, an American publication in Shanghai. It should be remembered that the Republic of China is only ten years old, and that the old monarchical despotism was overthrown chiefly by the southern and Yangste provinces. But Mr. Haddon asserts that:

Actually China has only been masquerading under the name of a republic. Her real form of government has been an oligarchy. The real rulers of China have been a set of military officials. Each warlord had his own personal army and thereby controlled absolutely all the affairs in his province, administering his own idea of justice, imposing and collecting new taxes, "squeezing" the people, and imposing the death penalty at will. Combinations of these military governors or warlords become so powerful that they openly defied Peking and made a mockery of it.

Is it a wonder, then, he asks, that a section of the country should endeavor to throw off the yoke of despotism and set up a new government founded on justice and in conformity with the country's constitution? In 1917 a number of the most progressive and far-seeing Chinese gathered at Canton and set up a new government. A majority of the members of the old Peking parliament, which had been illegally prorogued, resumed sittings at Canton.

But things began to go wrong. Militarists proved to be as bad in the South as in the North, and they seized control. Public property was sold, taxes were collected in advance, and

dishonest officials became millionaires. The chief offenders were from Kwangsi province. In October, a year ago, a new military uprising overthrew the grafters, and true constitutionalist leaders were invited to return. On May 5 Dr. Sun Yat-sen was inaugurated President by the southern parliament. Ten years earlier he had been chosen President, after the first revolution, but he then withdrew in favor of Yuan Shih-kai and in the interest of harmony.

The Canton government, according to Mr. Haddon, does not aim to break away from the northern provinces, and form an independent republic. It believes in a united China, free from government by militarism and lawlessness; and it believes that sooner or later the northern government will collapse through its own corruption. Meanwhile, Mr. Haddon declares the South is now being governed by the most advanced Chinese, a considerable number of whom are returned students or business men, who have seen the benefits of honest modern democratic government abroad.

Politically the southern government controls the following provinces: Kwangtung, Yunnan, Kweichow, and part of Shensi.



WHERE THE CANTON GOVERNMENT IS IN CONTROL

(Besides the provinces of Kwangtung, Yunnan, and Kweichow—which are shaded on the above map—the Government of South China claims part of Shensi. The provinces of Hunan and Szechwan have declared themselves neutral.)

Hunan and Szechwan have declared themselves to be neutral. Its chief opponents, as listed by Mr. Haddon, are: Kwangsi province, the Peking government, and the British officials at Hongkong. The most pressing problem confronting the Canton government—aside from an impending invasion by Kwangsi militarists—is that of finance.

The achievements of this government of South China are summarized as follows: Gambling prohibited and actually stopped; local self-government established in Canton

and extended throughout Kwangtung; two or three times as much money spent for education as formerly; boy-scout and good-roads movements encouraged; troops now subject to civil government; medical practice regulated, and sanitary measures initiated.

Mr. Haddon declares that all the south-erners desire from outsiders is sympathy and moral support. If by evil chance they fail in their fight, the movement of democracy in China will be set back for several generations.

FAMINE IN RUSSIA—BY A RUSSIAN

ALTHOUGH famine and pestilence are not unusual in Russia, where they appear periodically, the present far exceed the limits of past catastrophes, says Mr. E. Lazareff, writing in the *Volia Rossii* (Prague). He goes on:

The present famine in Russia . . . has no precedents in the history of the human race. In the ancient and middle ages there were pestilence, famine, inundations, and earthquakes, but all those calamities had a local character: the world itself was then "small" and the causes of the calamities were either in unconquerable elemental forces, or in the universal ignorance, the absence of ways of communication and other links between nations—in the lack of culture and civilization.

But now the situation of starving Russia is different. The famine occurs in a country which occupies one-seventh of the globe's surface, with a population of one hundred and fifty million; in agricultural Russia, which even in the days of the Czar was known as the granary of Europe; in a country which possesses unlimited natural resources, without which the development and growth of culture and civilization of the other nations is impossible. The famine occurs in the first quarter of the twentieth century, when scientific and technical progress has made man a semi-god, in the age of railroads and aeroplanes, submarines and wireless telegraphy. The famine occurs, not in the land of the Pharaohs or their contemporaries, not in the land of the Zulus or Hottentots, but in the very communistic state with the Soviet government at its head, which, in its realization of a paradise on earth, has gone far beyond the most unbridled fancies of utopians of all times, all countries and all nations.

A serious famine broke out in Russia about fifty years ago, "in those remote but more bourgeois times":

I remember the terrible "Samara famine" of 1873, which hit my native Samara province. I personally witnessed the sufferings of the hungry population. Those sufferings were not caused by lack of grain in other provinces of Russia, but by the unwillingness on the part of the Czar's government to admit the existence of famine at

once and permit the organization of public relief. The governor and the local authorities denied the existence of famine, explaining the great mortality among the population by "bad crops." But when, under pressure of public opinion, they began to establish public kitchens in the starving villages and towns, the police barred from participation in the relief work the entire *intelligentsia* and university students, fearing their political unreliability and propaganda of their ideas among the peasantry. The relief funds and contributions were placed at the disposal of "reliable" thieves and embezzlers.

A still worse famine occurred about twenty years later. The writer continues:

I remember the more terrible famine of 1891, which embraced much larger sections of Russia, and when, as now, whole villages left their homes and walked or rode to the more fortunate provinces. They died by the thousands from hunger and various diseases. Typhus, cholera, even plague, all are familiar guests in Russia.

The United States helped the starving Russians at that time:

That movement in the United States for the relief of the famine sufferers, as is known, led to the sending of three steamers laden with grain, which was safely and quickly transported and placed at the disposal of the Russian authorities. I was convinced at that time that the relief from America would have been many times greater if the contributors had been allowed to control the distribution of the grain. But all efforts in that direction were in vain. The policy of every despotism has its iron logic—to be guided first of all by the instinct of self-preservation.

Touching upon the present famine, Mr. Lazareff writes:

Various Soviet authorities place the number of famine sufferers at from twenty to thirty million. But it must be taken into consideration that, according to the last official census, the population of Soviet Russia now reaches almost one hundred and forty million people. If we are to exclude from this number 600,000 members of the Communist party and even about a million of soldiers



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A FARM VILLAGE IN THE RUSSIAN CAUCASUS, WHERE SUFFERING FROM THE FAMINE IS ACUTE

(These villages are threatened by epidemic disease, which so often follows hunger)

of the Red army, who are getting rations sufficient for their need, the remainder of the population during the last few years has been starving, unclothed, and unshod. They have to be not only fed; they must be clothed and shod.

But to feed and clothe the population of Russia is not enough. Feeding does not solve the problem. It is necessary to feed and clothe productively—that is, in such a manner that it should result in the regeneration of local production and self-sustenance. It is necessary to raise the productive forces of the country. It is necessary to enable them to cultivate their fields and supply them with seed, to furnish to the peasants agricultural implements, to repair the railroads, to bring locomotives, and at least freight cars. For without all that there will be in 1922 a still greater catastrophe than this year.

That is how the problem is regarded by America, in the person of its experienced organizer, Herbert Hoover, and by the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Russian famine is an international calamity. Not only the Russian emigrants and half-hungry refugees cannot cope with it, but even the richest and most powerful country in the world cannot deal effectively with it alone.

The Russian famine is an international problem. This must be the starting point for the domestic and foreign policy of all countries. It is not simply a problem of famine, but of the restoration and the organization of the international economy. The question is, How much more time and new suffering will be required in order to convince unhappy humanity: the governments, the bourgeoisie and the working people?

The Russian people are helpless now and cannot save themselves without international help; they have ceased being a great organized nation.

They are crushed, scattered; they have lost themselves. Many politicians think that the impotence of the Russian people will strengthen other nations. That is the root of the error. A great federated democratic Russia is necessary to all nations. For only democratically organized Russia can create a healthy national economy—the production and exchange with other nations. Only through the restoration of democratic Russia and her economy will the international economy be restored: the ruinous unemployment and the terrible economic crisis consequent therefrom will then disappear. Therefore, international measures against famine in Russia and the restoration of her productive forces are dictated by the economic interests of all industrial countries of Europe and America.

The famine in Russia must be overcome as soon as possible; the fields in Russia must be cultivated and corn planted this year. People and cattle are dying by the thousands there. Epidemic diseases are spreading. Cholera, typhus, plague, and other deadly diseases are making their way to Western Europe across all barriers: neither police nor military cordons will stop them.

Mr. Lazareff urges all countries to join in Russian relief:

It is true that all countries are sufficiently exhausted by the world war. But in the first place, the struggle against the Russian famine, in comparison with the world war, is an insignificant enterprise. Secondly, in this struggle against famine all the nations of the whole world can and must join and unite. Here there cannot be and there must not be *neutral* nations.

THE ITALIAN FASCISTI, POLITICAL CRUSADERS

WITHIN recent months the cable dispatches from Italy have referred often to the Fascisti, in political comment; but if one has failed to form an intelligent conception of who they are and what their aim is he need not be ashamed of his ignorance.

An Italian journalist, Giuseppe Prezzolini, endeavors in the *September Century* to tell American readers something about this new political movement. He reminds us first that in the American sense political parties do not exist in Italy. Only two groups, the Socialist and the Clerical, have anything approaching the organization of the American political party.

Fascismo, this Italian writer declares, is a vague, a formless movement; it is a state of mind, a spontaneous understanding, rather, of certain elements in the Italian population. It is almost a matter of temperament. We look in vain for a coherent body of political opinion among the Fascisti. Some are republicans, but others profess devotion to the monarchy. Some are socialists, anarchists, while others are extreme conservatives.

The Fiume episode was the great expression of the Fascisti spirit in the first phase of the movement. Here the paramount issue was the country's foreign policy, and the Fascisti organizations which originated then were composed principally of ardent patriots with imperial ambitions, and demobilized officers and soldiers who had not hastened to return to the humdrum affairs of peace.

The emblem adopted was the *Fasces*—an axe surrounded by a bundle of rods—used as a sign of office in ancient Rome and symbolizing force and strength. That emblem gave the name to the movement.

In the second phase of *Fascismo*, the point in question was domestic policy—Socialism. The provinces of Emilia and Romagna were suffering from a "dictatorship of the proletariat," which had existed for two years after the armistice. Labor in Italy, it will be remembered, was in an ugly frame of mind. On any or no pretext strikes were called with or without notice. In Emilia and Romagna, provinces which are solidly Socialistic, the practice of boycott against landowners and their agents had become intolerable. First a punitive system of terror, it grew into a system of communistic government by blackmail. The failure of the authorities at Rome to heed criticisms and protests explains the origin and spread of the Fascista movement in these northern provinces, where it represents the uprising of a tormented public against the abuses of violent radicalism. Bands of young men, from fifty to two hundred in number, would descend upon the Socialist stronghold in resurrected army camions, carrying rifles and machine guns. The headquarters was usually burned, and the Socialist deputies or leaders were sometimes hazed, beaten, or even killed.

With the general elections of last May



A GROUP OF FASCISTI, WITH A GIRL MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION—A FASCISTA—IN THE FOREGROUND

the Fascista movement entered on a third political phase. Every town in northern and central Italy had its Fascista organization, and the middle classes generally seemed to have intrusted leadership to its young patriots. This native journalist asserts, however, that there was no unity of principle and he cites a ludicrous instance of rallying to the Fascista banner by those whose abuses had been among the justifications for the

movement itself. Fifteen Deputies were elected as Fascisti.

Signor Prezzolini asserts that the only principle of unity existing among the Fascisti is anti-Socialism; that the movement is in notable part an agitation of ex-soldiers, many of whom are peasants; that its immediate goal has not been achieved, and that its end as a spectacular phenomenon is already in sight.

A WOMAN IN PARLIAMENT

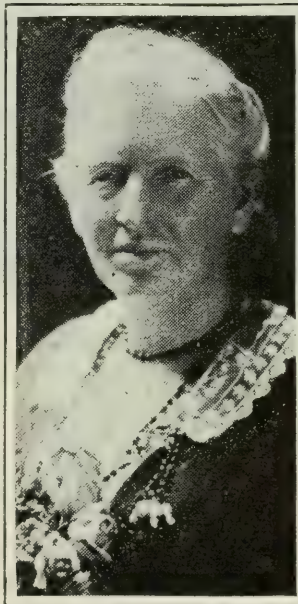
IN the British House of Commons Lady Astor has now served for more than a year and a half as the only woman member. An interview in *Pearson's Magazine* (London) tells of her work and experiences amid the novel surroundings.

Lady Astor was asked whether she found anything about the House of Commons amusing:

"There is one thing," she said, "that does strike me as funny. One reads the election addresses of candidates for Parliament, and one looks at the speeches in the newspapers. Mr. So-and-So tells the electors what he will do when he gets into the House, how he will make things hum. He will demand this, he will protest against that, and the electors feel that at last they have got a 'strong' if not a 'silent' man. He is elected, and he makes his debut in the Mother of Parliaments. From my seat I watch the conquering hero come. But when he appears, so often his bravery is vanished, his demands forgotten. Timidly he steps upon the floor of the House, and after his introduction he creeps to his seat as meekly as any of the rest of us. It is a tremendous lesson in not taking oneself too seriously, and I always feel thankful that I didn't boast of what I would do when I got into Parliament."

Lady Astor has six children, and so the interviewer asked whether a woman's duty to her family could be combined with the duties of an M.P. Her answer may amuse our women readers:

"I think it depends on circumstances," she replied. "Naturally a woman must see that her children don't suffer in any way. But with a little management I don't think it need be a barrier in many cases. That reminds me of a rather nice story. Soon after I took my seat, I went to speak in three provincial towns about temperance. After my first meeting, an afternoon one, my husband rang me up from home to know how I had got on. I told him about the speech and the audience, and then I asked him how he was getting along. 'Oh,' he said, 'I am just going to put the children to bed!'"



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TWO WOMEN LEGISLATORS

(At the left, Miss Alice Robertson, member of the U. S. House of Representatives from Oklahoma; at the right, Lady Astor, member of the British Parliament)

To be an M.P., a conscientious M.P., is, Lady Astor has found, hard work, as she is free to admit:

"I work about fourteen hours a day most of the time. You see so many pictures of comfortable old gentlemen dozing on the back benches that you don't realize what it means to be the only woman there. The actual debating is only a part of the work, though that is a case for pretty good concentration when you've got a speech to make in the discussion yourself. But there is also the lobbying—explaining to other Members about bills you are interested in, and trying to stir up enough interest in them to make them come and vote. Then there is the committee work, after bills have passed their second reading, when their opponents will do what they can to kill or cripple them. Then there are departmental committees, like the Home Office Committee on Women Police, and the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which met for months several times a week to hear evidence, of both of which I was a member."



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THE WORLD'S MOST CONGESTED AUTOMOBILE THOROUGHFARE—FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

THE FUTURE OF THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

HAS the limit been reached in the number of automobiles which the American people can use, or is such an event likely in the near future? This question has found a place in the minds of many people as they note the tremendous increase in the automobile industry during the last few years. So stupendous has been the output of machines that it evidently cannot continue at this rate for many years longer, for a limit will have been reached.

Some valuable conclusions relating to this topic have been drawn by Leonard P. Ayres, vice-president of the Cleveland Trust Company, and a recognized statistical expert, in a pamphlet which has recently been circulated. The subject has been gone into in detail and the results tabulated.

Mr. Ayres says that although the total population of the country is 105,000,000, the number of possible car-buyers is less than 20,000,000. This is the approximate number of white American families, but not every one who could afford a car will buy one, as many potential car-owners are engaged in pursuits which render driving a motor car impossible. At the end of 1920 there were forty-two cars in use for every

100 white men of voting age. In several States, notably Iowa and California, the entire population might be crowded into the automobiles registered there.

The writer finds it doubtful if there will ever be a larger sale of high-priced cars than at the present day. Cheap cars have swelled the ranks of motordom in the last few years, and it is to the cheap cars that the phenomenal increase in numbers is due. He also claims that the cheap car is the machine of the future, as the wealthy have purchased high-priced cars almost to the limit. The markets of the future lie with the poor, and this will make for a reduction of car prices.

Relating to this, it has recently been announced that the prices of all models of the Ford car have been materially reduced again. The production of these cars during the month of August broke all previous records, reaching a total of 117,696 machines of all types. This is an indication of the tendency in prices, and it also shows the demand for small cars, as pointed out by Mr. Ayres in his investigations.

To estimate the possible purchasers of cars, 44 out of each 100 persons are under twenty-one years of age, and four in each

100 are over sixty-five years old. This leaves 52 per cent. of the people from whom the buyers must come. Seventeen per cent. of the 52 per cent. are either foreigners or colored people, and these classes are very seldom purchasers. This leaves 35 per cent., native-born white men and women of from twenty-one to sixty-five years of age. But the women are, in the main, the wives of the men. Out of a total population of 105,000,000 this leaves about 19,000,000 persons to whom cars may be sold, and possibly half of these are already owners. Statistics thus show that the number of potential owners in this country is much smaller than has been supposed. For although every family would like to own a car, more than half the income-receivers get less than \$1000 a year.

Only a prolonged period of business depression can force owners to give up their cars, and Mr. Ayres does not believe that there is any chance of a decrease in the number of cars in use. On the other hand, he finds it most unlikely that the number of cars in use at present will be doubled. If this should happen he says that some motive power other than gasoline would have to be developed. Although the number of cars will increase, it will be at a much slower rate than heretofore. Registration figures show that in 1914 there were less than 2,000,000 cars in the United States, while in 1920 there were in excess of 9,000,000, an almost unbelievable growth in so short a time. Obviously this phenomenal increase cannot continue indefinitely.

FREIGHT CONGESTION ON AMERICAN RAILWAYS

AN article by Mr. John Lathrop in the *Scientific American* (New York) is headed "Twenty Miles a Day." The reader who does not possess an intimate knowledge of railways learns with amazement that this heading has reference to the average movement of freight cars over American roads *where conditions are particularly favorable*. On other roads freight moves even less expeditiously, in some cases not averaging much more than half a mile an hour!

Delays in the receipt of goods shipped by freight are commonly attributed to "car shortage." Mr. Lathrop plausibly maintains the paradoxical thesis that to increase the rolling stock of the railways would merely add to these delays. He says:

Every engineer—every scientist, indeed—knows the "neck of the bottle" principle as applied to the flow of railway traffic; that the loaded cars of a railway system may not pass along the lines any faster than the terminals will permit; and that the movement of freight in normal years has for long been slow enough to give haulage by water through the Canal from New York to San Francisco in less time than that required for shipment, transcontinent, by land.

Probably not everyone who has speculated on these matters has stopped to think that, in the very nature of the case, congestion could not be caused by car shortage—a proposition at once unscientific and absurd. Slow movement of freight and congestion are resultants from inadequate terminal facilities; from failure properly to engineer the lines.

Fifteen years ago, says Mr. Lathrop, the late James J. Hill declared that a billion dollars a year ought to be spent for ten years on railroad terminals in order to provide reasonable facilities for the movement of freight.

Instead of giving heed to what Mr. Hill said with a world listening, and to what the engineers were saying each to his own superiors, conventions adopted resolutions denouncing "car shortage," and demanding that more cars be bought and more locomotives placed in commission. Even the Interstate Commerce Commission named a sub-commission to hold hearings at stated traffic center points, on "car shortage."

But these hearings developed that, not more cars, but better terminals, were the conditions precedent to solving freight congestion, together with some reforms in loading and unloading practices. It came out at last that, were more cars bought, congestion would be worse. That that which was needed was to increase the miles per car per day movement. For, the true test of economical haulage is the number of miles per day we move our freight—and not the number of cars in existence which are loaded or ready to be loaded.

The best record of an American railway up to 1915 had been made by the Pennsylvania system—25.6 miles per car per day, a trifle more than one mile an hour. About that time Mr. Underwood, of the Erie, put into operation that road's improved terminals, and soon achieved a per car per day movement of 31 miles.

However, the aggregate of American railways never attained an average of more than 16 to 17 miles per car per day; and in many years the average fell so low as 13 to 14. These freight cars, on a countrywide average of a little more than one-half mile an hour, were so slow-moving

because (a) there was some delay in loading by consignors; (b) some delay in unloading by consignees; but (c) mainly, because loaded cars ready for haulage and empties ready for loading were detained in terminals where the glut was so great that the railway operating department could not move them out.

This is the clearer when one considers that American freight trains move up to 24 miles an hour, or at the rate of 576 miles per 24-hour day, while they are en route between stations.

A fundamental defect of the present transportation systems is the lack of facilities for routing through freight around rather than through congested terminals. On this subject the writer says:

Consider Chicago—greatest rail terminal in the world—with millions of through tonnage dumped

into a stagnant pool where congestion foredooms it to remain, sometimes for months, until some leak may be infracted into the dam that it may flow onward to perform its seriously delayed economic function for the Nation. Why should freight Duluth to Cleveland, for instance, pass through Evanston and Chicago? And so on *ad infinitum*. Chicago itself would be signally benefited were all through freight routed so as never to enter that city. And so would any other city the terminals of which are glutted with through cars destined to pass onward, the seats unbroken, to points beyond.

It is true that a beginning has been made—classification yards such as those near to Syracuse, and some routing so as to avoid congested terminals. But it is the judgment of railway engineers that the vitality of the issue is not appreciated to one-tenth of its importance by the general mass of railway financiers, operators, legislators, and shippers.

THE ILLS OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

THE present situation of the coal industry is one of the gravest economic problems confronting the people of this country. Unwise methods of production, distribution, and utilization of coal have imposed a staggering burden of unnecessary expense upon the nation. That in certain quarters active measures have been inaugurated to alleviate these evils was recorded in the article, "Distributing Power from a Coal Mine," published in this department last month. The mouth-of-mine power plants near Pittsburgh and the more ambitious project of distributing both electricity and gas from a coal mine, launched by Allied Power Industries in Ohio, are hopeful steps in the right direction; but the coal problem is a many-sided one, and the first thing to be done toward solving it is to make the public realize the nature and the magnitude of the ills that require correction. This task is assumed in current numbers of the *World's Work* by Mr. Floyd W. Parsons, who, besides being a well-known publicist, is a veteran coal expert and was long editor of the *Coal Age*. He writes:

It is impossible to discuss coal-mining prices and problems without first pointing out the two besetting sins of the industry. The first, if not the most important, is the seasonal operation of the mines. The seasonal nature of coal-mining is more responsible for the industry's labor troubles and for the dissatisfaction on the part of the miners than any other one thing. No class of workmen ever has been satisfied with seasonal employment. Not long ago American miners demanded a six-hour day; not because they were dissatisfied with the number of hours they had to work, but for the reason that they

were determined to bring about an equalization of the work.

After pointing out the limited possibilities of storing coal and thereby enabling the mines to continue their work without regard to temporary fluctuations of the market, Mr. Parsons says:

Since 1890 the bituminous coal-mines in the United States have worked only 83 per cent. of a normal 300 days each year. In 1914 the mines worked only 195 days. In 1919 the average days worked were about the same as in 1914. A careful investigation has shown that the cost of mining coal at one colliery will vary as much as 60 cents a ton from one month to another, depending on the number of hours the mine is idle. A manufacturing plant may be closed and only a watchman left to guard it, but in coal-mines the forces of nature work unceasingly, and as a result the cost of upkeep continues at a high rate, even if coal is not produced. During the summer months the production of bituminous coal in the United States often falls as low as 23,000,000 tons per month, while in the winter season the production of soft coal will average upward of 50,000,000 tons per month. It should be plain, therefore, that any industry having more than 100 idle days each year, and a seasonal variation of 100 per cent. in output, cannot be operated on an economical basis.

The failure to equalize the load in coal-mining has still other effects that are far-reaching. The railroads of the country own approximately 1,000,000 coal-carrying cars. Coal furnishes about 34 per cent. of the nation's total railroad tonnage. On certain roads the transportation of fuel amounts to 60 per cent. of the total freight moved. As the business is now conducted, the so-called coal-carrying lines must store thousands of their coal cars during the summer months. This practice increases railroad expenses, for cars in storage not only afford no revenue but they deteriorate rapidly during the

period of disuse. In the fall months, when the rush commences, the railroads must gather together a small army of workmen, which force is subjected to expensive training in order to fit it properly to repair and handle coal cars.

The second great sin of the coal-producers and the coal-users, says the writer, is waste. Under this head he declares that 195,000,000 tons of bituminous coal is now burned raw, annually, that should be coked, and that if but two-thirds of this tonnage could be subjected successfully to treatment for the recovery of by-products, the saving would amount to something like \$200,000,000 a year.

The urgent need of minimizing the present excessive transportation of coal, which furnishes the chief *raison d'être* of such undertakings as mouth-of-mine central power plants, is shown by the following statements:

On a long haul, approximately one-half of the price paid for coal goes to cover freight charges. A few years ago coal could be shipped from the mines in southern West Virginia to Hampton Roads for \$1.40 a ton. At the present time this haulage cost is about \$2.38. Five years ago coal could be shipped by water to New England for 50 cents a ton; to-day the charge is from \$2.50 up, an increase of 500 per cent. At the commencement of the war, coal could be shipped from the Georgia Creek field in Maryland to a nearby Eastern city for \$1.18; the present charge is \$2.53. The cost of bringing coal from this

same field in Maryland to a float on the Hudson River at New York is \$3.36. In other words, it costs more to bring a ton of bituminous coal from the mines to a big Eastern city than it does to mine the coal and put it on the railroad cars.

Wages, like freight rates, are higher than ever before; and both have been fixed by commissions created by the Government. On the subject of Government interference, Mr. Parsons says:

Notwithstanding our recent experience in substituting official incompetence for the efficiency of private management, there is a widespread belief that the Government is infallible. Federal employees receiving \$3000 or \$4000 a year are permitted to render decisions of the greatest importance with regard to the regulation of industries, the practical problems and principles of which are entirely foreign to their experience and training. There is great danger in encouraging the idea, now being advanced in Great Britain, that it is proper to tax the public to pay high wages to workmen in basic industries.

In his second article (September) Mr. Parsons makes practical suggestions which may enable the householder in the management of his fuel supply to save money and help national prosperity at the same time. He also goes into the question of natural gas. Comparing the British coal trade with the American, Mr. Parsons shows how our coal supply can give us a leading place in world trade.

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL

THAT within a few years alcohol, or fuels with an alcohol base, will largely or entirely replace gasoline as a fuel for motor cars is the prediction of Mr. Harry A. Mount, who tells in the *Scientific American* of the very rapidly increasing importance of alcohol in its various industrial applications.

To the average man "alcohol" means primarily the characteristic and essential ingredient of certain beverages. Everybody knows, of course, that this substance, or rather group of substances (since there are several kinds of alcohol), serves a number of uses in the arts and industries, but few people realize either the extent or the diversity of these uses. The manufacture of industrial alcohol is a comparatively new industry in this country. In 1907 our total production was not much over 3,000,000 gallons. An immense increase was brought about by the world war, when alcohol

was used on a large scale in the manufacture of munitions, and in the year 1918 more than 90,000,000 gallons was produced. That the maintenance of large-scale production is by no means dependent upon the demands of warfare will be evident from the following partial enumeration of the uses to which alcohol is applied:

The most important use for industrial alcohol is that of a solvent. Indeed, chemists say that the only solvent of equal importance is water. Alcohol as a solvent for dyes and confectioners' colors is of great importance. In the development of gelatine food products considerable alcohol has been used as a solvent for the coloring matter. If it were not for the solvent properties of alcohol we would not have such commodities as perfumes, liquid soaps, toilet waters, liniments, flavoring extracts, etc. Large quantities are used in this country in the making of "solidified alcohol" as a fuel under chafing dishes and small portable stoves.

Alcohol is used as a raw material in the making of ether, mercury fulminate, chloroform, cer-

tain toxic gases such as mustard gas, and in many other drugs and chemicals. Alcohol lightens the housewife's burden in many well-known ways. Its medicinal value is also well known and large quantities are used in hospitals.

Alcohol is also used in quantities as a dehydrating agent in the manufacture of photographic films and in the preparation of photographic prints. It is used as a precipitating agent in a number of chemical processes. It enters into the manufacture of inks, celluloid, shellacs, disinfectants, etching solutions, soldering fluxes, etc.

After exhaustive tests of various anti-freeze mixtures for auto radiators, the Bureau of Standards has recommended alcohol as least harmful.

A British Government report reveals the use of alcohol in important quantities in the making of many other articles, as electric lamp filaments, linoleum, felt, fireworks, matches, steel pens, artificial silk, rubber, printing, dyeing and cleaning operations in laundries, etc.

One of the newest, for instance, is its utilization in the purification and separation of gum turpentine. Only a small percentage of the resin produced now is marketable, because of bad color. It has been found that gum turpentine is soluble in alcohol and foreign matter, such as twigs and insects, can then be easily removed. Distillation separates the alcohol, which can be used again, from the turpentine and resin, which are clear and of the highest grade.

To this list should be added the potential use of alcohol, already mentioned, to replace gasoline as a fuel for internal-combustion engines. The growing importance of alcohol brings to the front the problem of its cheap production. The raw materials from which it can be obtained are almost unlimited in variety and quantity, but this does not mean that it can be made cheaply. The writer says:

Large quantities of industrial alcohol were made in Germany before the war from a potato grown especially for the purpose. In this country much of the alcohol is manufactured from "black strap" molasses, which until a few years ago was a waste product of the Cuban cane sugar industry. The chief difficulty is that all of these products, which are available in sufficient quantity, are also useful as food and their price does not depend on the alcohol they will produce, but on their value as foods.

There are, however, many materials from which it is theoretically possible to obtain alcohol, which are about us in inexhaustible quantities and which are not used for food. Alcohol may be had from any material containing cellulose, such as wood, grasses and vegetation of all kinds. It is perfectly possible to make alcohol from hay or straw, but the difficulty is with the process. It is first necessary to break down the cellulose so that sugar is obtained and this is fermented in the usual way. It requires, however, a complicated process and a large amount of power to first obtain the sugar. The process has proved so expensive that the alcohol from this source cannot compete in price with that made from food products. There is, of course,

the chance that someone will find a way to do this cheaply, but the odds are against any such discovery because some expense will always be necessary before the starting point of the fermentation process is reached.

The chemists are not discouraged, however, and already some very promising possibilities are opening up, though they have not yet arrived at the commercial stage.

In one of these the bacteriologist has come to the rescue with the promise that he will soon discover a bacterium which will have the power to convert cellulose materials directly into alcohol. The promise is a plausible one for the reason that this very thing has been done on an almost infinitesimally small scale. It is admitted that a new bacterium must be found to accomplish the result on a commercial scale. An intensive search for this is being made by competent scientists, and there is very good reason to hope for success. If this search ends favorably the effect will be revolutionary.

The second basis for the hope that cheap alcohol is not far off is in experiments, being conducted largely in Europe, to extract alcohol from mineral sources. A chemical engineer who has just returned from an investigation of activities reports that very great progress is being made and that literally hundreds of experiments of a more or less extensive nature are going on. Europe has always led America in the manufacture of industrial alcohol, chiefly because we have so far been blessed with a plentiful supply of petroleum, which had only to be taken from the ground.

In Switzerland, where cheap water power is available, it is said that successful plants have been erected for making alcohol from calcium carbide. The carbide is first made in the regular way in the electric furnace and is then converted into acetylene by means of the action of water. Alcohol may be produced from the acetylene in two or three ways by catalytic action.

In England alcohol has been successfully produced from ethylene obtained from coal and coke oven gases.

There is one other possibility for cheap alcohol which deserves more than passing attention at this time. This is the chance that we will find in the tropics some plant or plants rich in starch or sugars, which could be used for making alcohol, but which is not used as a food.

The nipa palm, for instance, may serve as a source for industrial alcohol. It is said there are over 100,000 acres of nipa swamp in the Philippines, of which about 90 per cent. has never been touched, and it is estimated that this untouched swamp area could be made to yield 50,000,000 gallons of alcohol every season. Various specimens of the agave and cactus are used in Mexico and the southwestern part of the United States in making alcoholic drinks and it is considered possible that some day these plants may be an important source of industrial alcohol. There are many other tropical plants which may be used, but the expense of transporting them to existing alcohol plants, the difficulties of establishing new plants in the tropics and the great distance from the markets all argue against any revolutionary development in this direction.

HELPING THE FARMER'S BUSINESS

AGRICULTURE is a business as well as an art. This fact is fully recognized by the United States Department of Agriculture, which has always devoted a certain share of its attention to the economic side of farming. Just now there appears to be urgent need of enlarging the activities of the Department in this direction on account of the serious agricultural depression from which the country is suffering, and accordingly the Secretary of Agriculture has taken steps to merge into one effective unit the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Crop Estimates and the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics. The first two of these bureaus were actually united on July 1, by authority of Congress, while the third is working in close coördination with the others, pending Congressional action to merge it with them. These noteworthy reforms are described and explained in the *Weekly News Letter* of the Agricultural Department (Washington, D. C.) in the following terms:

Soon after taking office, Secretary Wallace appointed an economic council made up of the chiefs of several bureaus in the department. The members of this council are Dr. E. D. Ball, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, chairman; Dr. H. C. Taylor; Dr. W. A. Taylor, Chief, Bureau of Plant Industry; Dr. J. R. Mohler, Chief, Bureau of Animal Industry; and L. M. Estabrook, Associated Chief of the Bureau of Markets and Crop Estimates. Secretary Wallace asked this council to make a careful study of the economic work of the department with the purpose of co-ordinating and strengthening it. The council in turn consulted with a number of experts from different parts of the country and the reorganization plan was finally drawn and approved.

The reorganization is the result of Secretary Wallace's determination to marshal all the forces of the Department of Agriculture engaged in economic work into one fighting unit to attack the economic evils that have brought about the present serious situation in American agriculture. Mr. Wallace, in his first official statement as Secretary of Agriculture, declared that the agricultural depression was "the inevitable result of economic conditions." Proceeding from this diagnosis, he prescribed for the disease in the same statement as follows: "We must study everything which influences both production and price. We must look into the matter of competition from farmers of foreign lands where the agriculture is still being exploited and where wages and the standards of living are very much below the standards which we demand for our people. We must look into world conditions both of supply and of demand, and produce more intelligently and adjust our various crops to the probable needs. We must look into the administration of our credit machinery." That may be taken as the program of the new unit in the department.

Various regulatory activities of old bureaus above mentioned—i. e., the administration of laws pertaining to marketing, such as the Grain Standards Act, the Cotton Futures Act, the Standard Container Act, and the Warehouse Act—will be placed under a quasi-independent branch of the Department, which will probably be called the Federal Agricultural Marketing Board. The research and service work relating to agricultural economics will then be grouped in ten divisions, described as follows: (1) Farm management, or the organization of production. (2) Cost of production and distribution. (3) Land economics. (4) Marketing of farm products, or the organization of distribution. (5) Agricultural prices and statistics. (6) Agricultural readjustment, or agricultural history and geography. (7) Agricultural finance. (8) Agricultural competition and demand in foreign countries. (9) Country life and rural organization. (10) Extension service; through which the Bureau "will carry the results of its studies and investigations to the people." This is admittedly a "large order."

It is relevant to the program above outlined to quote the following statements from a bulletin just issued by the newly constituted Bureau, on "Prices of Farm Products in the United States":

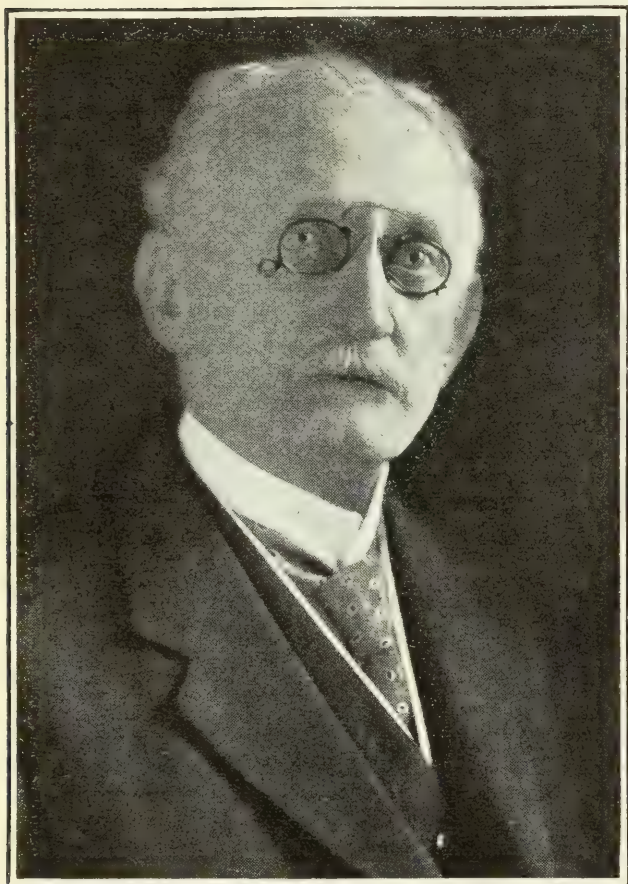
The nation is not only confronted with the most violent drop in prices that it has ever experienced, but agricultural prices have dropped so much more than other prices that we have a severe agricultural panic on top of a severe general depression.

At first thought the city consumer of farm things is likely to delight in low prices of farm products and high prices for city products. The farm consumer of city things is equally likely to delight in low prices of city goods and high prices of farm products. But neither can long prosper at the expense of the other.

Even allowing for the drop in wholesale prices, farmers can now (1921) buy only about two-thirds their usual amount. In very large areas at centers of production their buying power is not half of the normal. If farmers cannot buy, cities cannot sell, and unemployment results. Neither industry nor agriculture can progress in a normal way until the relative prices become adjusted at some comparatively stable price level. This would occur if all prices and wages went to pre-war levels, which farm products have nearly reached. The adjustment which seems more likely to occur and the one that would appear to cause the least injustice is to have the very low prices rise and some of the very high prices drop so that adjustment is made at a price level considerably above the pre-war price.

THE NEW BOOKS

MODERN WORLD POLITICS



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HON. DAVID R. FRANCIS

Russia from the American Embassy: April, 1916–November, 1918. By David R. Francis. Charles Scribner's Sons. 361 pp. Ill.

Mr. Francis was American Ambassador to Russia during the last thirteen months of the Czar's government. He continued to represent the United States under the Provisional Government for eight months, and then remained in the country from the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution until within five days of the armistice, when a surgical operation required his removal to a hospital in London. Mr. Francis watched the spasmodic manifestations of Bolshevism during the summer of 1917, and the culmination in the autumn of that year. For more than a year he was in a position to see the workings of the Bolshevik experiment. In preparing the present volume Mr. Francis has drawn freely upon his daily journal of incidents, interviews and impressions, upon his voluminous reports to the State Department, and upon personal letters to his family, friends and business associates. Thus, in some measure, the reader is permitted to share in Mr. Francis' observations of the shifting scenes in the drama of Russia's recent history.

The World in Revolt. By Gustave Le Bon. Macmillan. 256 pp. Ill.

The author of "The Psychology of the Crowd" reviews in this new volume the special psychological factors that entered into the fighting of the Great War, discusses the part taken by America, and expresses views of his own regarding the place of Socialism and Bolshevism in the modern world state. Dr. Le Bon is a scholar of unquestioned standing in his department.

Sea Power in the Pacific. By Hector C. Bywater. Houghton Mifflin Co. 334 pp. With maps.

If this book had been written with particular reference to the forthcoming conference at Washington, its contents could hardly have been more appropriate or timely. It is an expert's examination of the American-Japanese naval problem, including not merely a survey of the points at issue, but detailed descriptions of both the American and the Japanese navies. There are chapters on "Strategy in the Pacific," "Possible Features of a War in the Pacific," and "War or Peace?" "Political and Economic Factors." The point of view is distinctly British. The book is intended as an unbiased and authoritative presentation of the facts essential to a clear understanding of what war in the Pacific would really mean.

The Fruits of Victory. By Norman Angell. The Century Company. 338 pp.

In this volume the propositions set forth in "The Great Illusion," by the same author, are reexamined in the light of the World War. In the main, his argument is economic. Since many nations are unable to produce what they need, a flow of goods across national borders is absolutely necessary. The world must learn to produce what it needs most advantageously by agreement, and distribute it freely where it is needed. Competition for national power only paralyzes these coöperative processes.

Men and Manners in Parliament. By Sir Henry Lucy. E. P. Dutton & Co. 259 pp. Ill.

Clever word-pictures of men who were conspicuous in British Parliamentary life a half-century ago. These pen portraits originally appeared as a series of articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. As a student at Princeton, Woodrow Wilson read them with intense interest, and because of the knowledge of British public affairs that they gave him Mr. Wilson in later years was accustomed to refer to Sir Henry Lucy as one of his instructors.

A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain. By Arthur Lyon Cross. Macmillan. 942 pp. Ill.

A compact text-book of British history whose chief distinction, perhaps, lies in the fact that it considers the relations between England and the Overseas Dominions from the viewpoint of today, while it describes the activities of both Britain and Greater Britain in the World War, along with the problems of government and administration which the war involved.

Europe Since 1870. By E. R. Turner. Doubleday, Page & Co. 580 pp. With maps.

College and university text-books can no longer ignore the Great War, and perhaps it is a good plan to survey the conflict as the culmination of a half-century of European history, beginning

with Germany's triumphs over Austria and France and the creation of the new German Empire. The author's viewpoint is that of world history, of which European history for the past half-century has been so great a part.

An Outline of Modern History. By Edward Mead Earle. Macmillan. 166 pp.

A guide to the study of modern history that can be used with advantage by students who do their work at home. It is rich in map studies and bibliographical notes.

Historical Source Book. By Hutton Webster. D. C. Heath & Co. 211 pp.

A reprint of great documents in our history, beginning with the Great Charter of 1215 and concluding with the Covenant of the League of Nations 1919.

AMERICAN HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS

Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland. 1620-1920. By Allan Forbes. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Part I. 225 pp. Ill. Part II. 225 pp. Ill.

These two volumes contain an unexampled collection of material, both text and pictures, relating to the early settlement of New England, and the towns of Old England, Ireland, and Scotland from which they derived their names and in some instances their founders. The text gives far more than a mere description of the parent towns, so-called, for it traces the relations that have been maintained, in some cases almost without a break, for nearly three hundred years, and in other cases resumed after long periods of apparent forgetfulness, between these parent towns and their namesakes in the New World. It will doubtless surprise many readers to learn that within recent years official and unofficial visits have been exchanged between places of the same name in New England and Great Britain. Such visits must do much to promote international friendships, and the publication of these two beautifully illustrated volumes is an appropriate incident of the tercentenary celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims.

The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South. By Broadus Mitchell. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 281 pp.

The author of this study, himself a man of Southern birth, believes that the South was overcome in the Civil War "because it placed itself in opposition to the compelling forces of the age—by agency of the invention of the cotton gin held to slavery instead of liberty, insisted upon States' Rights instead of nationality, and chose agriculture alone rather than embracing the rising industrialism." He holds that as a result the task since 1865 has been "to liberalize the South in thought, nationalize it in politics, and industrialize it in production." From this viewpoint

he analyzes the cotton industry in the South, giving chief attention to its beginnings rather than to its more recent development. He makes an interesting contribution to our knowledge of the South's industrial progress.

Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 214 pp.

The thirty-eighth volume of the invaluable Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science contains monographs on the United States Department of Agriculture, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and the employment of the plebiscite in the determination of sovereignty.

The Life of Artemas Ward. By Charles Martyn. Artemas Ward. 334 pp.

A biography of the revolutionary patriot who preceded Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. The story is based largely upon manuscript materials in the historical libraries of New England.

The Story of Chautauqua. By Jesse L. Hurlbut. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 429 pp. Ill.

A book that is sure of a hearty welcome from at least two generations of loyal Chautauquans. A few are still living who were associated with Bishop Vincent and Lewis Miller in the founding of the Chautauqua Assembly, nearly fifty years ago. But the sons and daughters and grandchildren of those pioneers are legion. Dr. Hurlbut, who was with the enterprise almost from the beginning, compresses into this single volume the whole story of the Chautauqua movement and its meaning to America. After a perusal of this volume most readers, we venture to say, will accept without qualification President Roosevelt's dictum that "Chautauqua is the most American thing in America."

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS

Labor and Revolt. By Stanley Frost. E. P. Dutton & Co. 405 pp.

An outline of the most recent phases of the labor problem as they present themselves in America. The book was apparently written with special reference to the growing menace of Bolshevism and anarchy. The author, however, while he sees a danger to our institutions, fully believes in the ultimate triumph of the old-fashioned American common sense.

The Housing Famine: a Triangular Debate Between John J. Murphy, Edith Elmer Wood, Frederick L. Ackerman. E. P. Dutton & Co. 246 pp.

Points in the housing problem, elaborated and illustrated by three writers who have devoted years to an intensive study of the subject. In the present era of high building costs and increased taxation the public is in a position to welcome such suggestions as those presented in this triangular debate, especially when many of them are seen to be based on a careful review and analysis of economic conditions.

The American Railroad Problem. By I. Leo Sharfman. The Century Co. 474 pp.

Practically every treatise on American railroads became obsolete four years ago when the United States entered on a wholly new experience in railroad administration. This book is a scientific study of the American railroad problem in war and reconstruction. The publicist, the legislator, the business man, the shipper, the railroad security holder, as well as the executive and employee, will find in it a helpful discussion of matters that have not heretofore been treated in the standard works dealing with this general topic.

Merchant Vessels. By Robert Riegel. D. Appleton and Company. 257 pp. Ill.

This volume deals with the economics of shipping and transportation. One may get from it fresh and reliable information on the construction, types and uses of merchant vessels and their measurement. Diagrams and photographs are employed to illustrate the text. Abundant reference lists are included.

OTHER TIMELY PUBLICATIONS

The League of Nations at Work. By Arthur Sweetser. Macmillan. 215 pp.

By its explanation of the machinery of the League of Nations this book will help the American reader to better understand the developments in the Assembly meetings as reported by the newspaper press. The author was a member of the American Peace Commission, and later of the Provisional Secretariat of the League of Nations. He saw the beginnings and early stages of the League's growth and operation, and he fully understands the American viewpoint and attitude in relation to the League.

The Glass of Fashion. By a Gentleman with a Duster. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 176 pp. Ill.

The same "Gentleman with a Duster" whose "Mirrors of Downing Street" dealt in such a sensational fashion with England's political personalities, turns his attention in the present volume to English society. Without doubt he will succeed in retaining his reputation for ferocity and brilliancy.

How to Select Furnishings for the Home. By the Jacksons. *Good Furniture Magazine*, Grand Rapids, Mich. Two volumes.

Ideal color schemes for every room of the modern home are shown in the first volume, which

indicates the proper types of furniture and pictures to harmonize with the rugs, hangings, and wall covering, used in achieving desired effects. Incidentally, it shows how to combine various "period" styles to advantage and without bad taste. The second volume proceeds to picture complete poems in black and white, with pictures of individual pieces of furniture on the back of each page, together with dimensions. The work is most satisfying and should prove exceedingly useful in a homebuilding era.

"The Studio" Year Book of Applied Art, 1921. New York: The Studio, Ltd. 122 pp.

The *Studio Magazine* publishes this year in New York and London, in its series, an excellent volume edited by Geoffrey Holme, showing the new English conception of art applied in quantity production. It also contains some interesting architectural details from the English Haddon Hall, "The Hut" at Cowbeech Hill, and a few easily adaptable country homes. Furniture which is excellent and original, is shown from such designers as Ambrose Heal, Percy A. Wells, and P. Waals. The teakwood pieces from Joscelyne's of Johannesburg possess a massive beauty. There are also several well-done pieces of silverware and pottery, and some beautiful glassware of English and Swedish design which appears to be of exceptional artistic merit.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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PRESIDENT HARDING GIVES THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S CHAIR TO THE CUSTODY OF THE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

[The birthday of Theodore Roosevelt, which falls on October 27, will be observed henceforth throughout the country, particularly by those who think of Roosevelt as an example and inspiration to young Americans. Probably the Boy Scouts will take a leading part in the observance of Roosevelt Day. Meanwhile, the Memorial Association—of which Colonel William Boyce Thompson is chairman with Mr. Hermann Hagedorn secretary and active leader—is receiving many valuable gifts for its permanent collection of books, letters, and various articles. On October 11 in the White House grounds, near the Executive Offices, as shown in the picture above, President Harding turned over to a committee representing the Association the desk chair that President Roosevelt had occupied during his official years. In the picture, from left to right, are: Senator Calder of New York; Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes; Mr. Hermann Hagedorn [hidden by the figure of President Harding]; Mr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*; Postmaster General Hays; Mr. E. A. Van Valkenburg, of the *Philadelphia North American*; Mr. Mark Sullivan; Senator Lodge; Colonel Thompson; Congressman Hicks of New York; Mr. Henry J. Whigham, of the *Metropolitan Magazine*; Senator Kellogg of Minnesota; Hon. Oscar S. Straus of New York, who was in Roosevelt's Cabinet, and the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace, who like his father the late Henry Wallace of Iowa, was a friend of President Roosevelt.]

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The
Armistice
Anniversary*

We are approaching the third anniversary of Armistice Day.

It will be three years on November 11 since fighting ceased on the great Western Front, and the German armies began their rapid movement back across the Rhine. For many families the closing days of October and the early days of November have their associations of sorrow, because the casualties on both sides were appalling in those last stages of the fighting, and the American losses were especially heavy. It was in that period, namely, the month of October and the opening days of November, that the Armistice terms were being formulated and carefully negotiated. The deliberation with which the governments weighed the Armistice terms before accepting them was expensive beyond anything of a similar kind in human history, because each day's delay meant the sacrifice of many thousands of lives. Thus it was the Armistice, an agreement sealed with the blood of young men of many nations, that must stand as the real basis of future peace, rather than the elaborate documents subsequently devised in the Conference at Paris. In the Armistice were laid the enduring foundations.

*Victory
Meant Future
Unity*

The Armistice of November, 1918, was not a truce, not a mere agreement to suspend hostilities.

It was a definite ending of the greatest war of all history, on terms meant to secure lasting peace. The magnitude of America's armed intervention had turned the scales. Germany's prospective victory early in 1918 was quickly rendered impossible by the massing in France of two million American soldiers, who had been arriving at the rate of about three hundred thousand a month. This unexampled movement had been achieved through the employment of British merchant shipping from all the seas, in the transport of

troops and of war supplies. The successful handling of military forces thus augmented had been due to the acceptance by the United States, Great Britain, and Italy of the French view that there must be strategic unity and that there must be a supreme command. Thus General Pershing and General Sir Douglas Haig, as competent commanders and consistent disciplinarians, loyally accepted service under General Foch as Supreme Commander. This immense military combination gave both moral and physical support to the Italians in their critical struggle which ended with the radical defeat of the Austrian invaders of Northern Italy in the last week of October, followed by Austria-Hungary's withdrawal from the war on November 4. The final breaking of Austrian strength exposed Bavaria to attack, and if the war had lasted even a few days longer there would undoubtedly have been an Italian invasion of southern Germany, resulting in a homeward march of the Bavarian troops from the Western Front, and thus further strengthening the hands of the Allied troops fighting in France under Foch, Pershing, Petain, and Haig. The victory was due to the combined effort of great peoples, and it was meant to secure real peace through acceptance of declared principles.

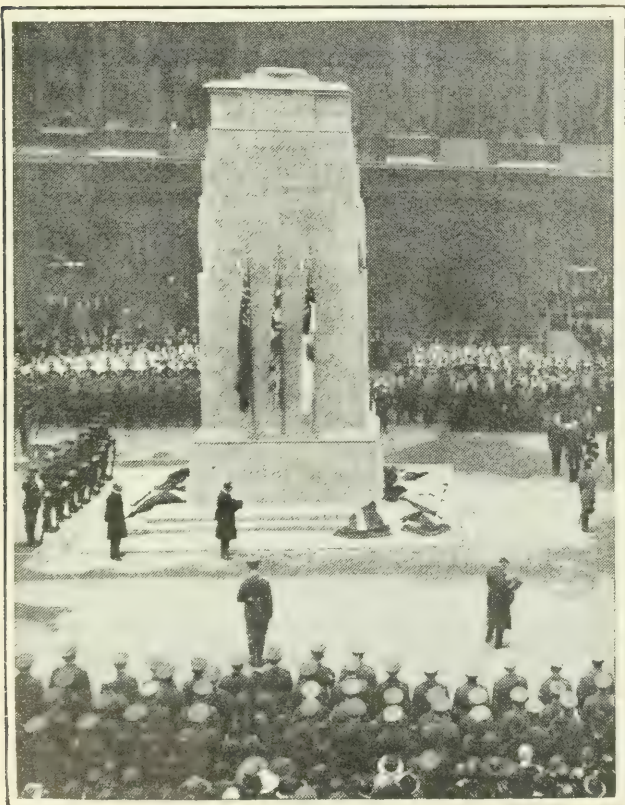
*A Period
of
Reaction*

The pressing problems of reconstruction—problems that are extremely puzzling in their public aspects and that are troublesome to scores of millions of people in their private affairs—have produced a natural and inevitable reaction. Three years ago the popular mind was uplifted by a sense of the heroism as well as the tragedy of the war. That mood was quite sure to disappear for a time, because men were so soon absorbed in another kind of struggle wholly unheroic, namely, the struggle to bring the populations of the

world back from a basis of war to a so-called "normal" condition of peace. Obviously, there have been terrible mistakes in the policies of the European Governments as they have been trying to work out the political basis of a New Era. But, even while we are condemning the mistakes, a certain tendency toward rectification makes itself felt in many directions. The period of three years is a very short time in the story of national reconstruction after the strain and devastation of war. The peoples of the world unquestionably meant to establish peace on a higher plane of justice and of international goodwill than had previously existed, when the terms of the Armistice were adopted and the war was ended, three years ago. That great purpose must not be forgotten.

*A
New
Holiday*

We must from time to time revive the memories of those great days, and particularly we must remember the joy and the enthusiasm of the world when the fighting ceased and the demobilized soldiers began to return to their homes. Our public holidays in the United States, notably the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, and the birthdays of Washington and Lincoln, are typically national in their origin and significance. Armistice Day,



A MEMORIAL TO BRITAIN'S UNKNOWN SOLDIER

(The stone cenotaph adjacent to Westminster Abbey was dedicated on Armistice Day of last year and will be the central point for the observance of Armistice Day anniversaries. It is here that General Pershing deposited the Congressional Medal of Honor on Monday, October 17)

on the other hand, is destined to become a great international holiday devoted to the principles of peace, justice, and good-will among all the nations, and races of mankind. Fortunately, we do not have to infer or to imply the principles and the sentiments that are appropriate to the observance of Armistice Day. The preliminary agreements upon which the military Armistice was actually signed in November, 1918, were enlightening and far-reaching. They accepted principles of coöperation for common needs among the nations, as opposed to plans of competitive armament. They recognized in definite terms the beginning of a period in which law, order, and justice should dominate rather than force. They called explicitly for a reduction of armaments. All these things were included in Mr. Wilson's "fourteen points," and approved alike by both belligerent groups.

*An
Enduring
Compact*

It must never be forgotten that, although the Germans and their allies were facing defeat and disaster, and had lost the war, quite apart from these generous principles embodied in the Armistice, they actually made peace upon the explicit terms set forth in that document. The preliminary negotiations had been conducted by the United States. The accepted doctrines of permanent peace and international association had been formulated by President Wilson. These terms and conditions had been submitted to Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan, and had been carefully considered, so that the document as signed by the Germans was not a casual memorandum as respects its principles and terms, but an international compact of the highest authority and the most enduring historical character. That it must outlive the elaborate settlements devised by the Peace Conference at Paris and Versailles is reasonably certain. Many detailed solutions prescribed in 1919 will break down or undergo modification; but the principles of the Armistice will grow brighter as the years pass by, and as men learn the wisdom of forbearance and coöperation and neighborly helpfulness.

*Pershing
and the
French Soldier*

General Pershing's recent mission to France and England—where he placed medals voted by Congress first upon the tomb of the unknown soldier whom France had honored as typical of the sacrifices of her *poilus*, and afterward



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GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING DEPOSITING THE CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR AT THE GRAVE OF THE UNKNOWN FRENCH SOLDIER, ON OCTOBER 2

upon the tomb near Westminster Abbey of the soldier who is buried there as representing the spirit of the British "Tommy"—had no ordinary significance. It was much more than a routine formality. This mission recalled the sacrifices that were made in common by the young men of many countries. We make a mockery of these sacrifices if we do not dedicate our best efforts to the cause of peace and security in the world—the cause for which their lives were given. Our readers will remember that the "unknown soldier of France" had been buried with impressive ceremonies at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. It was here that General Pershing, accompanied by Ambassador Herrick, and attended as a guard of honor by five hundred American troops selected from our forces still serving on the Rhine, was joined on October 2 by President Millerand, War Minister Barthou, Marshal Foch, and all the other Marshals of France, together with a great gathering of notables and of plain citizens, while many thousands of French soldiers lined the Champs Elysees from the Place de la Concorde to the central place of the ceremony. The occasion was memorable in every respect, and we hope that our readers will feel with

us that it deserves to be singled out as the notable historic event of the weeks that are leading up to the Conference.

*Notable
Expressions
at Paris*

Ambassador Herrick said that Congress, in conferring this medal of honor, intended to express the feeling of America for France, and especially for the French soldiers; and, quoting from the words of Lincoln, he added: "Let us here consecrate ourselves to the unfinished work which they so nobly advanced." His speech appealed to the highest motives in its call for mutual confidence and helpfulness. He closed his friendly discourse with the following sentiments:

I believe that the future of the world is bound up in the fortunes of France. She is the symbol as she is the bastion of civilization. She is the color guard of the army of hope, and as she stands or falls the battle we are now waging will be lost or won.

General Pershing made a terse address in the form of an apostrophe to the soldier who lay buried under the shadow of the Arch as the "immortal symbol of devotion to the highest ideal of humanity." His brief tribute was perfect, both in form and in sentiment.

It might well be read in American schools and in American churches as a part of the observance of Armistice Day. Let us quote the third of the four brief paragraphs which constitute Pershing's address:

Comrade! In your heart there is malice toward none, but charity for all. You fought against a great calamity—war; but your work will never be ended till all peoples have rid themselves of the burden which preparation for war imposes. You gave everything for peace; but your sacrifice will be sterile unless a generous sentiment of disinterested coöperation replaces all hate.

When a great soldier, who led our armies in the recent war, and who is to-day the active as well as the titular head of our forces, thus appeals for disarmament and coöperative work for security and progress, we may feel assured that our millions of ex-service men in the United States will follow him in these sentiments against war, even as they accepted the discipline and danger of military service.

*Timeliness
of the
Conference*

It was both wise and felicitous that the Conference at Washington, which is to consider the reduction of armaments and the removal of causes of disagreement and distrust, should have Armistice Day fixed for its opening. The Conference could not well have been held at an earlier time, for many reasons. And, for many other reasons, it ought not to have been longer deferred. Hopes for its success do not lie so much in the prospect of "putting over" any particular program as in the awakening again of the generous sentiments that are really in the hearts of hundreds of millions of plain people everywhere, although fear and prejudice and false leadership have tended so strongly to discourage and repress those nobler aspirations and those latent beliefs in the essential unity of human progress. Thus it is a circumstance of profound meaning fraught with beneficent influence, that, as this august conference assembles, there is to be a ceremony at Arlington which will resemble those great occasions in England and France when the unknown soldier was interred with the highest official honors.

*The American
Soldier at
Arlington*

The National Cemetery, which faces Washington from the Virginia side of the Potomac, where the historic home of Robert E. Lee looks across at the new Lincoln Memorial, is to be the scene, on November 11, of the burial

of an unknown American soldier whose body has been brought from France. President Harding is to lead the procession, and it is hoped that President Wilson may be able to join the official group. The representatives of men and nations will join in rendering homage to the American soldier; and especially it is arranged that delegates who have arrived to attend the Conference will be present in the great amphitheater that has been built at Arlington expressly for occasions of this kind. General Grant and General Lee alike at the end of our Civil War were advocates of genuine reunion; and after the ceremony of November 11, in which President Harding, General Pershing, the delegates of the Peace Conference, and the representatives of all nations will participate, this national cemetery at Arlington will more than ever symbolize the spirit of peace and of coöperation. With this occasion, in which our Congress honors the enlisted soldiers through the symbolic interment of an unknown warrior, President Harding will take the lead in reviving the project of a great memorial bridge across the Potomac that will lead from the Lincoln Memorial to Arlington, these points being in a direct line with the Washington Monument and the dome of the Capitol.

*Proposed
Memorial
Structure*

Armistice Day in future years should be observed by delegations of school children sent to visit Washington and to join in a parade of peace across the memorial bridge to the grave of the unknown soldier; and in the great amphitheater they should each year be privileged to hear an address from the President on America's responsibilities and duties in regard to the maintenance of justice and order at home and abroad. It would be fitting if the memorial bridge were built in large part through the voluntary gifts of people in all the States, just as the Washington Monument was built. After a plan had been devised by the Commission for which Congress has already provided, with the President of the United States as its chairman, this work of raising funds for the memorial bridge could be made to serve educational as well as patriotic ends. Engineers, architects, and artists would doubtless give their services gladly. Mechanics and artisans would do their part in a project intended to symbolize the dignity of labor, and to guard the common man against the sacrifices of war which are always borne by him



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THE NEW AMPHITHEATER IN THE ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, ON THE VIRGINIA SIDE OF THE POTOMAC AT WASHINGTON

in undue proportion. It should be the intention to make this bridge the most beautiful structure of its kind, and the greatest architectural memorial following our part in the World War. In symbolizing the cause of peace in general, it would also particularly emphasize the complete reunion of our North and South. Thus highways converging at its southern entrance would lead not only to Arlington, immediately at hand, but also to Mt. Vernon, and on to Richmond and the farther South, to Harpers Ferry, Antietam and Gettysburg, to Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, and so on.

*American
Spirit in the
Conference*

Back of the Conference that is soon to begin its sessions at Washington, there can be no single influence as powerful as the sentiment of America. The American delegation has been selected with a high sense of discernment and propriety by President Harding. These delegates, who are Secretary Hughes, former Secretary Root, and Senators Lodge and Underwood, are engaged in earnest study of many complicated problems; and President Harding has very properly joined them in intimate conversations and preliminary surveys of the ground to be covered.



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A SCENE WITHIN THE ARLINGTON AMPHITHEATER, WHERE GREAT MEMORIAL GATHERINGS WILL BE HELD

There is already evident a most generous attitude toward the Conference as the date approaches. Our system of government is such that our policies cannot be developed or carried on by what in certain other countries are known as "foreign office" cliques or groups. It is at once our strength and our weakness in international affairs that American policies are not in the hands of professional diplomats, or members of a ruling class who play at the games of empire and of competitive commerce as lifelong experts, almost wholly separated from the ups and downs of the domestic political situations of their respective countries. Our foreign policies in the United States are somewhat dangerously subject to the possible whims or limitations of knowledge of successive Presidents or Secretaries of State. But, in the last analysis, our policies are based upon public conviction. Thus the citizen's education becomes the essential factor.

*Our
Policies Are
Open*

It is sometimes the case that foreign governments, with their permanent organizations, take advantage of our seeming inconsistencies of policy. Thus, by way of contrast, it is the foremost business of a British or Italian or Japanese foreign office to push British or Italian or Japanese interests everywhere in the world. But no provision at all is made in our American scheme of government for any executive department that has either the duty or the discretion to occupy itself with pushing American interests. We deal with foreign governments through the State Department, and it is expected that the Secretary of State, acting on behalf of the President as Chief Executive, will uphold the dignity and honor of the American Government. But there is nothing of a fundamental kind in American foreign policy that does not rest upon the convictions of the country as a whole. Thus the President and the American delegation in the forthcoming peace conference will do their work with enhanced efficiency if they find themselves encouraged and strongly supported by the people of the country regardless of political parties.

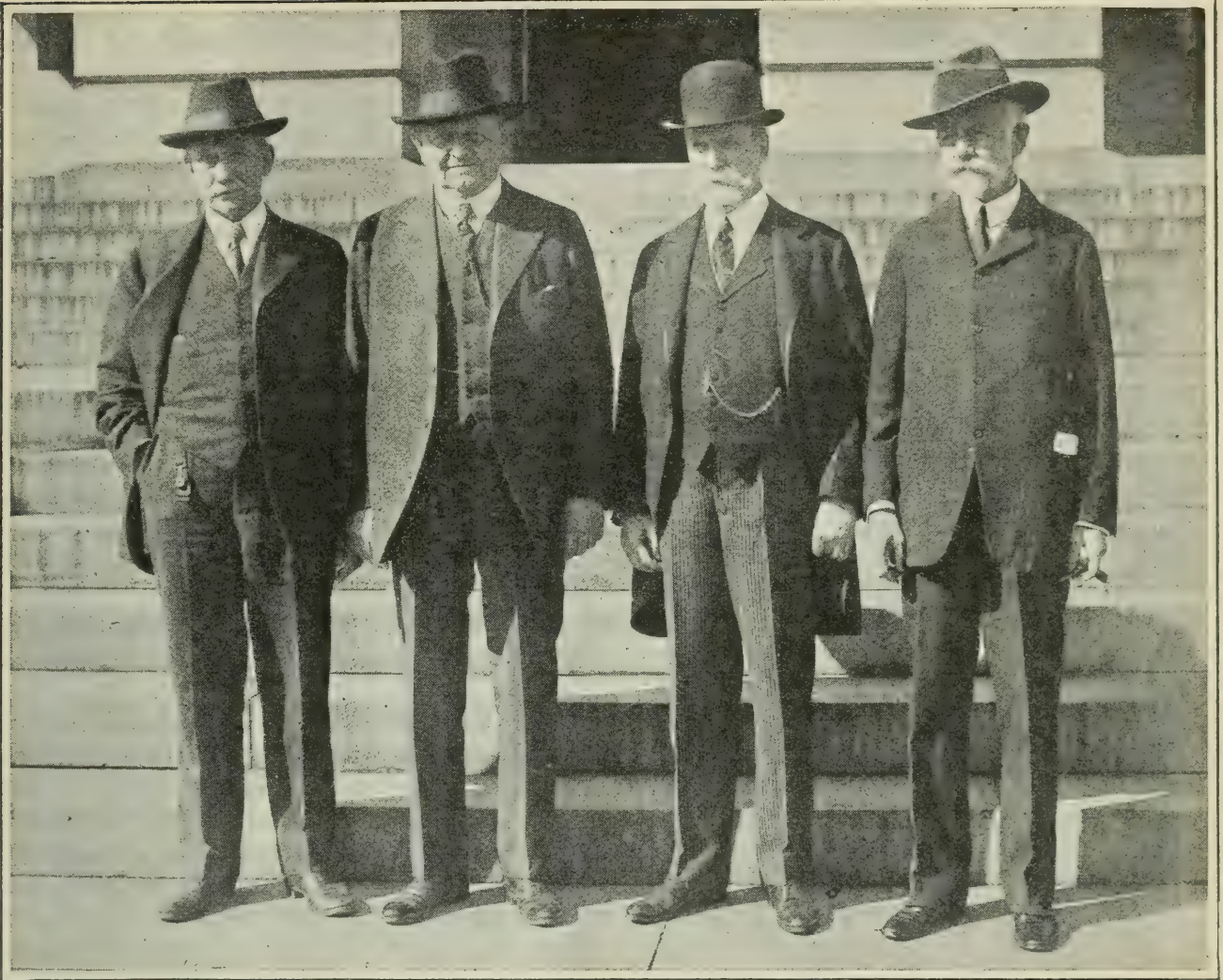
*The Press
Will Serve
Faithfully*

This feeling that the country is hoping and expecting important results from the Conference, and is strongly supporting the American delegates, will be conveyed chiefly through the medium of the press. Self-constituted bodies and groups who are proposing to sit in Washington, as in some sense rivals to the official

Conference, either to work for particular solutions, or on the assumption that they are in some superior sense the exponents of the cause of disarmament and of international harmony, are not likely to be of much use to the real conference. It is probable that the country as a whole, which has a saving sense of humor and an instinct for humbugs and self-advertisers, will very quickly take the measure of these special organizations and groups, most of whose nominal members are excellent and wholly free from guile, and fail to fathom the motives of the initiating individuals or cliques who seek to gain strength with the public by flaunting an array of well-known names. The Washington correspondents, in contrast, are at the present time a remarkably intelligent and able group of men. Many of them have had European and Asiatic experience. Their numbers will be reinforced during the conference period by many competent journalists, European as well as American. Periodicals and newspapers alike will follow the work of the conference with all proper facilities for being well informed.

*Journalists
at the
Conference*

Thus Mr. Frank H. Simonds—who writes in the present number of this REVIEW on the questions of the Far East as they will present themselves at Washington, and whose principal home is now at Washington—will continue to serve our readers, as through many years past, as our regular contributor. Men like Mr. Wickham Steed, editor-in-chief of the London *Times*, will be in Washington in order to report daily to the readers of their papers at home, with due interpretation. Mr. H. G. Wells, whose great work, the *Outline of History*, is now being offered to our readers in a special REVIEW OF REVIEWS edition, is arriving in Washington, where he will act as special correspondent of certain newspapers, especially the New York *World* and the Chicago *Tribune*. As was shown in our pages last month by Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, himself a veteran Washington correspondent, no Secretary of State in recent years has met the newspaper correspondents so frequently and with such frankness as Secretary Hughes. The work of the Conference cannot be carried on like a town-meeting; but its methods are not to be mysteriously secretive so far as the Government of the United States is concerned. The press will be treated with full regard for its public functions.



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ELIHU ROOT OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD CHARLES E. HUGHES HENRY CABOT LODGE

THE FOUR AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE ON ARMAMENT LIMITATION WHO HAVE BEEN HOLDING PRELIMINARY CONVERSATIONS IN WHICH PRESIDENT HARDING HAS TAKEN PART.

American Motives in the East

This country has no hidden aims and no selfish points to gain. We are not inviting England here to disturb the British mind as respects naval security. Nor are we inviting France in order to propose disarmament of land forces on terms that would seem to her impossible from the standpoint of her defensive needs. Nor are we inviting delegates from across the Pacific on the supposition that we may be able to drive a wedge between Japan and China on the one hand, or between Japan and Great Britain on the other. Undoubtedly, our Government, in accord with prevailing American sentiment, desires for Japan a future of prosperity and success as one of the foremost members of the family of nations, and one of America's most consistent friends through a long period. If the consensus of intelligent American opinion could be taken, it would be found that the overwhelming desire of this country is to avoid any further drifting into dangerous misunderstandings about the questions of the Far

East and the relative interests of different peoples and governments in the Pacific Ocean. Maps are sometimes drawn, and articles are sometimes written, with a view to showing the growth of America's strategic power in the great expanses that stretch from the Golden Gate to the Asiatic mainland. But the American people are not conscious of any strategic aggressiveness where West meets East, and are willing to learn something of the opinion of other countries. The article by Mr. Dunn in this number states with unvarnished plainness what are held at Washington to be the fundamentals of a sound policy regarding China. If Mr. Dunn states the recognized American view, with his exceptional knowledge of the Washington attitude, Mr. Simonds on his part does not hesitate to tell Americans how other countries look at our claims and contentions. These two articles, taken together, will help our readers the better to understand some of the delicate and difficult questions with which the conference must deal.

*Lessons From
the Monroe
Doctrine*

It was a long time before Europe was willing to accept the Monroe Doctrine; and even in South America at times our attitude was regarded as pretentious, if not domineering. We have had to create a series of precedents of a practical kind under the Monroe Doctrine in order to have it understood. Different Latin-American countries have been celebrating the completion of the first century of their established freedom from the Spanish colonial system. They now realize that the people of the United States regard them with good-will, and without the remotest notion of interference with their freedom and sovereignty. Two years hence we shall be celebrating the centenary of the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine. But for our attitude many of the Spanish-speaking regions of the Western Hemisphere would have been seized, under one pretext or another, by European powers, and the processes of world peace that must occupy the middle period of the twentieth century would have been rendered by far more difficult and complicated by reason of imperialistic outposts throughout our Western world. We have not sought for ourselves a foothold anywhere in South America.

*Our Place
in this
Hemisphere*

Our control of the Panama Canal, which we have constructed at public expense, is in the interest of the whole Western Hemisphere, besides serving equally the commerce of all nations. We voluntarily abstained from annexing Cuba after we had liberated that island, while our acceptance of jurisdiction over Porto Rico has resulted in the grant of full American citizenship to the entire population of the island, with a reasonable prospect of admission as a State at such time as may be beneficial to the Porto Ricans themselves. At this moment we are observing with the greatest interest and good-will a renewed attempt at full confederation of the Central American Republics. Our attitude in 1865 saved Mexico from European domination, and we are prepared to give to the Mexicans to-day a true example of neighborliness as soon as their Government reflects in its policies the sentiments of their best citizens. Our relations with Canada are upon the firmest basis of good understanding; and it is now recognized on both sides of the boundary line that we must seek understanding and coöperation in future because our interests in the world are so much

alike, and because the unity of North America can go so far to help stabilize the world.

*Our Sojourn
in the
Philippines*

Less than a quarter of a century ago, as we were preparing to intervene in Cuba and to end a disastrous and deadlocked struggle between Spaniards and Cubans, the attitude of Continental Europe toward us, as influenced by Hapsburg connections and diplomacy, was exceedingly unfriendly. We have no occasion to remember this in a spirit of resentment, and it is mentioned here merely as an instance of the menace that may arise through the wrong kind of foreign-office diplomacy. The British attitude toward us at that time was in marked contrast to the attitude of Germany and Austria. Canadians, Britishers, Australians, had no part in unfriendly manifestations. Our retention of the Philippines was a surprise to Japan, and to some extent a disappointment. Nevertheless, it was soon afterward realized that we remained at Manila largely because of international complications of a serious kind which would have arisen if we had withdrawn. Thus Germany's seizure of the Philippines would probably have involved Japan in a war for which she was not then sufficiently prepared. We were largely influenced in our continued occupation of the Philippines by the undoubted preference of the British, the Australians, and also the French, that we should take charge. It would have been impossible for Spain to continue there, and it was better for Spanish interests that we should remain.

*Policies
in
Retrospect*

It is plain enough now to Spaniards, after more than twenty years have elapsed, that they were fortunate rather than otherwise in getting rid of the insular remnants of their once great empire at a time when their rule in the West Indies and in the East Indies had been changed from a profitable asset to a burdensome liability. With a vast and expanding population, the United States might at one time have insisted upon acquiring the Hudson Bay Company's uninhabited territories which have now been converted into the thriving States of the Canadian Northwest. Our entire acquiescence in the Canadian acquisition and development of those areas is the best evidence that Americans of the United States can possibly give of the non-aggressive aims and purposes of the country. Whatever mistakes, therefore,

may have marred the course of American history in the field of international affairs, the record upon the whole has been a creditable one, especially when subjected to the test of comparison. It is with this background of honorable conduct that the United States is entering a conference that may prove to be one of the notable turning points of human history.

*Will We
Leave the
Philippines?*

In this conference we have not only to seek light upon the aims and policies of other countries, but we have also to throw some light upon our own. For example, several years ago, in adopting the Jones Act, which greatly increases the measure of self-government accorded to the Filipinos, the purpose of the United States to withdraw from the islands at a very early date was explicitly set forth in the preamble. Manifestly such withdrawal could not have taken place during the European War, nor in the unsettled years immediately following. The question arises—and it is being discussed in Japan, China, India, Australia, and Europe, as well as in the United States—whether we have now changed our minds and mean to retain the Philippines permanently for reasons of strategy and of commerce. It is understood that General Wood and Mr. Forbes, after a prolonged investigation, do not think that the local institutions we have fostered in the Philippines are sufficiently mature to permit

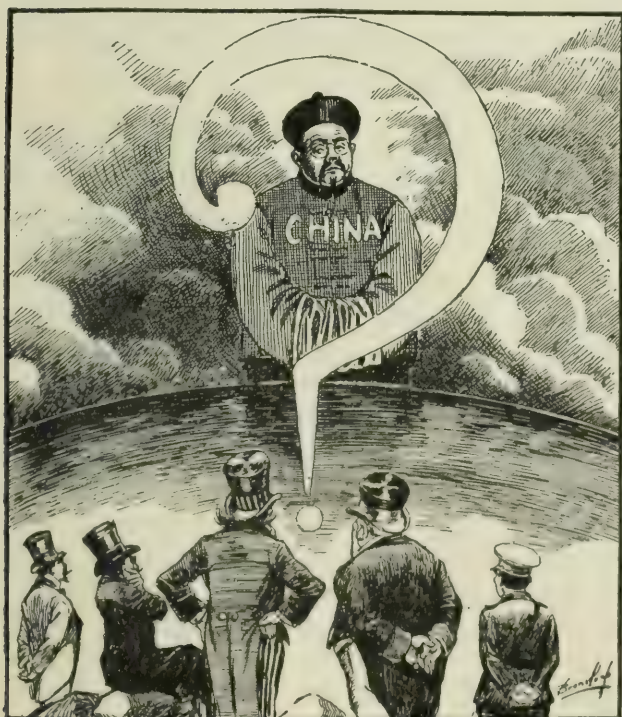
our withdrawal just now. But the United States has accepted the doctrine that our chief motive in the Philippines is to “make good.” The islands had many languages and dialects and a number of races. We are giving them, as their secondary common language, the English tongue. We propose that there shall be a new generation well-educated and capable of carrying on a responsible government. We wish to see the islands strengthened in finance and trade, in agriculture, in the diffusion of prosperity, and in all that makes for order and progress. If we understand the American position, therefore, it is that we propose to withdraw from the Philippines at such a time in the future as will make such withdrawal a safe and valuable thing for the people of the islands rather than a hazardous experiment.

*Our Plans
Concerning
Hawaii*

If withdrawal is to be our policy in the Philippines, it is important that the Japanese and the Chinese should be convinced that this is true. What then is to be our policy with regard to Hawaii? Undoubtedly these islands, with Honolulu as their capital, are in permanent relations with the United States. Annexation was accomplished by the voluntary act of the government and people of Hawaii, and the islands will remain for the present under a territorial government. At some future time they may form a State, or, for purposes of representation in the national Government, they may be joined to California or to some other Pacific Coast State. But the Hawaiian Islands have now a population made up largely of people of Oriental origin, of whom fully one-half are Japanese. What is to become of these people? The answer to this question seems to us to be clear. They cannot remain in the Hawaiian Islands as subjects of the Mikado's Japanese Government, much less as agents of the expanding Japanese Empire. Under proper conditions, they should be accepted as American citizens in the fullest measure. Their children, whether living in Hawaii or in the continental United States, must be educated and trained in all that belongs to American citizenship, and must owe no more allegiance to the Government of Japan than the children of Porto Rico owe to the Government of Spain.

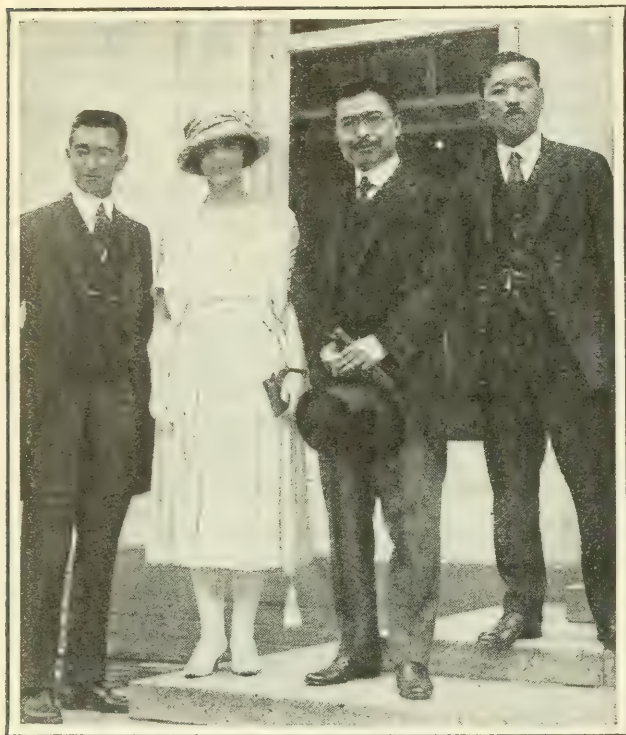
*Japanese
in
California*

A large accession of Japanese population would not be desirable in this country for reasons that have been much discussed, and that the



WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)



A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED JAPANESE AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(They are, from left to right: Tochimaro Yamamoto, Mrs. Yamamoto, Baron Kijuro Shidehara, the Japanese Ambassador, and Yukimiohi Takami, of the Japanese Parliament. Mr. Yamamoto attended the American Bar Association's annual meeting, representing Japan's legal profession)

Japanese Government fully understands and does not dispute. There is then the Californian question; and the tendency on the part of careful Japanese students and writers to-day is to discuss this matter with a reasonableness that is worthy of much praise. For instance, a little book has now appeared by Professor Yoshi S. Kuno, of the University of California, on "What Japan Wants," in Asia, in America, and elsewhere. The writer's high character and his accuracy as a scholar and a man are vouched for by President Barrows and ex-President Benjamin I. Wheeler. Prof. Kuno does not think it was a wise thing to have permitted the recent importation of thousands of young Japanese women to become the brides of Japanese laborers whose presence here was permissible under the "gentleman's agreement." He does not think that the further immigration of Japanese laborers into this country is desired or expected by the authorities in Japan. He does, however, ask for liberal treatment of those who are already here. In view of the fact that under our laws the Japanese children born in this country are entitled to claim full American citizenship, Prof. Kuno thinks it would be a desirable thing to grant naturalization to those Japanese residents here who are fully qualified by education and

character to become desirable citizens, and whose allegiance to the United States would be as complete and unqualified as that of any other naturalized Americans.

*Fair
Treatment
for Asiatics*

Those Japanese who preferred to retain allegiance to their native country, and who are not inclined to become part and parcel of our American civilization, ought, in Prof. Kuno's opinion, to be deported from the country after a certain period, say five years, as "undesirable aliens." Generally speaking, we are trying to make a homogeneous country here in the United States; and a rapid infusion of Asiatic population would make for serious trouble. But there are many people who believe that the best way to deal with the Asiatics who are already here, and who desire to be completely and permanently identified with this country, is to remove restrictions and give them the right hand of fellowship. Whether or not this is the true solution, it ought not to be dismissed without careful study. We must take steps to remove the impression that we regard ourselves as a superior race. The great peoples of Asia, whether of Japan, of China, or of India, are entitled to our respect. Disdain for them is a mark of ignorance on our part and not of superior merit. We will do well to cultivate their friendship while helping them in such ways as are appropriate. It is not the mission of the United States to show any spirit whatsoever of military or naval aggressiveness in facing the peoples who live on the other side of the Pacific or who inhabit the islands.

*White Men
Representing
Other Races*

Let us not think for a moment that the non-Asiatic point of view will come short of due expression in the conference. It was announced last month that the British delegation would have six principal members in order that Canada, Australia, and New Zealand might each have a statesman of its own in full standing. Thus Englishmen will speak for the masses of India, while control of the undeveloped areas of Australia, Africa, and Canada will be represented by men firmly devoted to the policy of retaining those lands for the exclusive use of future white populations speaking the English language. Millions of Asiatics in Indo-China and adjacent regions will be represented by the French delegation. Invitations to the conference were extended last month to the governments

of Belgium, Holland, and Portugal. Holland controls the destinies of some fifty millions of brown-skinned people occupying Java, Sumatra, and other islands; and these natives will be represented by white statesmen from the Netherlands. Portugal has important African holdings, and footings on the Chinese coast, and in India, ruling a million Asiatics, Belgium, though not in any important sense a Pacific power, controls an empire in the heart of Africa and has international interests.

*The
Oriental
Viewpoint*

America is particularly glad to have the delegates of all these countries, including the British Dominions, present in the conference. But we must remember that the Asiatics who are concerned about the problems of the Pacific and the Far East are very much more numerous than the peoples of European stock, and also that they are more vitally concerned because the problems to be discussed relate immediately to their own countries. Suppose that an international conference were to be held, to discuss, among other things, the relations of the United States with Mexico, and the relations of the United States with the Greater Antilles and the countries of the mainland that touch the Caribbean; and suppose that delegations from China, Japan, India, Turkey, and Egypt were among those invited to assemble at Tokio to consider these problems of the Western Hemisphere. The people of the United States might feel some sensitiveness, and might hesitate about sending a delegation of their own. As a matter of fact, the great powers of Europe, in the Congress of Vienna, and in diplomatic meetings following that congress, undertook to settle in the most drastic way the destinies of a great part of the Western Hemisphere; and it was this very thing that actually led to the announcement from Washington of the Monroe Doctrine ninety-eight years ago, which simply said to the European governments, "Hands off—America for the Americans." When one studies with sincerity and with intelligence the history of European aggression, as it turned from America toward Asia in the last century, it is not so hard to understand how and why there has become so general the cry of "Asia for the Asiatics."

*Japanese
and
Chinese*

The only delegations at Washington that can speak directly for Oriental peoples are the Japanese and the Chinese. But, unfortunately,



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PRINCE IYESATO TOKUGAWA, PRESIDENT OF THE
JAPANESE HOUSE OF PEERS
(Who will head the Japanese delegation to Washington)

Japan and China are seriously at variance; while the Chinese delegation will represent only the northern half of the country, the southern part of China at present maintaining a separate government which has not been recognized for purposes of this conference. It is deeply to be regretted that the Far Eastern peoples are not coming to Washington with common aims and purposes. Nevertheless, it might be a great mistake to assume that Americans and Europeans are at this moment competent to settle all the questions that have arisen or may arise among the peoples of Japan, China, Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia. These peoples are wrestling with the question of Japan's right to assume political and economic leadership. In spite of their seeming differences, however, it may be true that these Asiatic peoples understand one another a great deal better than Americans or Europeans understand any one of them. Our influence, exerted in a friendly and sincere spirit, may help to modify policies and to lessen misunderstandings. But it will continue to be true in the main that these Asiatic peoples must work out their own ways of dealing with one another. We should aim to keep their confidence and to deserve, as well as to profit by, their friendship.

*America
and the
Far East*

We commend for careful study the article by Mr. Simonds in the present number of the REVIEW, entitled "The Far Eastern Question and America." As Mr. Simonds shows, the policy of the "Open Door," as expressed in the period of McKinley's presidency, was not intended to protect China from her Asiatic neighbors, but rather to save her directly (and her neighbors indirectly) from a European aggressiveness that threatened to dismember the Chinese Empire altogether, in order to create European spheres of influence after the pattern of Africa, with the Russian Bear claiming by far the largest slices. Conditions are radically changed. Russia and Germany, which were the chief aggressors, have been entirely eliminated. England and France have no menacing designs. Japan has in point of fact attained the paramount influence, not merely through the fact of propinquity, but chiefly through an immense development of political, military, and economic efficiency. It is a help to keep the map at hand, and to realize Japan's relationship to the mainland coasts of the Japan Sea. If it is destined that Japan shall develop Eastern Siberia, how can the United States oppose that destiny, either by precept or by action? If the people of China, who to-day are said to have the largest standing army in the world—two or three times as large as Japan's—will not create a strong national government and give it allegiance and prestige, how can we in the United States assume to interfere as between Japan and China in matters that relate to the mining and shipping of iron ore, vital to the industries by means of which Japan's working people are enabled to buy rice for their families?

*We Must
Recognize
Historic Facts*

There are readers who will think that Mr. Simonds is blunt to the point of harshness in portions of his analysis. He shows how England was surprised into a war with Germany because English statesmanship had wholly failed to understand the meaning of German preparation and German policy. He tells us that we may some day be surprised into a war with Japan, if we do not learn to appreciate more fully Japan's actual position, as well as her needs and her point of view. Our "open-door" doctrine, ethical as an abstraction, may not be statesmanlike, may not be fair, as a working formula. It is not a matter of life and death for Americans to

have precisely the same opportunities for trade in China and Manchuria that Japan enjoys. Greatly as they need foreign trade, the European countries do not, in fact, have anything like as good opportunities to trade in Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and some other regions as have the producers of the United States. History is not made by rigid application of abstract theories to growing and changing conditions. The Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Manchurians, and Mongolians have had relations with one another extending over many centuries. There are perhaps five or six times as many Chinese as there are Japanese to-day. If at the present time China allows herself to be "coached," as it were, by Japan, in commerce and industry, the time must come in turn when the Chinese will absorb these Japanese efforts, just as they have absorbed venturesome intruders in centuries past and gone. Meanwhile, it is not true that all Japanese are unrestrained imperialists. There is a great current of liberalism in Japan that looks with disfavor upon the kind of military attitude in the world that brought Germany to grief. In short, working agreements are possible.

*Atmospheric
Conditions*

As the time for the conference approaches, hopefulness and optimism about it seem to be increasing. If any readers should be made a little unhappy by their failure to find in Mr. Simonds's article that pure glow of enthusiasm which would be so welcome in these times, let them remember that it is better to face the truth than to cherish illusions. Mr. Simonds wishes to have us see what a really bad thing it would be for us to gain fancied successes in the conference, if those supposed gains were not in accord both with essential justice and with the irresistible trends of historic change in the Far East. There is a kind of knowledge that misses the paths of wisdom. Our American knowledge of European affairs at Paris was encyclopedic, but somewhat calamitous in its limitations. President Harding sees that a general atmosphere of friendliness will be the best contribution we can make to the conference as it assembles; and the hopefulness of valuable results increases as this American atmosphere of sincere hospitality and good-will is recognized abroad. Thus the Japanese statesmen and journalists, who were at first afraid of the conference, are now convinced that we are not setting a trap to thwart Japan's onward march, and that we are not

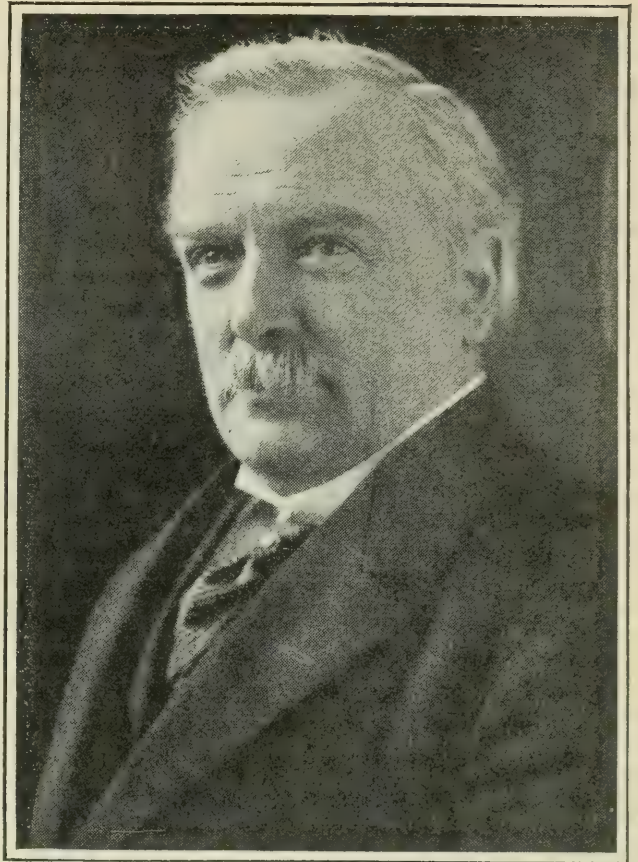
even scheming to dissolve the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Everybody has much more to gain than to lose through friendship and coöperation. Enmities and heavy armaments will henceforth be profitable to nobody. We must be willing to lay aside the "big stick" on our part, or at least to prove convincingly that we are acting as policeman for the common good and not for our own advantage.

*"Results"
That
Precede*

Some of the best results of the conference, to use a Hibernicism, are those that will have preceded it. There has been a tremendous tendency to clean house, and to leave things in good shape at home, before going off to make a visit. Thus Japan has hated to come to Washington with the Shantung question likely to cause disagreeable scenes in polite company. The existing phases of that question lie almost exclusively between Japan and China. If China could but agree upon a compromise, Europe would be wholly satisfied and America would have no point to raise. It is true that China has not yet accepted Japan's fresh overtures, but at least the points of difference have been shrinking; and with friendly advice they can surely be removed. As for China, she has hated to come to the Conference exhibiting a cleavage like that between our North and South sixty years ago. Dr. Yen's Peking Government has even offered one place in the delegation to a representative of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's Canton Government. But it was reported in the middle of October that, even as Peking rejects Tokio's olive branch, so Canton will not do any international business under the ægis of Peking. It remains true, however, that throughout the Far East unusual efforts have been made during recent weeks to pave the way for successful participation in the Washington Conference.

*Britain
Paving
the Way*

Across the Atlantic, the preliminary efforts are even more obvious. As a result of much discussion behind the scenes, Great Britain wisely decided to bring the Dominions to Washington by giving them places in the main delegation, in addition to having groups present as special advisers. Best of all, the British Government showed a renewed determination to go to the utmost possible lengths in trying to end the Irish dispute. For a moment the renewal of negotiations was threatened by offish dialectics on both



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HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, BRITISH PREMIER, WHO IS EXPECTED AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

sides. Obviously Mr. Lloyd George could not admit in advance that he was dealing with the representatives of an established republic. Good humor and good sense soon waived the technical points, and a truly representative Irish group, headed by Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins, went to London and began a series of parleys with the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet on October 11. Evidently both sides hated to think of a reopening of the terrors of crime and violence that had preceded the existing truce. It was known that Mr. Lloyd George would go to Washington at least for a few weeks if the Irish negotiations continued to show a hopeful tendency.

*Ireland
and
Ulster*

With her age-long grievances laid aside and her status fixed and accepted, it was plain that Ireland might at once assume a proud place not merely within the British Empire, but also in the larger world, like Canada and Australia. Gradually it began to be said in England that Ulster's attitude was not so much one of loyalty as one of narrowness and obstruction. Even as there was a brilliant place waiting for Ireland in the sisterhood of British nations, so there was a leading place ready and waiting for Ulster in

the unity of Ireland, if a few Belfast leaders could but see the greatness of their opportunity. It was not even certain that an unyielding Ulster could hold the meager six counties together. Two of them at least were shaky, and possibly more than two might soon be ready to vote in favor of accepting the fact that they were a part of Ireland. Thus, when it began to be plain that the menaced secession of Ireland from the association represented by the British Crown might be averted by agreement, there emerged in England a growing opinion that the only really dangerous secession was that of Ulster from Ireland. Of course it has always been evident to thoughtful men in Dublin, Cork, and Limerick that Ulstermen, because of their intrinsic qualities, would be even more influential in a united Ireland than are Scotchmen in Great Britain. A generous and friendly Ulster, ready to help Ireland to work out the problems of a New Era arising under Home Rule, would reap the reward of an amazing appreciation. For it is now true that the whole world is looking on, ready to applaud Ulster for taking her place in Ireland, and ready to applaud Ireland for accepting the proffered British terms and thus helping to set an example of reconciliation and peace for other distracted peoples.

*Influence of
Germany's
Status at Sea* Everybody knows that the people of Great Britain desire to be on terms of unclouded friendship with those of the United States, and also everyone knows that an Irish settlement would do more than anything else to strengthen good relations across the Atlantic. A few years ago Germany was pushing her policies in the Pacific, underselling British merchants in China, and making her ships of trade and vessels of war familiar sights in all Oriental ports. Germany is not to appear directly in the forthcoming conference. Her colonies are distributed among the victors of the war, and her navy is nonexistent. But, in a certain sense, negative if not positive, Germany will play a part in the councils at Washington. She will gradually resume a place in the commerce of the Pacific and the Orient, because she cannot be denied the trading opportunities of all nations in times of peace. Having been forcibly deprived of her navy, she will claim the right to be protected on the seas, and this will emphasize the simple fact that henceforth the oceans are to be patrolled for the

protection of lawful traders and travelers, and not subjected chiefly to the exigencies of heavily armed naval powers.

*Germany
Now
Disarmed*

If Germany can prosper without a navy because protected by British, or French, or American, or Japanese armed ships, why should not similar protection be made available for everybody upon some reasonable plan of naval coöperation? Germany will have a constant influence upon the positions of the French delegates, led by Premier Briand, because for France all problems of armament must be studied with reference to Germany. The Inter-Allied Control Commission, which sits in Germany to see that land disarmament proceeds as stipulated in the treaty, has made a recent report that is wholly gratifying. In September, 102 guns were left to be destroyed, as against 32,000 already demolished. There had been destroyed 34,000,000 tons of loaded shells, with only 1,000,000 tons remaining. Of trench mortars, 186 remained, and 110,350 had been destroyed. Machine guns remained to the number of 2852, and 83,566 had been destroyed. Rifles destroyed were 4,160,000, with 163,000 remaining. A vast quantity of ammunition for small arms had been obliterated. Some Germans doubtless harbor the thought of future military adventure. Various travelers, however, bring back reports to the effect that there is a steadily growing German sentiment that believes Germany's restoration must come by way of industry, science, and education. Germans are working, early and late.

*France Accepts
Payment
in Kind*

On October 6 and 7 the French and German Governments, through M. Loucheur, Minister of Liberated Regions, and Dr. Rathenau, German Minister of Reconstruction, signed certain reparation agreements at Weisbaden which were received with marked satisfaction in Paris. More good-will was shown on both sides than at any time since the armistice. A dispatch from Paris says that this "means the beginning of international coöperation, and is perhaps the symbol of universal reconstruction." The *Temps* (a leading French newspaper) says that the agreement is an exhibition of good faith by Germany, while showing the wish of France to end bickering and get down to the business of post-war settlement. The nub of the agreement is that Germany is to pay to France in actual materials and commodities,

rather than money, an amount equal to 7,000,000,000 gold marks in the next five years. In a future number of the REVIEW, as this plan develops, we will have occasion to set forth its details. Germany expects to wipe out its indebtedness to France by a series of payments in the ten years from 1926 to 1935. In Germany they are stating that this is a good plan, because it gives Germany a chance to meet payment by hard work with head and hand as against the baffling difficulty in view of exchange conditions of going out into the world at large to buy the credits equivalent to gold marks with which to meet instalments. We must, of course, not be unduly sanguine, but it is possible to hope that great things may grow out of this effort to bring France and Germany into more direct business relations.

*Congress and
the Season's
Work*

Although the tangled situations in Turkey and Persia, and in those portions of the Near East

that have come under Bolshevik influence, are matters that have no place in the main program of the Washington Conference, they cannot be forgotten in any gathering that is trying to reduce the world to harmony. The Senate was ratifying the treaty of peace with Germany, and thus contributing at least a detail to the clearing of the world atmosphere. The passage by the Senate of the bill restoring free passage to our coastwise ships through the Panama Canal brings forward again an issue which presents a phase that might best be settled by arbitration. With the progress of American relief in Russia, there begins to arrive much information of one kind and another that had previously been kept back by arbitrary censorship. It is wholly possible that Russia's condition and her relations to the world at large may assume importance in the work of the Conference. Congress is continuing to struggle with economic problems, chief among which are taxation, the tariff, the railroads, merchant marine, and funding of the debts owed to the United States by European governments.

*Struggling
with the
Tax Bill*

The new Revenue bill has been having a troubled time in the Senate. The measure sent from

the House to the Senate went far toward carrying out the ideas of the Administration as to a fulfilment of campaign pledges to reduce taxes substantially. In the upper house this program has encountered the

resolute opposition of certain Western members, representing agricultural and labor interests. Combined with the normal Democratic opposition; they seemed in October able to change decidedly the character of the bill. On one point agreement came. All taxes on transportation are to go on January 1, next—passenger fares, freight rates, and express charges. It is probable that there can be no repeal of the excess-profits tax for the current year, and during October it was becoming daily more dubious as to any repeal at all. The most important change in the program proposed by the Western Senators was the raising of the limit of supertaxes on individual incomes, in the new measure, to 50 per cent. The House had provided for 32 per cent.; the Administration had suggested 25 per cent., and in the face of strong opposition to these lower figures the Senate Finance Committee finally agreed on 50 per cent.

*A
Futile
Change*

The real disadvantages of the very high supertaxes on individual incomes will scarcely be affected by a new rate of 50 per cent. as against the former high limit of 65 per cent. Such a change will be utterly inadequate to dissuade the wealthier investors from putting their capital investments as fast and as far as they can into tax-exempt securities, which will free them from making any contribution whatsoever to the expenses of the nation. With supertaxes running up as high as the new figure, 50 per cent., it will be more profitable for a wealthy investor to buy State or municipal bonds, free from federal taxes, than to purchase taxable securities with a return of as much as 16 or 18 per cent. In other words, there are no taxable securities whatsoever that can compete with the tax-exempt bonds for the funds of this class of investors. The peculiar misery of the situation is that the man with a large accumulated fortune, who is no longer an active and valuable producing unit in the country's industry, may thus entirely escape making contributions to the nation's expenses (by investment in State and municipal bonds); while the active business man, taking heavy risks from year to year in carrying out his part in making the wheels of industry go round, has no opportunity to evade his tax burden in this manner, but, on the contrary, may under the present system come through a five years' period with more than his entire income confiscated

by the tax collector. Thus, assuming that an exceedingly active (and so-called "successful") man of business has three very profitable years out of five, with the other two years showing heavy losses, it may easily come about that his income-tax payments in the prosperous years will aggregate more than his entire net income for the five-year period, after the losses of the lean years are deducted from the profits of the prosperous ones. In the meantime, his inactive neighbor with an inherited fortune has a vast body of tax-exempt securities, variously estimated to aggregate from sixteen to forty billions of dollars, to choose from in finding a safe refuge for his capital.

*The
Sales Tax
up Again*

Altogether the new revenue measure promises, after it has suffered the pull and haul in Congress from all kinds of political considerations, to emerge in a somewhat dilapidated and unsatisfactory condition. The one courageous, clean-cut, and easily workable program is that advocated by Senator Smoot, who took occasion in the October debates in the Senate to make a forceful presentation of his plan. He would abolish every tax law on the books and substitute six easily understandable schedules which would raise the money necessary to carry on the Government with every taxpayer seeing clearly as he went along what he should have to contribute and how. A large part of the total revenue raised would, under Senator Smoot's plan, come from his so-called manufacturers' tax, or modified sales tax—a levy upon the manufacturer's wholesale price of the finished article. The Senator made a very able defense of his proposals, declaring that, so far as concerns the hue and cry that is raised immediately on any mention of a sales tax, under our present working law we have raised during the fiscal year nearly a billion dollars through various forms of sales and special taxes. He admits that the manufacturers' tax is a tax on production; that it will be passed on to the consumer and become in practical effect a consumption tax. But he contends, and properly, that every tax on business income must, in the final analysis, be a consumption tax. His main claim is that with the repeal of the excess-profits tax, retaining an income levy of 10 per cent. on corporations, there would come about a reduction in retail prices which would be offset by the workings of his sales tax only to the extent of 3 per cent. from

the manufacturer's selling price. Many agree with the Senator in his conviction that some form of sales tax is absolutely certain to come within the next year or two as the least disagreeable and the cleanest-cut method of raising the money necessary to run the Government; and it is highly valuable to have the pros and cons of this particular form of sales tax threshed out in the meantime.

*Germany's
Worse
Tax Puzzle*

A heavy sales tax on all business transactions is now being levied in Germany, and in Chancellor Wirth's desperate effort to raise money for reparations payments it is proposed to double the rate. Germany's experience is not, however, set down here as having any direct bearing on what we in America should or should not do, for we should have to go far indeed in the direction of chaos before it would become necessary for American citizens to bear one-half the exactions now proposed to raise the money for reparations. The new German program includes doubling the already heavy tax on coal, further increases of the heavy income taxes, a capital levy every three years of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all property, and even a proposal to confiscate for the Government's use 20 per cent. of every new stock issue and the same proportion of mortgages on realty. These prospective new burdens, together with Germany's necessity to purchase exchange for past and current reparations payments, have brought the gold value of the mark nearer and nearer the vanishing point. Normally the mark is worth 23.8 cents; on October 16, after precipitate declines from recent levels between 2 and 3 cents, its value reached the ominous figure of .66 of a cent. This means that every mark collected by the Chancellor in taxes was worth less than one-thirty-sixth of its normal value for the purpose of making reparations payments.

*The Berlin
"Catastrophe
Boom"*

It is one of the constantly recurring illustrations of the economic truth that there is a limit of severity in taxes, beyond which they simply cannot be collected. If the German Chancellor doubles his tax levies at a time when marks are worth 2 cents, only to find when he comes to collect that the mark is worth only .66, the actual value of the tax collected is, of course, not only not doubled, but is decidedly less than before the increases in rates were made. Thus the taxpayer is in



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THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED, WITH GREATER RESPONSIBILITIES THAN AT ANY PREVIOUS TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THIS BODY.

(Seated, from left to right, are: Winthrop M. Daniels, Balthasar H. Meyer, Charles C. McChord [chairman], Henry C. Hall and Clyde B. Aitchison. Standing, from left to right, are: Ernest I. Lewis, John J. Esch, Joseph B. Eastman, Mark W. Potter, Johnston B. Campbell, and F. I. Cox)

the end relieved from inordinate exactions by the very fact of such exactions having been made. He pays more marks but, because of the huge inflation, he surrenders less value. Inflation of this sort is now progressing frantically in Germany, with rising wages and prices of foodstuffs. German bankers estimate that the cost of living has increased fourteen to fifteen times over pre-war costs, measured in marks. They place responsibility for the present dangerous inflation on the necessity for making reparations payments. The extraordinarily rapid depreciation of the mark has led to unheard-of speculation and to increases on the Berlin Bourse of fifty to two hundred points in the price of stocks in a single day—"the catastrophe boom," as it is aptly termed.

The Railroad Strike Threat After a preliminary conference on October 6 between Senator Cummins, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, and a committee of railroad executives, the question of reducing freight rates was taken up in a general meeting of railroad men at Chicago on October 14. The result of the

Chicago conference was a proposal of the railway executives to ask the Railway Labor Board for permission to cut wages 10 per cent., and at the same time to ask the Interstate Commerce Commission to reduce freight rates by enough to pass the wage-saving along to the public in the form of the reduced shipping charges. This would mean taking from the railroad employees about \$300,000,000 per annum and saving shippers just as much. On October 15 came the answer of the railway unions in a strike order calling out on October 30 500,000 men, with unofficial assurances from other unions that the remaining employees—making 2,000,000 in all—would be called out, group by group, so as to tie up the railways of the country completely by November 2.

Railway Executives Confident

The managers of the railways were quick to point out that such a strike would be not against them, but against the public and the decisions of the public's legal representatives. For no reduction in wages can be made without the sanction of the Railway Labor Board, and no reduction has been made except that

of 12½ per cent., duly decreed by the Labor Board, which went into effect on July 1 last. Railroad men showed confidence that with the help of automobile trucks and of the large supply of unemployed labor available any strike could be quickly broken. But no one failed to realize the misery and bad feeling that would result from a general railway strike. The unions allowed an opportunity for conciliatory efforts by giving two weeks' notice of their intentions, and President Harding promptly began efforts to save the great public calamity of any attempt "to tie up transportation so completely that it will be impossible for a train to move," as the union leaders flatly put it. The first specific proposal for a settlement came from the group in the Labor Board representing the public. As presented to the President, it was, briefly, that the unions accept the 12 per cent. wage reduction that began last July, but that freight rate reductions should immediately be made to an amount equivalent to this wage reduction, and that any petitions for further wage decreases should be laid before the Labor Board. Of course this proposal was contingent on the withdrawal of strike orders. It was evident that if the railway managers showed a fair and sympathetic spirit the public would support them. Their position is a hard one. In 1912 railway labor received 43.1 per cent. of gross revenues; in 1920, 59.9 per cent.

*Can Freight
Rates Be
Reduced?*

That shippers and the country at large imperatively need lower freight rates, particularly on agricultural products and coal, is certain and obvious. How these reductions can be made on the present volume of traffic and still leave the roads able to pay their debts and the hire of capital that will keep them going, is a baffling question; no intelligent answer has been suggested except lower wages. The farmers in the West are again talking of using corn for fuel, because its value in certain localities is greater for that purpose as compared with the present cost of coal than their net returns from the corn sold in the market—a situation in which freight rates play the major part.

*The
Railway
Side of It*

The fact that the August earnings of the railroads were very much better than any reported for many months puts the carriers at some tactical disadvantage in dealing with the de-

mands for lower rates; but a very slight analysis of the situation shows real perplexity and difficulty in the matter. The roads of the first class show for August a net income of \$90,200,000, which is at the rate of something over 5 per cent. per annum, seasonal percentages being considered, on the valuation of the roads fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission for rate-making purposes (\$18,900,000,000). These August results compared with the first two months of this year (when operating revenues actually failed to meet the operating expenses, leaving less than nothing for interest and dividends), look magnificent enough; and it is true that improvement has been progressive in recent months. From a hasty survey of the reports of this year one might well feel that it would be a fair business venture for railroad operatives to reduce freight rates where reduction was most needed, and count on the general improving tendency of their finances, together with some increase in traffic that lower rates might induce, to maintain their level of net earnings. This would seem the more promising in that the present volume of freight is no less than 30 per cent. smaller than the traffic of 1920, and there is evidently room for great improvement in this factor, if business will only begin to move normally.

*The Roads
Are Being
Skimped*

But when one analyzes the current operations of the railroads the matter does not look so cheerful. This showing of some \$90,000,000 earned as net income in the month of August was obtained not only with the help of the 12 per cent. reduction in wages and various economies introduced, but chiefly by reason of a reduction in maintenance and repair work of no less than \$150,000,000, compared with expenditures for the same purpose in August, 1920. In other words, the roads are deliberately cutting down the normal maintenance work, and sooner or later more money must be expended for this purpose if the properties are to be kept in condition to serve the public adequately. One naturally asks why such a policy should be chosen at a time when virtually fictitious earnings means putting the railroad managers in a false position in the vital controversy concerning rates and wages. The answer is very simple. Last summer the railroads were actually about \$300,000,000 behind in the cash needed to pay their current debts for materials and supplies. This

situation was largely due to the delay in settling their accounts with the Government and in obtaining the balances due them on the last six months' guaranty of earnings. The money had to be obtained somehow if the roads were to continue as solvent organizations, and they have been and are getting it by saving on repair and maintenance work which must be made up before very long. As a way out of the very serious impasse, it has been suggested that the roads agree at once to lower rates conditioned on certain specified reductions of wage scales.

*New York's
Transit
Plan*

In the last week of September, the New York City Transit Commission appointed by Governor Miller made its first report in the form of a broadly outlined plan for completely reconstructing the control and operation of the metropolitan transit system. It furnishes the first positive and helpful suggestion for the solution of a problem which has become disgracefully muddled with political acrimony. In brief, the commission headed by Mr. George McAneny proposes that all railway lines in the City of New York shall come under municipal ownership and be operated by three corporate agencies to be created for the purpose. The entire transit system would be unified under a board of control, of which three members are to be appointed by the Mayor, three by the investors, with a chairman to be selected by the two groups, as a seventh member. To make the reorganization possible, the existing companies would surrender all franchises, including the perpetual franchises. The payment for property taken over by the city would be made on the basis of a fair physical valuation, which is now being completed under the direction of the commission. The noisy controversy over the five-cent fare is answered by provision that no increase over that figure should be made unless a year's operation under new conditions should demonstrate its necessity. An interesting part in this well-considered program is that the rates of fare are eventually to be based on the actual cost of service.

*The
Unemployment
Conference*

On October 13 the National Conference on Unemployment came to an end at Washington. Under Mr. Hoover's skilful direction, the very heterogeneous body of sixty or more members—representing labor, capital, and the public—got along astonishingly well,

though naturally not without some committee tilts when such matters as wage reductions came to the fore. Before the conference disbanded, a standing committee was appointed to urge the relief policies favored by the conference and to remain in existence as long as the need for relief shall last. The estimates of the experts submitted at the meetings were that from 3,500,000 to 5,500,000 people are now on the lists of the unemployed in the United States, with 1,500,000 of these classified as normally out of work. In general, Mr. Hoover expressed himself as confident that the coming winter would not bring severe distress to working classes of this country, though there will be anxiety and deprivation enough to make worthwhile any possible efforts to furnish work for those seeking it.

*Specific
Recommendations*

The conference succeeded in working out through its committees a general structure of relief movements and made a number of specific suggestions. It began with the principle that unemployment is primarily a community problem, and that the mayor should assume leadership. An emergency committee representing the various elements in the community should carry out the work under the mayor. Homes, hotels, and offices should help by having repair work and cleaning done in the winter. Municipalities should expand their school, street, sewage, and repair work. A Congressional appropriation for roads is urged. The conference found the country short a million homes, and reported that two million people could be working continually to supply the deficiency. It urged that costs be adjusted so that this necessary work could go on, and called for searching inquiry where costs are kept up to a point where home construction is prevented. Manufacturers are urged to give part-time work, through reduced time or rotation, to manufacture for stock as far as possible, to make any needed extensions, and to reduce the hours of labor so as to spread the work over more workmen. To the onlooker, Mr. Hoover's conference seems to have done well what could be done. After all such efforts and suggestions that are possible, we must, of course, face the hard fact that until production costs come down, and until they are more nearly stabilized and leveled, the various groups of producers cannot purchase goods from each other and many persons must go without work.



SOVIET RUSSIA'S STARVING WOMEN AND CHILDREN RECEIVING AMERICAN RELIEF

(From the Port of Riga, the American Relief Administration has sent more than 5000 tons of food to Tsaritsa and other famine centers of Soviet Russia. Medical supplies and garments are logical supplements to the much-needed food, and the Soviet Government's new methods are being revealed through this helpful penetration by American and European messengers of mercy. Relief has been badly hampered by lack or failure of railroads, but new German locomotives are being assembled rapidly; big combines for electric light and power production, mining, and manufacture are being formed; and early in November the new Soviet State Bank will be opened at Moscow, with a capital of three trillion rubles [62,000 to the dollar] and branches at five principal cities)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 15 to October 15)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

September 19.—The Senate Finance Committee completes its consideration and revision of the House Revenue bill, and orders it reported; the measure would raise \$3,200,000,000 in the next fiscal year and \$2,700,000,000 yearly thereafter.

September 21.—Both branches reassemble after a month's recess; the Senate has before it tax and tariff measures, the peace treaties with the Central Powers, the Panama Canal Tolls Repeal bill, and the anti-beer bill.

September 23.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee adds a reservation to the peace treaties with Germany, Hungary, and Austria requiring Senate confirmation of appointees to Allied commissions; the treaties are ordered reported favorably.

September 24.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) and Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) engage in debate on ratification of the peace treaties; ratification at an early date is asked by the President.

Senate leaders are requested by the President to delay passage of the Panama Canal Tolls Repeal bill until a more propitious time.

September 26.—The Senate postpones action on the anti-beer bill, giving it right of way after treaty and tax matters.

September 29.—The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections reports a majority in favor of seating Mr. Newberry (Rep.); the minority sustains the contention that he used excessive funds in his campaign, contrary to law.

In the Senate, Democrats offer amendments to

the Tax bill to raise surtax maximum from 32 to 52 per cent. and to retain the capital-stock tax.

September 30.—The Senate unanimously limits debate on the treaty to one hour per member, with ten minutes for reservations.

In the Senate, Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) proposes a series of tax bill amendments headed by a 3 per cent. sales tax.

October 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Kenyon (Rep., Iowa) introduces bills to regulate the coal industry and curb profiteering.

October 10.—The Senate Finance Committee accepts, 5 to 4, amendments to the tax bill by Western Senators, repealing transportation taxes, raising income surtaxes and inheritance taxes, the former to 50 per cent.

In the Senate, the Canal Tolls Repeal bill is passed, 47 to 37, with 17 Republicans voting against it; the bill gives free passage through the Panama Canal to American coastwise vessels.

October 11.—The House Rules Committee begins hearings on the Ku Klux Klan's activities.

October 14.—The House, voting 146 to 142, refuses to increase its membership under the Siegel bill.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 15.—Parcel post service to Russia is resumed (first-class mail was restored in April).

September 18.—A commission of inquiry headed by Congressman Anderson (Rep., Minn.) finds that consumers pay 37 cents of each dollar for

cost of production, 14 cents for all profits, and 49 cents for service.

September 20.—In New Mexico, Holm O. Bursum (Rep.) defeats Richard H. Hanna (Dem.) in the election to fill the Senate seat vacated by Secretary Fall.

New York Police Commissioner Enright admits to the Meyer Investigating Committee that he received \$12,000 from one of his deputies, as "profit" on a stock deal, and the use of a new \$4000 automobile from another.

September 21.—Col. Mason M. Patrick is placed in command of the Army Air Service (with the rank of Major-General), succeeding Major-General Menoher, resigned.

September 22.—The United States Shipping Board charters four vessels at a net return of fifty cents a ton under the bareboat plan.

September 24.—Police Chief Fitzmorris, of Chicago (recently sentenced to fine and imprisonment for criticizing judicial leniency to criminals), declares that 50 per cent. of the police force are engaged in liquor graft, and directs a shakeup.

J. W. McCoy is convicted of murder at Williamson, W. Va., with a recommendation of mercy—the first conviction arising from the Mingo County mine strike.

Chief Burns of the Secret Service starts an investigation of the revived Ku Klux Klan; E. Y. Clarke of Atlanta resigns as Imperial Kleagle.

September 26.—The Unemployment Conference at Washington is opened by President Harding and proceeds with its work under direction of Secretary Hoover.

September 27.—In a special election for Representative from the Sixth Massachusetts District, A. Platt Andrew of Gloucester (Rep.) defeats Charles I. Pettingell (Dem.) by a majority of 15,000.

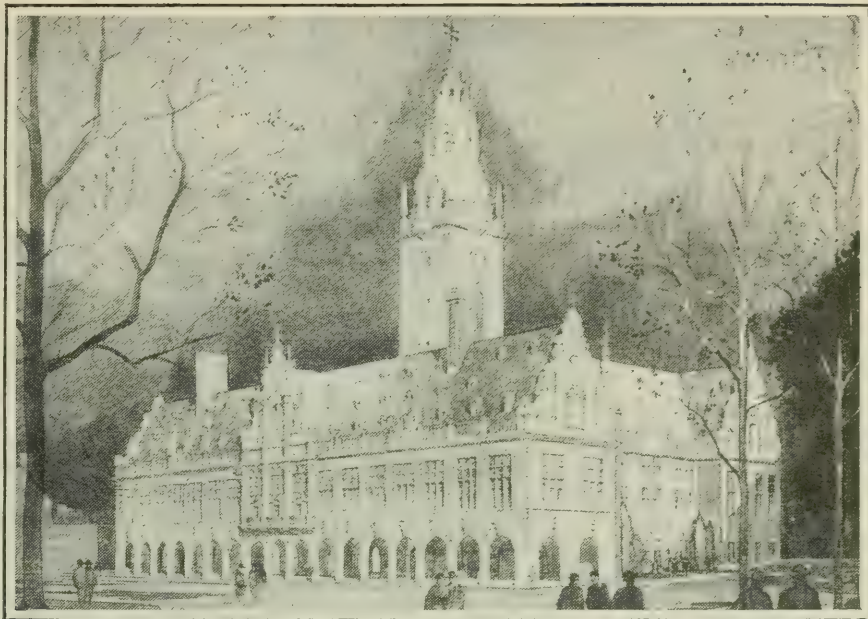
Governor McRae of Arkansas calls a special election for October 25, to fill the seat of the late Congressman S. M. Taylor.

September 28.—The Interstate Commerce Commission publishes its tentative plans for consolidating all the chief railroads of the country into nineteen systems.

September 29.—The New York City Transit Commission appointed by Governor Miller reports its plan for unification of all transit—subway, surface, and elevated—under municipal ownership at honest valuation, with control by a local city board, and with a five-cent fare.

September 30.—The National Conference on Unemployment adopts an emergency program condemning profiteers, recommending community relief, and outlining plans therefor.

October 3.—The Shipping Board announces that, of 1464 vessels under its control, only 240 are



THE NEW LIBRARY AT LOUVAIN, BELGIUM, AS IT WILL APPEAR

(Beginning on page 525 will be found an article by a Belgian professor with an introduction by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler on the recent ceremonies at Louvain, where the cornerstone was laid of a beautiful library building that America is giving to replace the one destroyed by the Germans in 1914. Our picture above shows the design of the new building as prepared by Messrs. Warren and Wetmore, the New York architects. Dr. Butler, representing the American donors, laid the stone in the presence of the King and Queen of Belgium and a distinguished international gathering)

in service; 1019 are scheduled for dead mooring upon discharging present cargo.

William Howard Taft is inducted as Chief Justice of the United States. . . . Juan B. Huyke takes office as the first native Porto Rican Commissioner of Education.

October 5.—General Wood retires from the Army and is confirmed as Governor-General of the Philippines.

October 6.—The Department of Labor reports an increase of 18,050 persons at work in September, compared with August; 38 cities report an increase in employment, while 26 report a decrease.

Laurits Selmer Swenson, of Minnesota, is nominated as American Minister to Norway.

October 7.—The Army tests a new flashless powder to make night artillery fire invisible.

October 11.—Jesse S. Cottrell, of Tennessee, is nominated Minister to Bolivia.

The Census reveals that there are in New York State 425,022 persons who cannot write in any language; 281,121 live in New York City.

October 13.—The Unemployment Conference is ended, with permanent organization effected to carry out its recommendations under Col. Arthur Woods; representatives of capital and labor manage not to quarrel.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 18.—Premier Lloyd George informs DeValera that, unless the Irish claim of sovereignty is withdrawn, a conference is impossible between the British Government and the Irish.

September 21.—Premier Meighen, of Canada, reorganizes the Cabinet to strengthen his (Unionist) party for the general election in December.

September 22.—The Indian rebel, Seethikoya Tangal, of Kumaramputhur, proclaims himself Governor of a Mahometan kingdom; repeal of

the repressive Rowlatt law is urged by the Indian Legislature.

Hugo Lerchenfeld is elected Premier of Bavaria by the Landtag; he succeeds the notorious Dr. von Kahr, who was opposed to the Berlin Government; Lerchenfeld pledges fidelity.

September 24.—In Budapest, capital of Hungary, Count Julius Andrássy and ex-President Rakovsky escape assassination by anti-Royalists.

September 25.—Bombing at Belfast by Orangemen and Sinn Feiners and shooting by British troops result in four deaths, with fifty-seven injured.

September 26.—President Joseph Pilsudski, of Poland, narrowly escapes assassination.

September 29.—Lloyd George places the Irish Conference on a new basis, discarding previous correspondence; he now proposes a parley on October 11, at London, to carry on negotiations face to face instead of by correspondence.

September 30.—DeValera accepts the new Lloyd George proposal.

Unrest in India continues, guerilla warfare developing against British troops; Mohammed Ali, Shanket Ali, and other leaders of the non-coöperative movement are arrested.

October 2.—Italian riots break out again between Fascisti and Socialists at Modena.

October 6.—Fiume (now an independent state) elects through the Constitutional Assembly Prof. Riccardo Zanella as President.

October 11.—The Irish confer with the British at London; the British are Lloyd George, Lord Birkenhead, Winston Churchill, Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Sir Hamar Greenwood, and Sir Gordon Hewart; the Irish, Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, R. C. Barton, E. J. Duggan, and Gavan Duffy.

October 13.—At London, 20,000 unemployed attempt a parade; police interfere, and there is serious rioting.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 17.—The German peace treaty with America is ratified by the Reichsrat, or National Council.

The League Assembly Amendments Committee reports that Article X should be retained. This Article binds each member nation to preserve territorial integrity and political independence of all other members against external aggression.

September 18.—Greek troops fighting Turkish forces in Asia Minor withdraw to their original positions east of the River Sakaria.

September 19.—The League Disarmament Commission reports the world unready; it leaves the United States free to tackle the problem, and recommends circulation of a questionnaire asking of each nation detailed information.

Russia and Germany resume official relations.

September 20.—Albania demands action from the League Assembly to stop invasion of the 1913 boundary by Jugoslavs; the border was not fixed at Paris and the Council of Ambassadors is supposed to be still considering it.

Britain protests to Russia the breach of their treaty of trade and commerce in fomenting revolt in British dependencies.

September 22.—Poland is reported to have de-

manded of Russia fulfillment by October 1 of peace terms signed at Riga.

September 23.—Soviet Russia demands that Rumania surrender General Makno, Ukrainian anti-Bolshevist, whose forces are in defeat.

September 24.—The League Council lays before the Assembly a report by M. Paul Hymans (Belgium) on the settlement of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute over Vilna (the Zellgouski coup of October 11, 1920); the Assembly seemingly concurs, and Poland is expected to withdraw Zellgouski pending a plebiscite.

September 24.—The Council of Ambassadors demands that Hungary evacuate Burgenland under the Treaty of Trianon within ten days.

American Ambassador Warren is received at the Japanese court by Prince Hirohito, the Emperor being in extremely poor health.

September 26.—At the League Assembly, the Serbia-Albania border fracas is fervidly debated, the Greeks claiming Epirus against Albania.

Russia replies to the British note regarding violation of the trade agreement, saying that Lord Curzon is misled by propaganda from Russian White Guards and the French.

September 27.—The League Assembly postpones action on disarmament until next year, and approves the Washington Conference.

German disarmament is reported proceeding to rapid completion (see p. 464).

September 28.—Japan selects Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, president of the House of Peers, to head its delegation to the Washington Conference; Vice Admiral Tomosaburo Kato and Baron Kijuro Shidehara are also appointed.

September 28.—Washington sends fourteen notes acknowledging communications from the League of Nations, dating back to February 4.

September 30.—The League Assembly resolves that Russia should be given international aid, but refers the matter to the Brussels conference; Dr. Nansen (Norway) has asked for £5,000,000.

China's Peking Government protests against the American-Japanese agreement on Yap, claiming that the Shanghai cable cannot be laid without Chinese authority.

The Far Eastern Republic confers with Japanese delegates on their seventeen demands for removal of trade restrictions; Jap troops remain in this Siberian territory.

American relief at Riga announces shipment to Russia of 5000 tons of food.

Poland promises to expel white Russian propagandists; Russia had refused to pay Poland the 30,000,000 gold rubles under the Riga Treaty unless Boris Savinkoff was expelled.

Arbiter Roland Boyden (American), of the Commission on Reparations, decides that Germany must pay the Belgian debt to the Allies at the exchange rate prevailing November 11, 1918, under the Versailles Treaty; France thus gains 1,000,000,000 gold marks.

The German Reichstag ratifies the peace treaty with the United States.

October 2.—General Pershing lays the Congressional Medal of Honor on the tomb of an unknown French soldier at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

Guatemala completes the formation of the new Federation of Central America, consisting of herself, Honduras, and Salvador.



A DEMONSTRATION BY BRITAIN'S UNEMPLOYED AT TRAFALGAR SQUARE IN LONDON

(Over five million British workmen are entirely unemployed, or working only one or two days a week. More than 20,000 men participated in the demonstration of unemployed at London on October 13, while 10,000 others held a meeting at Sheffield. Fourteen thousand policemen have been concentrated in London, and many persons were badly hurt when the unemployed marchers attempted to gain Trafalgar Square in the face of determined police opposition.)

October 3.—Spanish troops drive the Moors back with 1000 killed, capturing Sebt and other positions near Segangan.

October 4.—Ministers are appointed to represent the United States as follows: Lewis Einstein, Czechoslovakia; Edward E. Brodie, Siam; Charles L. Kgey, Finland; Roy Davis, Guatemala; Charles S. Wilson, Bulgaria; Dr. John Glover South, Panama; John E. Ramer, Nicaragua; and Willis C. Cook, Venezuela.

The United States invites Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal to attend the Pacific Conference at Washington.

October 5.—The second meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations adjourns after re-electing Brazil, Belgium, China, and Spain as the four non-permanent members of the Council.

October 6.—The International Commission of Relief for Russia meets in Belgium.

October 7.—China's reply to Japan on Shantung is published; it declares the Japanese have offered no plan fundamentally acceptable or compatible with Chinese hopes and aspirations and China's foreign treaties; the proposals, if final, "inadequately prove the sincerity" of Japan.

The Burgenland controversy is submitted by France, Britain, and Italy to Italian mediation with Hungary.

Lithuania ratifies the Permanent International Court of Justice.

October 10.—The International Russian Relief Commission requires Russia to recognize her existing debts before extending any further credit.

October 12.—The League Council comes to a decision on a division of Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany; terms are withheld.

October 13.—The French Cabinet names delegates for the Washington Conference; they are, Premier Briand, ex-Premier Viviani, Senator Albert Sarraut, and Ambassador Jusserand.

The Burgenland controversy is settled between Hungary and Austria at Venice in a protocol ceding Burgenland to Austria, which agrees to recede the city of Oedenburg when irregular Hungarian troops are removed from the district.

October 14.—Spanish troops capture Zeluan from the Moors.

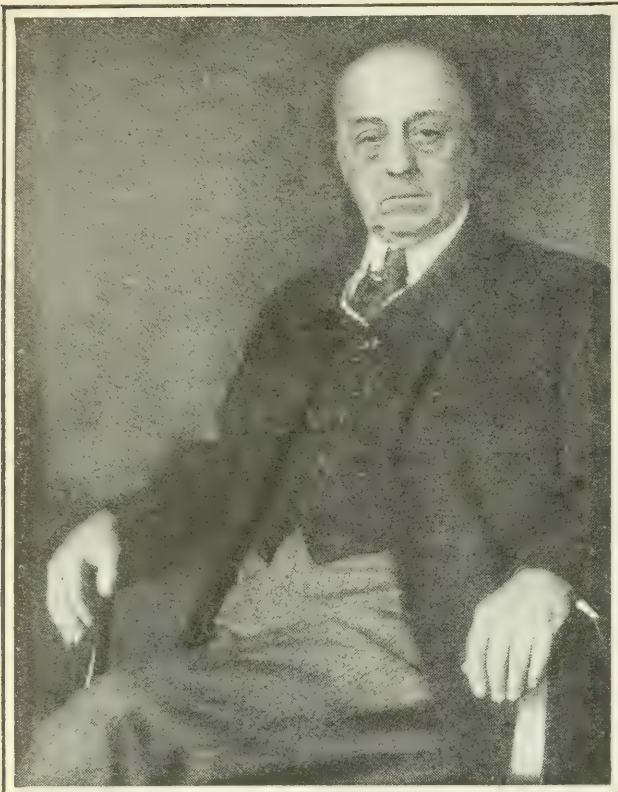
Bolshevist Russia offers mediation to Mongolia with Peking; a Soviet army is at Urga, Mongolia, and a Soviet commercial delegation on the way to Peking, which opposes Soviet dictation in Mongolia.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 17.—At New York City, the seventh national chemical exhibition ends with a record of 100,000 visitors.

September 18.—The *New York Times* observes the seventieth anniversary of its first issue and the completion of twenty-five years under the management of Adolph S. Ochs.

September 20.—At Peking, China, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., dedicates the Peking Union Medical College, which was built by the China Medical Board at a cost of \$8,000,000; several hundred



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THE LATE HON. PHILANDER CHASE KNOX, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA

(Mr. Knox, who died suddenly on October 12, had attained eminence as an American lawyer residing at Pittsburgh, when he was called to be Attorney-General in McKinley's Cabinet in April, 1901. He continued in Roosevelt's Cabinet for about three years after McKinley's death, but resigned in order to enter the Senate in the summer of 1904. Five years later he resigned from the Senate to become Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Taft. He was reelected to the Senate five years ago. As a lawyer and statesman he was a man of remarkable intellectual force, and a Republican of strong convictions)

prominent physicians, educators, and missionaries are present.

September 21.—The great German chemical works of the Badische Anilin concern, at Oppau, are destroyed by an explosion, with hundreds of casualties.

September 23.—At Camp Perry, O., the Marine Corps wins the national rifle team match, scoring 3219 to the Infantry's 3204.

Army airmen, in tests, "blind" the obsolete battleship *Alabama* with smoke bombs and tear gas, disrupting completely her fire control and decimating her (dummy) crew.

September 24.—The International Congress of Eugenics hears Major Darwin urge as a patriotic duty greater propagation among better class families; he says the best types are disappearing, while inferior citizenship rapidly multiplies.

September 27.—The United States submarine *R-6* sinks while at anchor at San Pedro, Cal., from a collapsed torpedo tube, with two dead.

September 28.—Lieut. John A. Macready makes a new world's altitude record in an airplane, reaching 40,800 feet with special heating and breathing apparatus.

October 1.—New York dock-workers and longshoremen of other coast ports strike because they disagree with their union leaders on the necessity and extent of a wage cut.

At Indianapolis, the United Mine Workers

postpone demands for a wage increase until February.

At Elsinor, Utah, earth shocks cause some damage; Indians dance in the hills while their medicine men predict the early end of the world.

October 3.—The Interchurch World Movement issues another instalment of its report on the 1919 steel strike, condemning the steel companies for industrial espionage, employment of agents provocateur among alien workers, corrupt elections, and subsidizing of courts and police.

October 10.—New York City schools are opened to inspection, inquiry, and suggestion by parents for a week.

October 12.—Federal judges in New Jersey decide the public utilities may charge an eight-cent fare (instead of seven) with a one-cent transfer on trolley lines.

October 13.—The New York National League "Giants" win the world series baseball championship against the American League "Yankees" of New York, five games to three.

October 14.—In Chicago, new buildings are being erected costing \$112,258,680, and numbering 3712, most of which are for homes.

October 15.—Railroad union leaders order 750,000 men to strike on October 30, and it is expected that nearly 2,000,000 men will complete a general walkout in protest against a 12 per cent. wage reduction ordered by the Railroad Labor Board July 1, and further reductions now contemplated to help reduce freight rates.

OBITUARY

September 18.—Thomas O'Gorman, of Sioux Falls, S. D., Catholic Bishop and historian, 78.

September 20.—Austin Lathrop, New York penologist, 82.

September 21.—Amos Kidder Fiske, journalist and author, 79.

September 22.—Sir Ernest Cassel, noted London financier and philanthropist, 69. . . . Dr. José C. Barbosa, publisher of *El Tiempo*, Porto Rico.

September 23.—Robert Kluth, landscape artist of Brooklyn, N. Y.

September 27.—Bishop Walter Russell Lambuth, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, a pioneer medical missionary in China, 67.

October 1.—Peter Stenger Grosscup, of Chicago, former federal judge, who made many notable decisions, 69.

October 2.—David Bispham, noted American operatic and concert baritone, 65. . . . Col. Alfred Wagstaff, President of the S. P. C. A., 78.

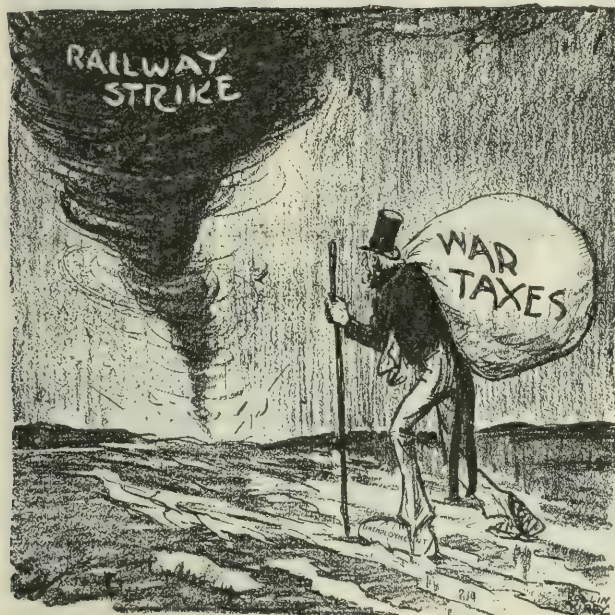
October 5.—John Storey, Premier of New South Wales. . . . Cyrus L. W. Eidlitz, New York architect, 68.

October 12.—Philander Chase Knox, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, former Secretary of State under Taft, and Attorney General under McKinley and Roosevelt, authority on foreign affairs, 68. . . . Dr. Joseph William Richards, of Lehigh University, noted expert on aluminum, 57.

October 14.—Dr. Gotthard Deutsche, dean of the Cincinnati Hebrew Union College, noted Jewish scholar and historian, 62.

October 15.—John G. Luke, president of the largest book paper manufacturing company in the world, 64.

TOPICS OF THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



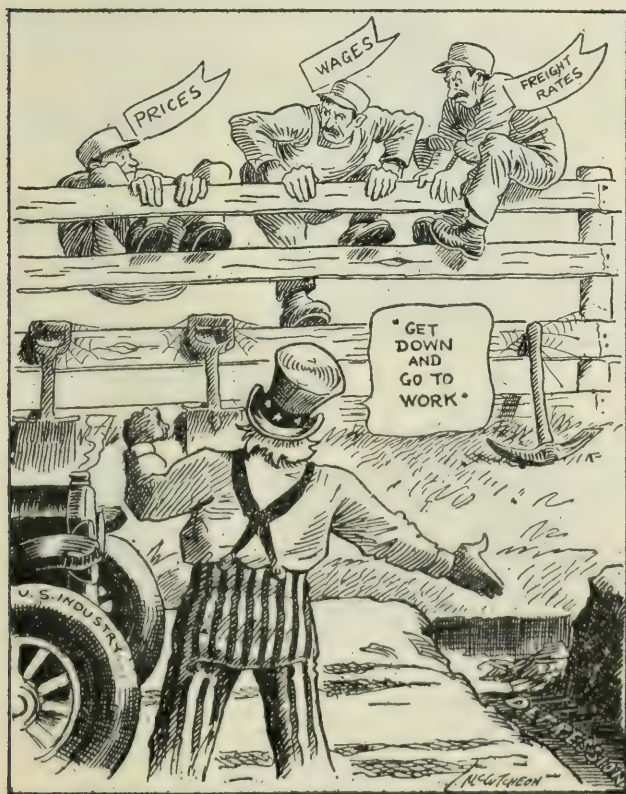
NOT A PLEASANT PROSPECT
From the *World* (New York)



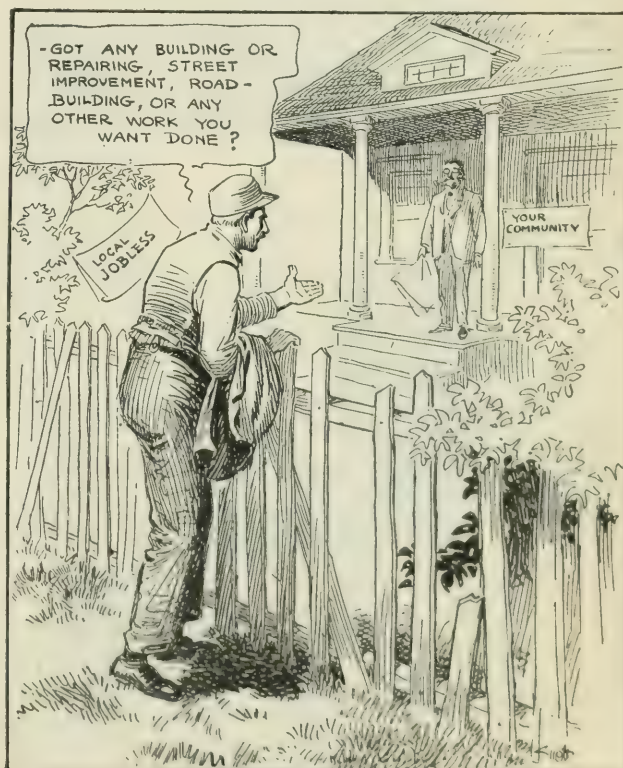
HE MIGHT ESCAPE THE "UNEMPLOYMENT" BULL
IF HE WOULD DROP THE APPLES
From the *Times* (New York)

THE possibility of a railroad strike, nation-wide in scope and almost appalling in prospect, casts a shadow over a general

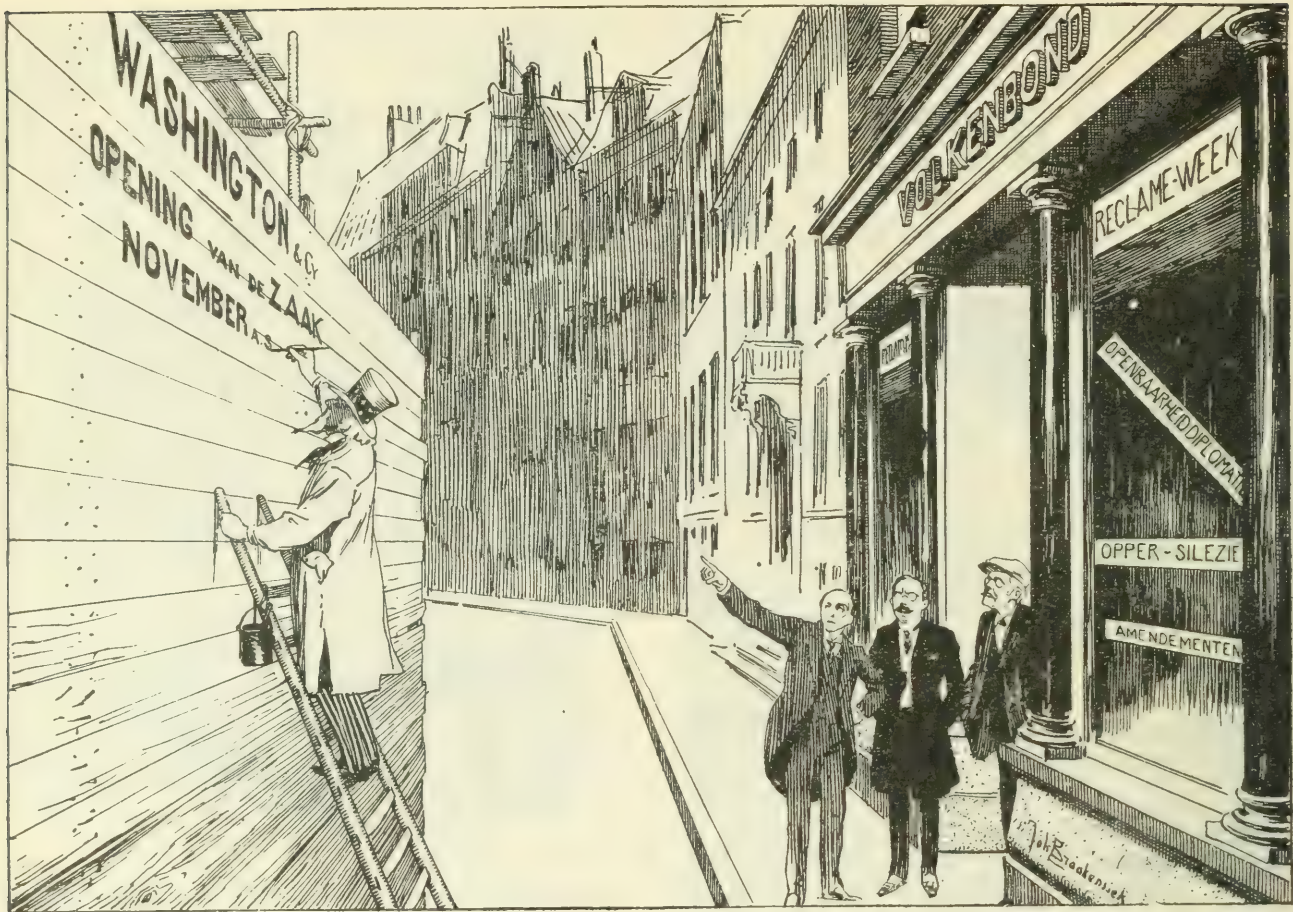
feeling of optimism that had been noticeable in the business world last month. The ordinary citizen had difficulty in reconciling an



ON THE ROAD TO NORMALCY
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



MAKE RELIEF OF THE UNEMPLOYED A LOCAL ISSUE
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



GENEVA AND WASHINGTON

"We will have to quit. Here comes competition!"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[The three men are: Lord Robert Cecil (pointing), who is the leading British advocate of the League of Nations; H. A. Van Karnebeck, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, who presided at the recent session of the League Assembly; and Arthur Balfour]

existing condition of widespread unemployment and a seemingly avoidable transportation strike of vast proportions. Meanwhile, preparations for the approaching conference

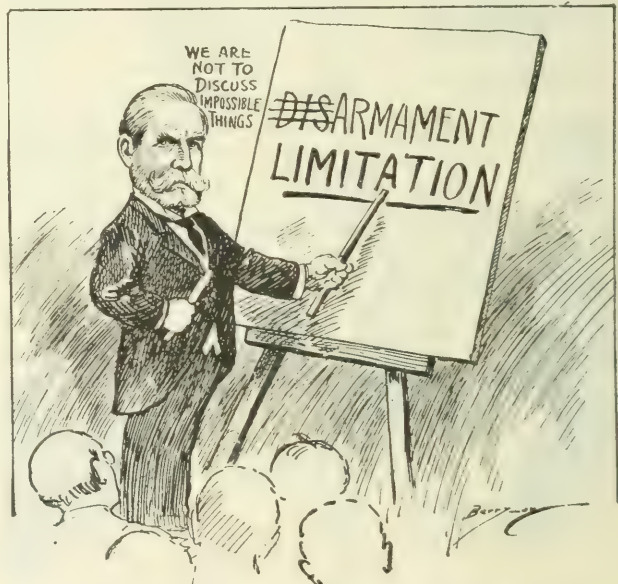
on Limitation of Armament, at Washington, have been going forward without delay; and the theme "disarmament" continues to occupy the attention of peoples in many lands.



THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

"Perhaps we can trim down the expense a little without spoiling his beauty"

From the *Liberator* (New York)



SECRETARY HUGHES AIMS FOR THE POSSIBLE
From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



WAR-TORN EUROPE LOOKS ONCE MORE TO AMERICA
From *Leslie's* (New York)



THE SHOUTS HEARD 'ROUND THE WORLD
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



SENATOR BORAH, WHO PROPOSED THE CONFERENCE,
IS NOT INVITED
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)



WASHINGTON, THE NEW AXIS OF WORLD DIPLOMACY
From the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)



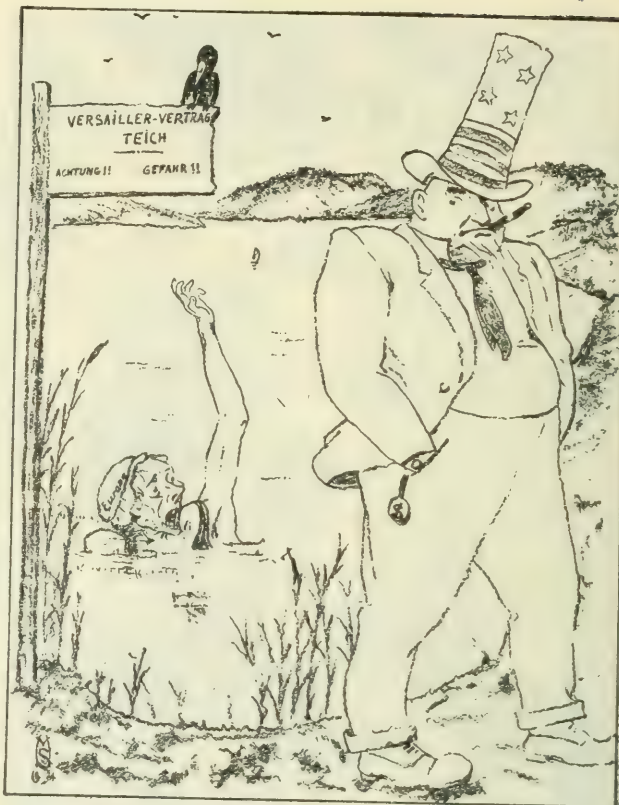
IF IT IS SUCCESSFUL
THE "LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT" CONFERENCE.—From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



IF IT FAILS



THE GREEK INVADER AND THE HEROIC TURK
From *Aksham* (Constantinople, Turkey)



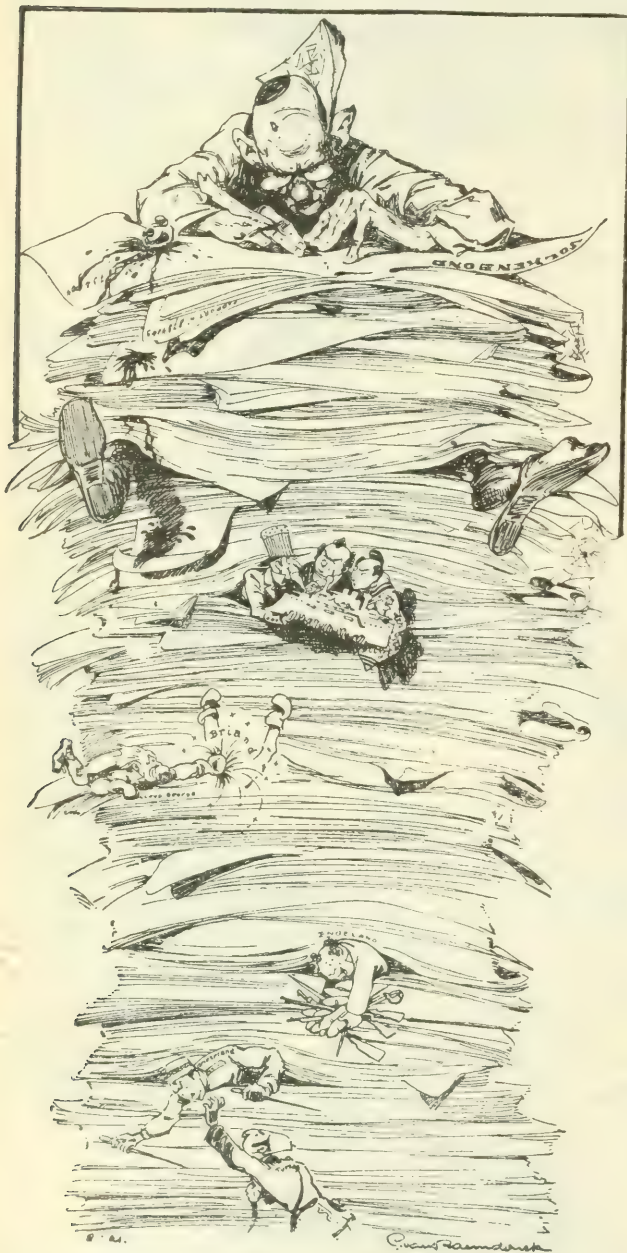
THE SINKING OF THE WEST

EUROPE: "Uncle Sam! Help! Help!"

UNCLE SAM: "Sorry, I can't! I have my hands in my pocket!"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)

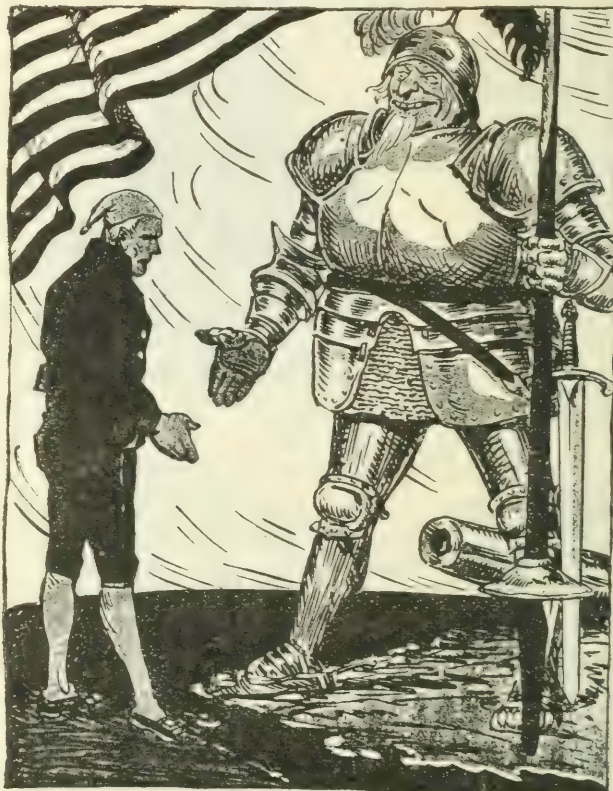
[Uncle Sam's watch-fob, hanging from the pocket referred to, is embellished with a dollar sign]



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WORKS HARD
(And its members also)

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

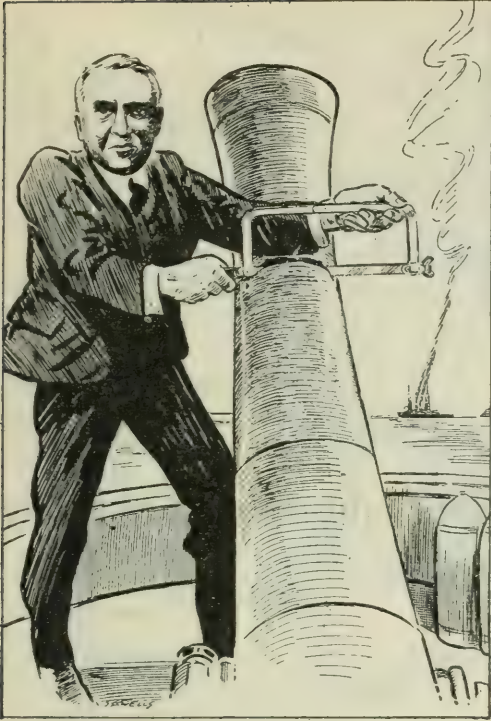
[Amid the vast pile of paper accomplishment, one can see Uncle Sam, John Bull, and the Jap arguing over a battleship; Lloyd George and Briand are fighting; while lower down England is shown handing firearms to Greece, which is striking at Turkey]



BEFORE THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

UNCLE SAM (in heavy armor): "Well, Germany, I don't need to invite you!"

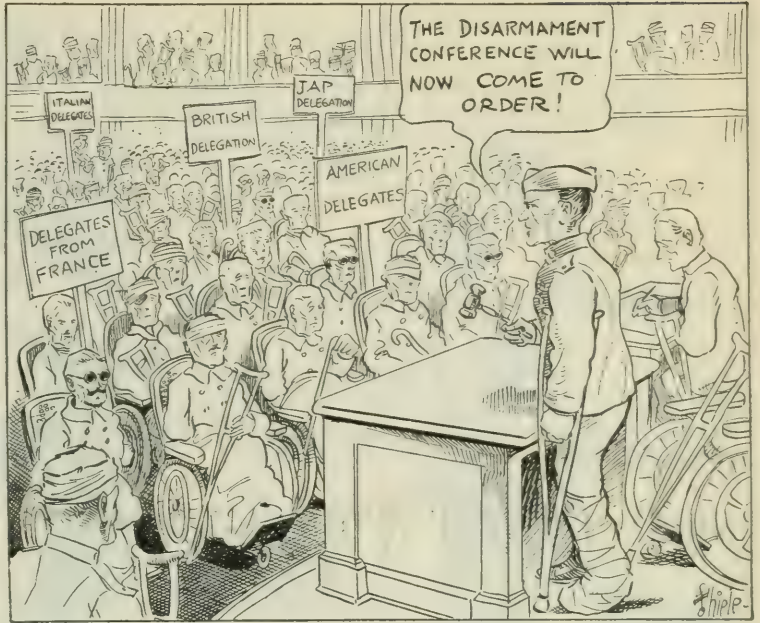
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



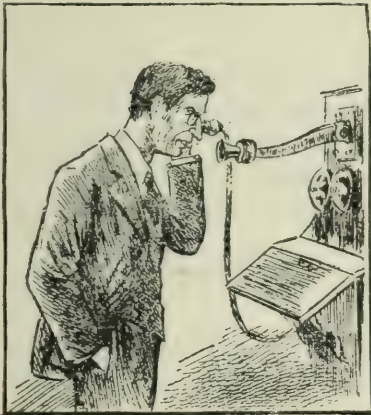
REDUCING ARMAMENTS

PRESIDENT HARDING: "Alone I did it with my little hack saw."

From *Punch* (Melbourne, Australia)



IF PRESIDENT HARDING WANTS RESULTS
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Ia.)



MR. DE VALERA: "Remember George Washington!"



MR. LLOYD GEORGE: "Don't forget Abraham Lincoln!"

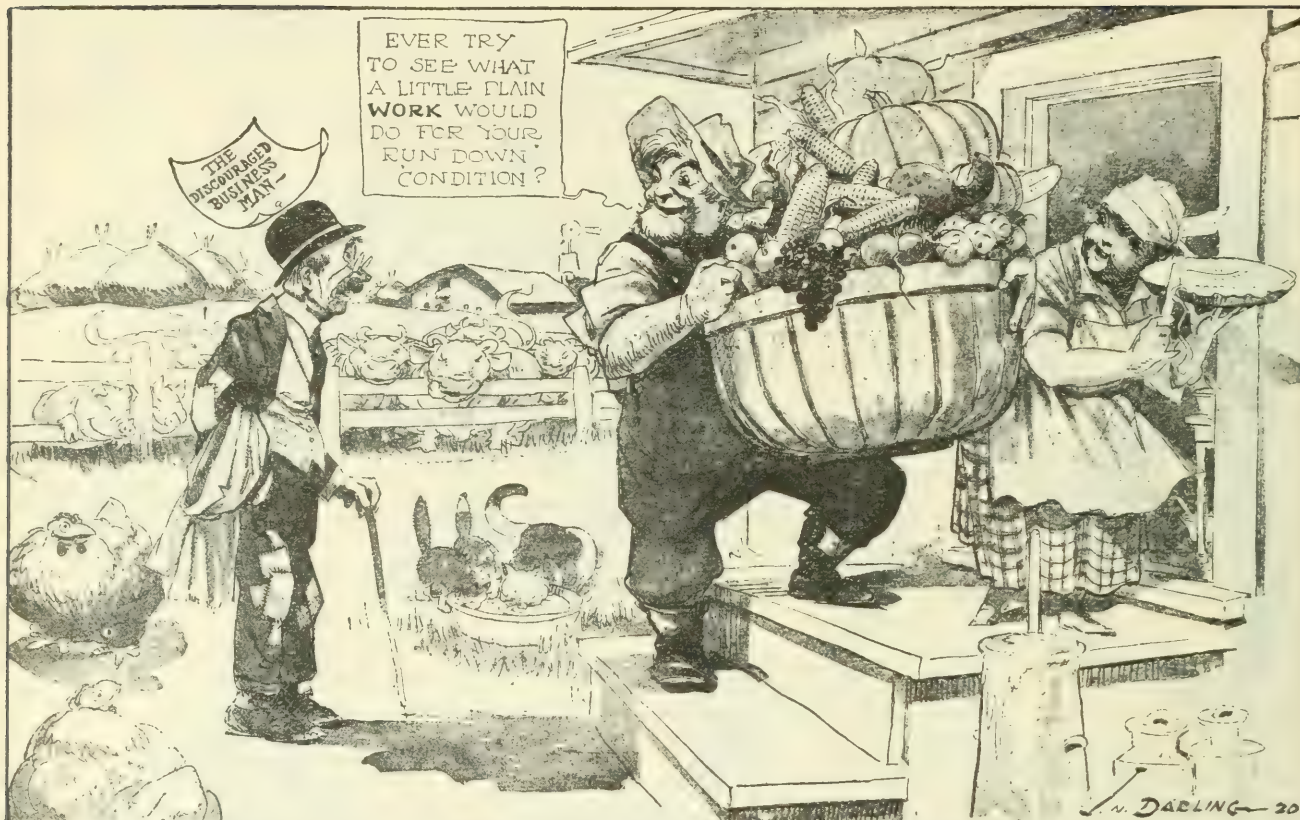
LESSONS FROM WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



THE BOOTY OF THE WORLD WAR
From *Nota Política* (Madrid, Spain)

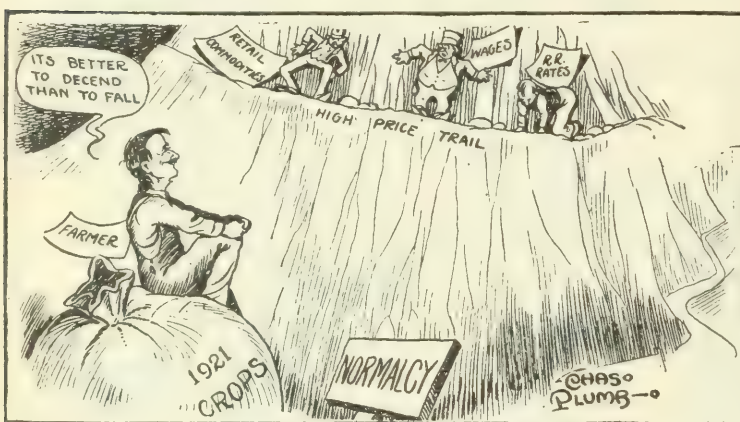
[The British Empire is shown carrying off Germany's African colonies and fleet; Uncle Sam is weighted down with a money chest; Italy has Trieste, Trentino, Dalmatia, and Tyrol; Serbia is walking away with Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro; Japan has acquired Kiau-Chau and Manchuria; while France has gained the Treaty of Versailles]



YOU CAN'T KEEP ANY KIND OF BUSINESS PROSPERING WITHOUT WORK

THE FARMER: "Will I help you? Of course I will. But you'll have to do your stint same as I did."

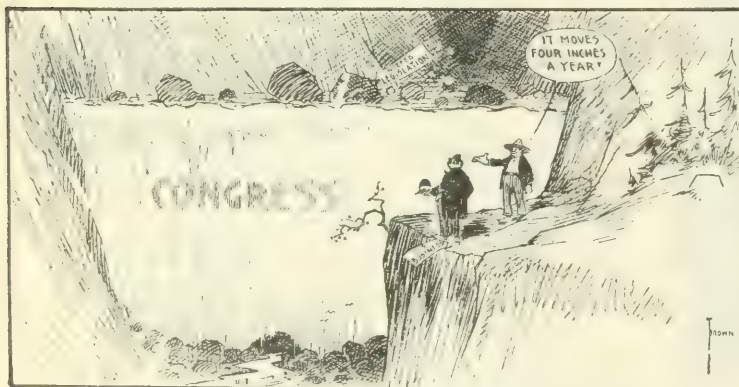
From *Collier's* (New York)



THE FARMER SHOWS THE WAY

[While "Retail Commodities," "Wages," and "Railroad Rates" remain perilously high]

From the *American Farm Bureau Federation* (Chicago, Ill.)



WONDERS OF AMERICA—THE GIANT GLACIER

From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)

[The guide declares that "It moves four inches a year"]

The two cartoons at the bottom of this page set forth a view somewhat widely held—that Congress has not seemed to accomplish much in its six months of special session.



WHEN IS OUR "TAX REDUCTION" SHIP COMING IN?

From the *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)

HENRY FORD, DREAMER AND WORKER

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

[The occasion for an article about Henry Ford, to be based principally upon interviews obtained expressly for such an article by Mr. Welliver, was the recent report that a definite offer had been made to the Government by Mr. Ford for the unfinished but immense water-power development at Muscle Shoals, in Alabama. It was deemed probable that this project, intended by the Government to produce nitrates for war purposes, would be acquired by Mr. Ford for the making of agricultural fertilizers on an unprecedented scale. In other ways Mr. Ford has had prominence of late, notably in his leadership in the movement from stagnation to industrial activity. Mr. Welliver has sought to present Mr. Ford as he found him, and to represent his opinions as Mr. Ford actually expresses them. In writing this remarkably interesting article, it is hardly necessary to say that the interviewer is reporting his subject without advocacy or adoption of particular views. It should also be clearly understood that many of Mr. Ford's opinions, notably his expressions of feeling against American Jews, are at variance with the established positions of this magazine. The public would like to know what Mr. Ford really thinks, and Mr. Welliver has had better opportunities to find out than any other recent writer.—THE EDITOR]

THE other day I sat in a little, white-washed office in a temporary factory structure at Dearborn, Michigan, and heard Henry Ford talk about industry, economics, finance, war and peace, the future of agriculture, the Jews, and the certainty that before long things would be all made over.

From where I sat, I could see, a mile or two away, the roaring furnaces and belching chimneys, the huge derricks and traveling cranes, the maze of industrial structures, that make up the Ford plant at River Rouge, where Mr. Ford said he would presently be turning out tractors at the rate of a million per annum. I had previously been through the Ford factory at Highland Park, turning out over 4000 motor cars a day. Mr. Ford had just told me how, a few months ago, when the financiers were trying to lend him \$75,000,000 and get a representation on his board, he had declined, raised \$89,000,000 from his own resources in a few weeks, taken every dollar of war inflation out of his business, and kept it absolutely in his own hands. He had talked about the danger to business of banker domination; of the gold standard as a Jew invention to enslave the world; of the future of agriculture, so revolutionized that we wouldn't recognize it; that "the millions of domestic animals that encumber the farms will disappear shortly from the earth"; that water-powers would be harnessed to do the world's work; that war would presently be made impossible, and the world would make strides in wealth and intellectual gain, as never before.

The World in "Fine Raw Material Shape"

Almost nothing in the world satisfies Mr. Ford, yet he is the complete optimist. He is glad things are as "mussed up" as they are because the muss has put the world in "the best raw material shape it ever was." The "new era," as he calls it, is already here. For himself, he is just comfortably ready to begin on the truly big tasks he sees ahead. Day after day for a week he talked to me with amazing frankness and freedom, of what he has done, and how; of what he hopes to do hereafter, and to help other men to do. A genius in mechanics, a revolutionist in industry, a Napoleon in business, he has visions of the future that are not distorted by any reflections from the background of a past about which he knows little and cares less. His eye and interest are all for the to-morrows.

His vision seems a strange composite of big ideas and fantastic notions. But as one gets closer to his innermost thoughts, one hardly dares be certain about the fantasies. If one didn't know the man's record of making dreams come true, of turning fantasy to fact, he would sound like any other radical. His talk is full of the "old populist stuff," with a tinge of the new "bolshvist dope." It would be easy to smile indulgently, if one could forget what he has done. But how about those belching chimneys and bellowing cupolas, over on the Rouge? How explain the record of what this slender, gray-haired, gray-clad, modest, confident man has done

in a few years? I thought: "He had visions thirty years ago; they have come true. He has visions of thirty years hence—why not they?"

And then—I remembered the Ford Peace Ship, and "getting the boys out of the trenches before Christmas." That was certainly a bad guess. I wondered whether this dreamer of dreams that in coming true multiply the vision a thousandfold; this man with the untiring, eternal eagerness to serve other men—I wondered whether his vision of a reorganized, efficient, effective industrial scheme, based on facts and inspired by justice, would prove a mirage, in the presence of unmanageable and discouraging truths about the social incapacity of mankind.

At the risk of sounding like a preachment from our kindly old friend Samuel Smiles, I have to write down here that the key to Mr. Ford's philosophy of life is work. Work for the joy of working. Work regardless of profits. He insists that mostly the people who work primarily for profits don't get them. "People are in too much of a hurry," he said. "They want to succeed, to accumulate, to get quick returns; so that they can get away and play. They work hard, in order to be able to quit working. They need to work for the sake of the work; and it's hard to make them understand that."

Saving Money? It Doesn't Pay!

I tried repeatedly to get him to tell me how he kept financial control of a business which started with nothing and grew beyond understanding. Finally he said:

"That's a hard question; but maybe if I try seriously to answer, it will help some people." He wrote a few words on a piece of paper. "Come back Monday, and I'll see if I can't give you an answer."

"You certainly didn't get your beginning and keep your control of so huge a thing as this by saving?" I ventured. "I never knew of anybody saving enough money to be of any real use. People who ultimately come by real money never do it by saving."

I had no more than said it when I feared I had made a mistake. I remembered Mr. Carnegie, who would have violently protested so unthrifty a suggestion. I recollected Mr. Rockefeller's disquisitions on saving from which one might gather that, starting at a dollar a day, he had cannily saved up his billion or two. I remembered all the multimillionaires I had known, and their advice to save money, as they did, if you

would become obstreperously solvent, as they are. So I feared I might have scared off Mr. Ford.

But I hadn't. I think that chance remark really won me a bit of his confidence. He smiled broadly, leaned back in his chair, stretched his long legs out over the top of a low radiator in front of the window, and said: "Do you know, I almost don't dare talk to young people, for fear I will be misunderstood. The other day I was asked to address a school, and was afraid I would horrify the elders if I did it. There is nothing in saving money. The thing to do with it is to put it back into yourself, into your work, into the thing that is important, into whatever you are so much interested in that it is more important to you than the money." That, of course, presupposes having something more interesting on hand than merely spending the money; and, with that corollary, it is precisely the Ford idea. "People get in too great a hurry for results," said Mr. Ford. Having probably accumulated more in a given time than any other man ever did, he regards his career as a lesson in not hurrying to succeed!

On Taking Plenty of Time to Get Started

"It was twelve years," he said, "from the time I turned out my first motor car until I manufactured any for sale. In all that time I built only five. I was getting ready, preparing for the thing I had in mind. Or, take the tractor. We have spent \$40,000,000 getting ready to make and sell tractors; but we are ready now. We know what to make, how to sell it, and where the demand is."

"But," I interrupted, "have you not made and sold some 200,000 tractors already?"

"Oh, yes, we have done that much toward getting ready."

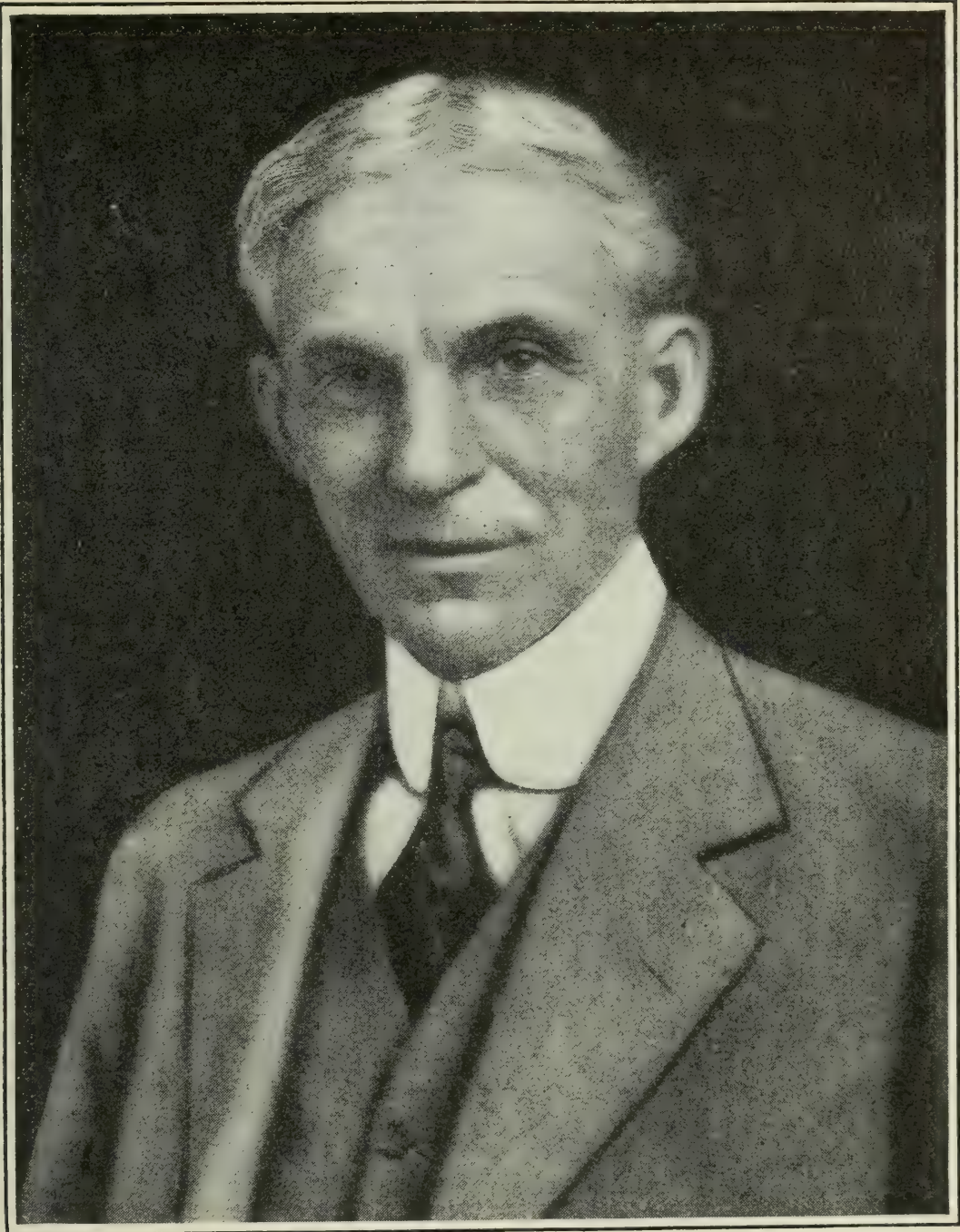
"How many tractors do you expect to make in a year, when you are good and ready?" I inquired.

"A million, anyhow," was the reply.

Pursuing this theory of getting good and ready, I asked:

"When did you first get the idea of an automotive carriage?"

Mr. Ford ran his fingers through his hair, looked out of the window, and smiled quizzically. "I should say about fifty-three years ago. I am fifty-nine now, and I think I was six when I first began having trouble with my mother because of my habit of fussing with pots and kettles in her kitchen, trying to build an engine. By the way, the first



MR. HENRY FORD, OF DETROIT

(Born at Greenfield, Mich., July 30, 1863. Learned machinist's trade. Moved to Detroit in 1887 and later became chief engineer of Edison Illuminating Company. Organized Ford Motor Company in 1903. Democratic nominee for United States Senator in 1918)

thing I set out to build was a tractor. I never could see any excuse for the way agriculture is carried on. Nothing else is so full of waste and drudgery. I was born on a farm, right over here; it's part of my home place now; I worked on it as a boy and began to realize it all. Why, on my place now we farm 5000 acres with about twenty days of real work a year. That's the way all farming will be done some day.

"Nothing could be more inexcusable than the average farmer, his wife and their children, drudging from early morning until late at night. They have a few cows, and are slaves to them. Milk? One of the

London papers came in the other day with a story of somebody over there producing a synthetic milk, with the soy bean as its basis, as good as real milk, and healthier. All the domestic animals on farms will be swept out of existence before long. The horses eat their heads off; the tractor eats only during the few days it works, and requires no attention the rest of the time. Meat? Go over to Battle Creek and they'll feed you a beefsteak that will satisfy you, but it never saw a cow. The proper elements, properly proportioned, will make the same food, if produced scientifically, as if half the world had drugged to get them."

Better Jobs Will Make Better People

"But these people who, in your industrialized agriculture, will have to work only twenty days a year—what are you going to do with 'em the rest of the time?"

"They'll be put at useful and necessary tasks. They'll make collars and cuffs, and shirts; build better homes, more school-houses and universities; read books, write 'em; ride in motor cars and airplanes, and see the world, and know it, and learn how to run it right. Most people, even in countries called civilized, live in houses unfit for habitation, in sanitary and general circumstances that make it impossible for life to be what it ought. All this is going to be changed, and sooner than most people think. The world has begun to understand and tire of the old wasteful, reckless way of production, consumption and financial control. The changes are going to bring people a chance to live, to develop their real possibilities, to create a greater civilization."

I intimated that this was a large order.

"Of course that's the work for the designing board," was the reply. "You know the most important work of all is that of the men of the designing board, who can see the thing before they have made it, and can draw it. The hardest thing of all is to educate people. Most of them don't really want to learn and apply themselves. There seems to be an instinct that tells them the world will produce enough for them to eat. Of course it will.

"Producing all the people need will be a small task when they are educated to it. England produced less than a quarter of annual food requirements before the War. Then the War proved what they could do if they had to, and in its last year they produced, it has been said, three-quarters of their food. England could easily furnish all its food and have a surplus. Pennsylvania could do the same thing and far more."

"There's No Such Thing as Standardization"

Time and again, Mr. Ford harked back to education and the reform of agriculture, as the basis of his new era. He didn't seem much interested in motor cars. I observed on his disposition to discuss almost everything except the business he is supposed to know most about, and asked him to say something about the ultimate development of mass production, concentrated facilities, and standardization. He instantly caught at that last word, and shook his head.

"People are always talking about standardization, and I don't like the word. There is no such thing. True, we turn out a product that is said to be standardized. We continue the same style, but the materials and the methods of making it are changed all the time. The only constant thing in this world is change. When we get one task done, that doesn't mean it is time to quit, but that we ought to take up the next, and do the best we can with it."

One gathers that Mr. Ford regards making motor cars as a job that can now be pretty safely set aside for others that require attention. I was impressed that in his mind there is intimate relation between making a million tractors, and buying the Government's water-power and nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals. When I suggested that, even if proper food could be provided without the domestic animals, their contribution to fertilizer supplies was important, he was sure fertilizers would be provided; and this brought the talk to Muscle Shoals, nitrates, water-power.

Would Make Muscle Shoals an Object Lesson

People who suspect Mr. Ford wants Muscle Shoals for a song in order to make another huge fortune out of it, I think, would be disabused if they would talk with him as I did. He made me believe, and he would make you believe, that he wants to demonstrate how the Government can develop its water-powers everywhere, keep them from monopoly and exploitation, and lay bases for an industrial revolution through electrification.

"Chilean nitrates?" he echoed. "I don't know anything about them; how much is produced, how much we use, costs to produce and transport, or what we pay. I don't know about extracting atmospheric nitrates. I understand they are taken from the air by great pressure. I haven't informed myself about it because I don't know whether we will have occasion to develop processes. Mr. Edison is ready, I'm ready, if we get the plant, to go down and consider developments and processes. One thing at a time, when the time is ripe.

"I understand there is about a million horse-power possible at Muscle Shoals; half more than is now developed at Niagara. Lately they have been proposing to bring Niagara power into Detroit; in fact are already delivering it at Windsor, opposite us



THE FORD AUTOMOBILE PLANT AT HIGHLAND PARK, A SUBURB OF DETROIT
(Now giving employment to 40,000 persons)

in Canada. But there is no need of transporting electric power so far. Water-power possibilities are nearer at hand, almost everywhere. There are rivers in Michigan that could produce it cheaper. Why, we are putting nine dams in the little River Rouge here, and I don't know how many hundred horse-power it will finally produce; we are using about 300 now over on the farm from it."

Asked whether he had in mind to devote Muscle Shoals entirely to nitrate production, Mr. Ford said he supposed that it would be necessary to sell to whoever would buy; to use the power for nitrates, for railway electrification, for industries. But he had no particular plans; was simply prepared to develop the power if he were given the chance, and make the best feasible use of it when he had it.

Sequence in Ford Industrial Revolution

Despite reticence as to details, one gathers that he has a pretty definite notion of what he wants with that power. In his industrial scheme, every new development has a definite relationship to the one that has gone before and the one that is to come after. He considers that the cheap motor car has done more for agricultural reform than anything else. "It has given the farmer a chance to get acquainted with the world, to see what is going on around him, to become a social being," said Mr. Ford. "It has brought better roads, and made the cities willing, even anxious, to pay their share for them. It has ended the farmer's isolation, which more than all else kept him from understanding his relations to the community, and the community's to him. Taking much drudgery out of farm life, it has prepared country people for the further reorganization of their

mode of living and working, that will come with the larger use of the tractor, elimination of slavery to domestic animals, and freedom to go about, have social relations, expand their human interests and associations."

So the motor car has made the farmer ready for the tractor. But if domestic animals were too rapidly done away with, the problem of fertilization would presently become acute. Here Muscle Shoals and nitrates become the obvious next step in the evolution.

Along with the problem of nitrates comes that of potash. If Mr. Ford and Mr. Edison can produce nitrates in quantities at much reduced prices, as they confidently expect, there is little doubt that their attention will turn presently to getting commercial potash from the deposits in various parts of this country, and from the Pacific Ocean kelp. The Germans' monopoly of potash has caused world-wide search for other supplies.

Having spent \$40,000,000 getting ready to build a million tractors a year, Mr. Ford is moving on to the next stage; getting ready to spend another \$40,000,000, more or less; getting ready to produce fertilizer and demonstrate the feasibility of hydro-electric power for railroads and industry. And this brings logically into view another step in the same broad program of industrial advance, namely, railroad transportation. It is on his drafting board; or perhaps as far along as his motor-car program when he had taken the first ride in his first gasoline buggy.

A little more than a year ago he bought the Detroit, Toledo & Ironton Railroad, primarily to get better terminals for his plant. He is experimenting now, but hasn't got far enough to know what can be done. He is feeling his way, and is learning.

His Views of the Railroad Problem

"The railroads," said Mr. Ford, "are the fine illustration of too much hurry to get profits. The pioneers built railroads, not to provide transportation, but to make money out of promotion and construction. Some railroads were built when and where there was no justification for them. Some were built to sell; little more than blackmailing projects. There was over-capitalization, gambling and manipulation of securities; an era of huge consolidations for the sake of increasing the volume of securities, rather than to reduce costs and better the service. This era of great consolidation brought the bankers to the top in railroad control. Railroad control was transferred to downtown New York, instead of being conducted from proper operating headquarters where the business was going on.

"Banker management got the railroads involved with business relations in which they ought not to have been complicated. The Government was forced as a war measure to take over the railroads, just at the end of the three-year period in which their earnings had been better than in any other three successive years in their history; yet, in spite of this, they were at the verge of collapse, of inability to carry on. Too much banker management, too little real transportation management.

"Taking them at such a time, there was nothing for the Government to do but to dump in money to keep them going. The bankers were ready enough to let go; the job has lost attraction for them. There isn't enough in it. They find more profit in financing movies, syndicates of hotels and retail stores, foreign governments, chewing gum, and that sort. We have passed out of banker financing, into government financing. The operation of the roads is left to executives whose real concern is to hold their jobs at high salaries. We needn't expect much from them."

Mr. Ford is the complete individualist about business. He doesn't believe in government ownership or operation of railroads, but rather would turn them loose and insure free competition among them. He doesn't care for the interferences of government regulation. "I think as good a thing as could happen to the railroads," he said on one occasion, "would be for somebody to take a single system and run it right; make it what it ought to be." He wouldn't say that his plan with the D., T. & I. was just this, but

I am willing to venture the guess that it is. He objects to the proposed funding of \$500,000,000 of railroad obligations to the Government, through the War Finance Corporation; regards it as thoroughly bad business.

"The Interstate Commission has put out a plan to group the railroads in nineteen systems. I don't know whether it is good or bad, but I notice that before the railroad executives had had time to study it any more than I have, they were being quoted in opposition. That was no surprise to me. Such a consolidation would deprive a lot of them of their high-paid jobs, and that was all they needed to know.

The Evils of Banker-Control of Railroads

"The bankers control many other things much as they control the railroads. For instance, a banking group which controls railroads also dominates concerns that builds cars and locomotives. It doesn't make any difference whether the cars and locomotives they are turning out are the best; they are the ones the railroads must buy. The bankers control the iron and steel industries and want to sell as much as possible to the car and locomotive builders. So the railroads buy the type of cars they are now using, which are about as bad as possible. The average freight car weighs three times as much—contains about three times as much steel—as it ought. That means an almost unbelievable waste. You ought to see"—and here his eyes lighted, and he came bolt upright in his chair, and began to take a new interest—"you ought to see the work we are doing in locomotive construction and car building."

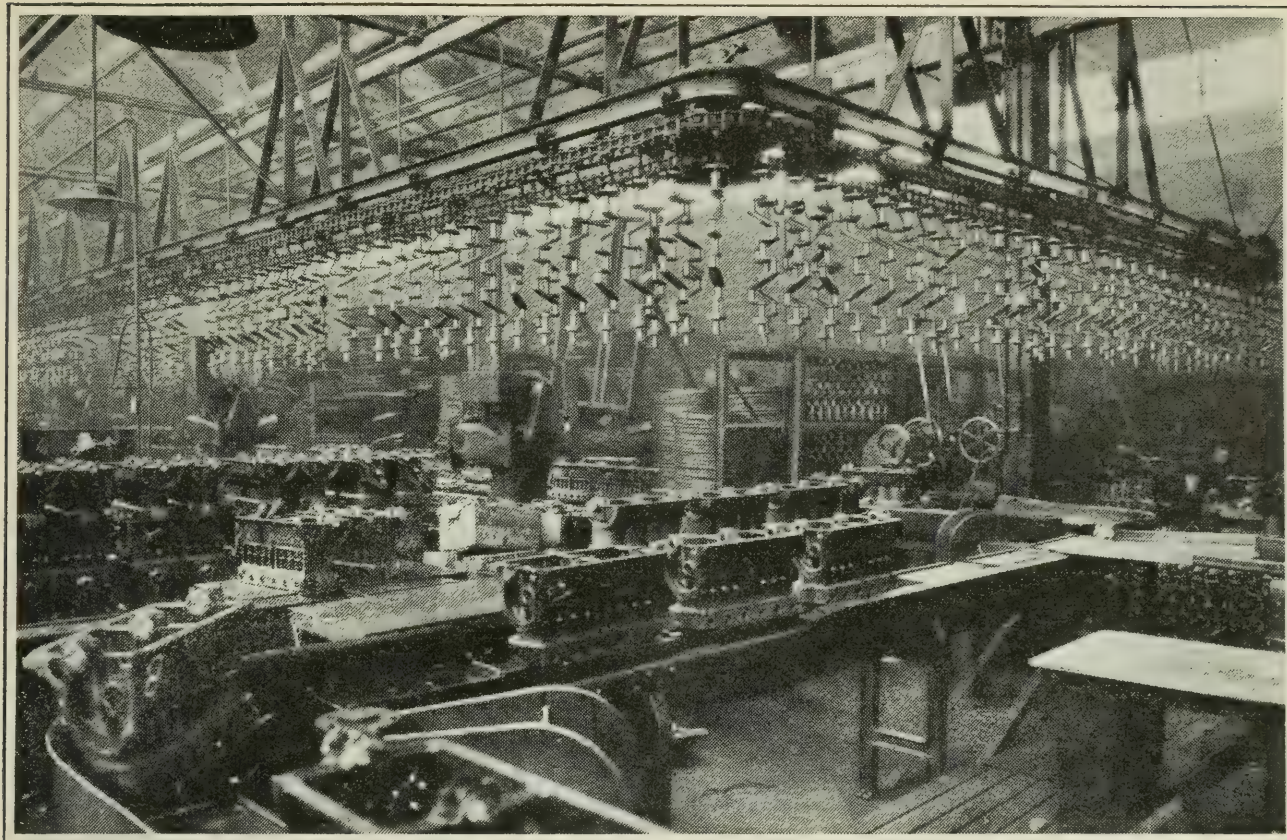
"Do I understand that you are building locomotives and cars for your railroad?" I inquired.

"No, not yet; studying and getting ready. We have taken a lot of locomotives to pieces to find out how they are built, what they will do and what they won't do, what they ought to do and how to make them do it. We are learning a good deal."

"Will you build locomotives for steam, electric power, or internal combustion engines?" I asked.

"Don't know; haven't found out yet; when we do, we'll build whatever is best."

When I went to visit the River Rouge plant, Mr. Ford particularly insisted that I see the locomotive section. He has built one steam locomotive, No. 7, and it was on



A TYPICAL SCENE INSIDE THE FORD PLANT

(Dozens of pictures might be used to show the systematic—and mostly automatic—movement of parts through the shop. Overhead in this picture may be seen a procession of crank-shafts, while in the foreground is a conveyor-belt carrying engine parts)

exhibition. It looked a pigmy beside the ordinary American locomotive; they said it weighed 75 tons, as against 150 to 200 tons for the D., T. & I. machines. It reminded one of the tiny locomotives on British railroads, behind one of which I have ridden from London to Plymouth, 220 miles, without a stop, faster than any American train makes a run of similar length.

Ford's Adventure in Railroad Ownership

The way Mr. Ford became owner of the D., T. & I. was characteristic. In planning the River Rouge works, he wanted to divert the river, which necessitated destroying a D., T. & I. bridge and building a new one. The railroad was unable to finance the improvement, costing about a half million dollars, and asked Mr. Ford to take the bonds. "Maybe it would be better to buy the railroad," he suggested. The owners decidedly agreed, for in a career of some fifty years, the road had been reorganized twenty-six times and never paid a dividend.

Yet that road was just what Henry Ford needed. It runs from Detroit south and southeast across Ohio to where Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia come together. It touches the West Virginia coal regions,

and in its 454 miles of length crosses fifteen important railroads—all the big systems. To Ford, it would be invaluable as a terminal facility. It would take solid trainloads out of his factories to the connecting roads, and would insure a steady supply of coal.

The owners promptly made an offer which didn't satisfy Mr. Ford because it allowed the stockholders absolutely nothing. So he actually raised the figure, and paid about \$5,000,000 for the property. The road has never done much passenger business, and Mr. Ford would be glad if it did none at all. He is trying gasoline cars for passengers. One of these, which he built, weighs about one-third as much, per passenger, as an ordinary coach, and has done 75 miles an hour.

The railroad men said light locomotives and cars would not work; he must have weight in order to make speed possible.

"Were you ever arrested for speeding?" asked Mr. Ford of one critic.

"Yes, why?"

"Who arrested you?"

"A motorcycle cop."

"Exactly," rejoined Mr. Ford; "a motorcycle cop, on a machine perhaps one-tenth as heavy as the one you were driving, came up

behind and went right past you. We'll find out how to do it with light construction on the railroads."

Practical Reforms in Railroad Operation

Mr. Ford has been over most of his railroad on foot; much of it several times; studying, and planning extensive improvements, which are already in progress. A Fordesque incident relates to one inspection trip.

A freight train had been held up by reason of a hot box, and Mr. Ford found the mechanics pulling cotton waste out of the smoking box. He looked over the construction, threw up his hands, and announced: "No wonder, with an axle as thick as your leg and such a lubricating system!" When he got home, he applied to railroad cars the lubricating system of motor cars. Of course, "it wouldn't work"; also, of course, it did. A car can be lubricated once in three months, and forgotten between times.

In the Ford business, it is necessary to keep vast quantities of coal, iron, and supplies on hand and in transit. Mr. Ford, owning his railroad and insuring prompt freight movement, cut down his investment in materials on hand by no less than \$28,000,000! Of that story, more later.

Mr. Ford took over his railroad a little over a year ago, and thus far has been merely seeking to make it as good a railroad as possible of the old-fashioned kind before undertaking to make it the Ford kind. I inquired why he didn't electrify it.

"Perhaps we will," was the reply. "Electricity is the coming power. There is no more sense in digging coal as we do now, than in mining the soil by our rudimentary farming methods. I predict—mind you, this is only a prediction—that in a time not far off, we will not think of using coal for fuel. Hundreds of things, from gas to dyes, are made from coal, and the time will come when we will not even dig it out of the ground; we will burn it under ground, extract its elements, and bring them to the surface." One must expect shocks if one will talk with Henry Ford.

The proof of the pudding is in the balance-sheet showing. Mr. Ford's railroad is now making money.

"But," I suggested, "they say that is because it is insured the immense tonnage of your business."

"That can't be true," replied Mr. Ford, "because in the first year under our control

it moved a less tonnage than in the last year before we took it over."

I asked Mr. Ford for a broad view of the country's railroad problem.

Useless Tonnage Movements Burden Railroads

"If we would cut out the useless, uneconomic and wasteful tonnage that the railroads are now compelled to haul, it would take away half their burdens," he replied.

"In the early days, railroads, seeking as much tonnage as possible, adjusted rates to compel the largest movement of freight. Iowa, raising more hogs than any other State, couldn't have its own packing plants, but was compelled to ship the hogs alive several hundred miles to Chicago, where they were killed, cut up, and Iowa's meat shipped back. Those hogs ought to have been killed in local packing centers all over Iowa. That is just one instance; innumerable others might be cited. A few decades ago, there were local flouring-mills in the small towns. Then came patent processes, big mills, consolidation. The little mills were shut down. Now they are making small flour-mill plants that will produce the same flour, in very small establishments; and we shall be returning presently to the old system of the local mill, supplying the local market. That will cut out another big item of waste transportation.

"The new era will see a great redistribution of industry back to the country. This country has got to live in the country; industry must be taken back to the country; small cities and towns should supply more of their requirements, diversify their industries, enable local capital to finance their business, and thus keep it in the financial control of the people who have the greatest interest in its success. Financing industry is all wrong; the thing to do with industry is to run it; under the management of people who own it, and who stay on the job. Make every community as nearly independent as possible. The great modern city is an abnormal development. It tends to break down under its own weight. It is socially bad and economically unsound. You can see the evidences of this, in the acute housing problem of cities, and in the breakdown of municipal facilities, especially traction systems."

Took a Year Off to "Learn Business"

How he "took a year off to learn business" was one of the most interesting stories.

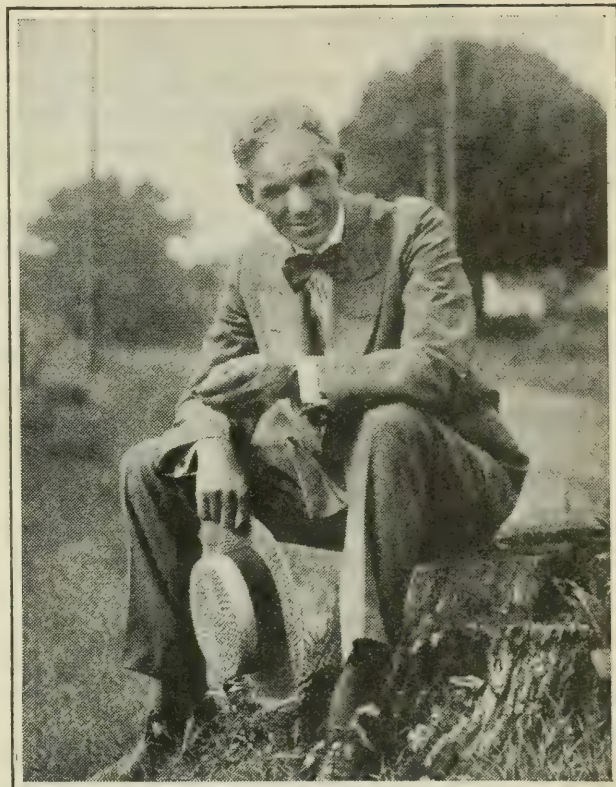
"Quite early," said Mr. Ford, "I discovered that there was a lot of mystery about business and finance that I didn't understand. So, about 1902, I just took a year off from everything else, and studied business. At the end of that time, I understood it. I discovered that it was going to be necessary for me completely to control our business. I remember when we were putting out perhaps fifteen cars a week, and I wanted to expand, one stockholder became frightened; thought we had a nice little business, and that if I was let alone, I would spoil it. So I bought out some of those early stockholders. Later, the remaining group objected to my building the River Rouge plant, demanding that earnings be distributed in dividends. Finally I proposed to buy out all the minority stockholders. We made terms, and I paid them, I think, \$115,000,000 for their holdings."

Mr. Ford has been tossing off multimillionaires, as a by-product of his business, at a rate which recalls Mr. Carnegie's young men of a few years ago. Two of the minority stockholders whom he bought out in the transaction just described were the Dodge Brothers, who recently died, leaving fortunes which Detroit estimates at \$60,000,000 each. Mayor Couzens was another, credited with about as much. Incidentally, Mr. Ford takes pride that, all over the country, are a multitude of men who have made all the way from modest competences to great fortunes out of their connection with his business.

This is as good a place as any to tell how Mr. Ford, last winter, in a few weeks, when the country was filled with rumors that he was being squeezed and might put out a \$75,000,000 bond issue, fooled the prophets of disaster by raising \$87,000,000 from his own resources. He didn't borrow a cent, and his story of it is a pretty conclusive demonstration that he went to a good school when he took a year off to learn business.

The Financial "Squeeze" Last Winter

How the notion got abroad that Mr. Ford was hard up and must borrow a huge sum, nobody in the organization can explain. He did owe a great sum, on obligations incurred when he bought out the minority stockholders. This was coming due, and at a bad time. During the summer and fall of 1920 business had been slowing down everywhere; the motor industry was in a bad way, except the Ford interests, which went right on producing, full tilt. This reached its



MR. FORD IN A GENIAL POSE

climax when in September Ford prices were sweepingly reduced, with the announcement that raw materials had been coming down, and the country was entitled to cheaper products. At that time, the company had on hand \$105,000,000 worth of raw and manufactured stock. All this was reinventoried on the basis of prevailing prices, and its valuation cut to \$88,000,000. Pocketing this loss of \$17,000,000, Mr. Ford went right on producing. But presently business began to sag, and reports circulated that Ford was in a bad squeeze. He was represented as making desperate efforts to borrow huge sums in whatever market, but unsuccessfully.

All this time Mr. Ford went about his affairs as usual, paying no attention to rumors and disaster-mongering. Finally, early in December, the great Highland Park plant was closed down, "two weeks for inventory." At the end of the two weeks reopening was indefinitely postponed. The rumors seemed to be getting verification; it was "authoritatively" insisted that if the business ever resumed it would be in new control. Still Mr. Ford gave no sign.

Finally one afternoon toward the end of last January, an important gentleman in financial New York slipped into Detroit and motored to Mr. Ford's home. He had heard that Mr. Ford was in a jam, and had come to offer a financing plan and a loan.

"But I don't need to borrow money," insisted Mr. Ford.

"We know your situation, your cash reserves, and your requirements, and we know you need money," replied the banker confidently.

This interested Mr. Ford, and he permitted the banker to present his scheme. Presently the banker looked up and interjected:

"By the way, there is a vacancy in the treasurership of your company. Who is going to be treasurer?"

"What difference can that make to you?" demanded Mr. Ford.

"Oh, it will be necessary for us to have a voice in naming the new treasurer."

Big Finance Shown the Door

Whereupon Mr. Ford decided that the interview had gone far enough. In describing the incident he said:

"I handed him his hat, showed him where the door was, and intimated that he was free to go. He went, and the next time I saw my son Edsel, I told him that in future he would be treasurer as well as president of the Ford Motor Company."

That was the only effort of big finance to help Mr. Ford. As a fact, Mr. Ford had already, without any assistance, except his own uncanny genius for business, solved his problem. A few days later the Highland Park factory was reopened, and in a few weeks was running at full capacity once more. Now for the story of how Mr. Ford had done his own financing and brought himself out of the squeeze before the financiers had even had a chance to tender their good offices.

"Our troubles," he said, "had been inherited from the war. We had done a lot of war work, had expanded our organization, and had not been as discriminating as usual. With the war over, there must be a readjustment. Early in 1920 came evidences of approaching depression. By June our sales were falling off, but the people who supplied us raw materials were not ready to reduce prices. They wanted rather to raise them; labor, instead of being disposed to take less wages, was doing less work. Manufacturing costs were soaring.

"So, in September, we cut the price of the car. On the basis of the cost to us of stocks on hand, the cut was not justified; the cut brought the price below cost of manufacture, but we believed if we cut the price of the

car we could insist that material suppliers cut their prices to us. So we went on manufacturing at full capacity, but sales did not justify it. We saw that something more determined must be done to bring down the prices of the materials. We were buying \$50,000,000 worth per month. From hundreds of concerns, we take the chief output; when we shut down these must necessarily do so; bricks in a row, and one tumbling over. So, late in December, we closed down, determined not to resume production until materials should come down, and meantime to have a business housecleaning. We thought we could do it in two weeks; it took six.

Raising \$87,000,000 Without Borrowing

"Meanwhile, the financial problem had been developing. Back in 1919 we had borrowed \$70,000,000 on notes, to buy out the minority stockholders. Of these, we had paid \$37,000,000, leaving \$33,000,000 which would come due on April 18, 1921. We had \$18,000,000 income taxes due or soon coming due; annual bonus to workers meant another \$7,000,000. So, altogether, between January 1 and April 18, we had to meet obligations aggregating \$58,000,000.

"How to meet them? First, we had \$20,000,000 cash on hand. I think the Wall Street bankers went wrong because they couldn't see where we could raise the other \$40,000,000. But they didn't know the people in our organization. The truth was, we didn't need a nickel. Spread about the country, we had immense quantities of raw materials, parts and finished product, and could turn them into more cash than we needed. Here is what we did:

"When we closed down, we had on hand approximately 93,000 finished cars. Our assembling plants all over the country went on setting up the parts they had on hand, although the Highland Park factory was closed. During January we sold nearly 60,000 cars, and sales continued to increase. On January 29 we reopened Highland Park, but still sales grew. Between January 1 and April 1 we turned into cash \$24,700,000 worth of stock on hand. Put that down.

"We found our foreign agents owed us \$3,000,000, and collected it. We held accounts receivable, \$3,700,000 for by-products that had been sold. Finally we sold \$7,900,000 worth of Liberty Bonds. You will find those items add up \$59,300,000—more than we needed. But we didn't stop there.

"Having the D., T. & I. we saw how we

could reduce the vast amount formerly kept tied up in materials on hand and in transit. In this way we released \$28,000,000. So, on April 1, we had \$87,300,000, to meet \$58,000,000 of obligations. Everything was paid weeks in advance. And all the while, the New York bankers were fussing around here trying to get us to take a loan."

A Ford Business Housecleaning

Along with this, the business was restored to a thoroughly efficient working basis. "We cut out hundreds of office jobs created during the war work," explained Mr. Ford. "We sold a trainload of desks and furniture. The men at the desks were given jobs in the shops if they wanted them, and most of them did. We cut the office force from 1074 to 528 people. Telephone extensions were reduced about 60 per cent. During the war we had employed a foreman for every three to five men; many sat at desks; so we sold the desks and most of the foremen went back to the machines. We now have a foreman to about every twenty men.

"A comparison of operating cost, before and after, is a lesson in manufacturing economy. Before the housecleaning our daily expense for labor and commercial 'overhead,' not including cost of material, averaged \$463,200, to produce an average of 3146 cars a day, or \$146 per car. In June, 1921, after the housecleaning, on \$412,500 a day, we produced an average of 4392 cars, or \$93 per car. Formerly we had to employ fifteen men per car per day; now, only nine."

That is how Mr. Ford put a war business back on a peace basis. He believes that the failure of too many people to do the same drastic thing explains the business depression.

Try as I would, during conversations of several hours daily for nearly a week, I could not visualize the elusive something that constitutes the Ford genius. I wanted a photograph of Mr. Ford sitting at his desk. He laughed, and said he had no desk. His desk is wherever he sits down, and it is seldom at a desk. He is never in a hurry, never seems to have anything very important to do. In his business, he is frankly a benevolent despot. He has plenty of high-salaried employees, but he is the one executive. Years ago it used to be said that James Couzens "made the Ford business"; at other times that the Dodge Brothers "made Ford." But Couzens left, the Dodges left, and the business grew faster than ever.

"The cutting edge is the best part of the

tool," is a favorite observation of Mr. Ford's. It means that the man on the job, in contact with tools and materials, makes the manufacturing business. He has a prodigious respect for the men in overalls. Day after day they were constantly coming into his office; from his 5000-acre farm, from about the works, from everywhere. They acted toward him precisely as they would have been expected to act toward one another. He called them by their first names, and liked, as each would go away, to tell something about him. He has little use for or patience with "executives."

Work for the "Designing Board"

As the "cutting edge," the man in overalls, is the essential thing at one end of the Ford organization, the "designing board" is at the other end. Every time I would ask him for ideas about the industrial and social organization of the "new era" into which he insists we have already entered, he would say "those are things for the designing boards to work out." It was the same, whether he was discussing reorganizing railroads, or banking systems, or factory production, or government. "It's hard work at the designing board," he said once. "Not many care much for such work, but the world must have those who can do it. A good many people think the world is in a bad scrape, but I don't. It was never in better raw material shape than now. It is ready for a lot of good, sincere fellows to take hold and do something with. The Good Lord has provided food for years ahead, and so the world is ready to go on and have things done with it. The world is better than it ever was before. There is more opportunity for good, sincere work." And with one of his most amiable smiles he drew a simile from the furnace of molten metal: "The cupola produces a lot of hot stuff, but when it is worked up into the parts of the machine, it is all useful."

Mr. Ford is a great admirer of the British people, and insists that the Anglo-Saxon race is headquarters of the forces that will make over civilization in his new era. But with all his admiration for the British, he declares Britain has fallen so far into control of the Jews that it will have difficulty performing its full part. "The English have become too exclusively traders, with their trade in Jewish control," he said. Incidentally Mr. Ford's grandfather was born near London, his father born in Ireland, and

Mr. Ford himself within a mile or two of his factory at Dearborn, a suburb of Detroit. The 8000-acre tract he owns here includes his father's old home farm. He has preserved and restored the house and outbuildings and is refurnishing the house with his mother's old furniture, etc., or with duplicates when only these can be had. One day he pulled a handful of broken crockery from his pockets and exhibited it with much glee. He had dug around the yard of the old home to find it so that he could get a similar set of dishes for the old house. In the machine shop and laboratory over the garage at his home place, he showed me, with equal pleasure, his mother's spinning-wheel, being restored for the old home, and the first Ford car.

Two brothers of the manufacturer, farmers, live near him at Dearborn, and he has a sister. Mr. Ford's education represents the public schools of Dearborn as a village, and a course in a Detroit business college.

His Reading, Studies, and Work

It is only fair to protest against the caricatures and lampoons that represent Mr. Ford as an ignorant man. True, his mind is in the future, not the past. But he reads much, especially the Bible and Emerson, quoting both often. The name Churchill came into our talk while he was driving me about the farm, and in three sentences he gave a characterization of the first Marlborough duke that could leave no doubt he had studied the history of Marlborough or else had diligently read "Henry Esmond." He fancied the duke about as much as Thackeray did.

Nearly every morning Mr. Ford gets to his home laboratory and shop for a few hours' work. This is the incubation and development of Ford mechanical ideas. His expert mechanics, designers, engineers are used as a foreman would manage a gang of laborers. He does the thinking and directing.

"I work when I feel like it, stop when I'm tired," he says. "People oughtn't to be tied too closely to tasks. The man in an organization, his work coördinated with that of others, of course must be on hand on time. But he should have it made up in the shortest possible hours. Just now we're running Highland Park five days a week—shouldn't be surprised if we'd adopt the five-day week; after that, perhaps the six-hour shift."

"And expect to go on improving the results?" I asked.

"Well, getting good results, anyhow," he replied.

Of all his enterprises, he is most interested in his school for boys—his own idea and development. Some 500 boys have scholarships—boys who though of school age must support themselves, perhaps also contribute to others. They divide time between books, lectures and work—"real work, not playing at work"—in the factory. They are paid liberally; every boy earns more than he could anywhere else, and gets his education to boot. It is a rare opportunity, for he is making it train men for the "designing board," which means, for those of requisite talent, responsible and high-paid positions.

Next to the school in his affections stands the Ford hospital. He has put \$5,000,000 in it, built it after an exhaustive study of the best hospitals, put in plenty of Ford ideas—and made it good enough to win from the Mayo Brothers the verdict: "the best hospital."

Mr. Ford and the Jews

Mr. Ford's particular obsession is the Jews. The Dearborn *Independent*, the weekly newspaper which he quite recently bought to turn into a national publication, has been devoting assiduous attention to the Jews.

"It is said we are conducting a propaganda against the Jews," said Mr. Ford. "We are in fact only trying to awaken the Gentile world to an understanding of what is going on. The Jew is a mere huckster, a trader, who doesn't want to produce, but to make something out of what somebody else produces. Our money and banking system is the invention of the Jews, for their own purposes of control, and it's bad. Our gold standard was founded by the Jews; it's bad, and things will never get right until we are rid of the power they hold through it. I've figured thirty years on making and selling things; what a given article would bring, whether there would be demand for it. I have never figured in gold, which is about the most useless of metals, but in terms of human energy."

Once more I came back to the question, "how, in its beginning, before you had capital, did you manage to finance a great business out of its earnings and keep it in your own control?" This time I got an answer, and it was all I ever did get:

"Pay cash, and insist on being paid cash. I always did. We sell our cars to our agents for cash; the agent can sell on time if he pleases, but he is a fool if he sells for anything but cash." Mr. Ford ruminated a

moment and added, "and the buyer who buys on credit is a still bigger fool."

It was not easy to get Mr. Ford to talk about his methods of dealing with labor. He has never had a strike, though once or twice agitators have circulated papers in the effort to initiate one. The minimum wage in his employment is \$6 a day with a bonus added. At first the bonus was paid at the end of the year; but the plan had bad features. Men who didn't work the entire year were liable to lose their shares. Some others couldn't stand the prosperity of getting so much money at once. There were cases of men running away from home when they got the bonus. So the bonus is now simply added to the bi-weekly wage of each man.

Making the Hire Worthy the Laborer

"Our labor plan," Mr. Ford said, "is an evolution of experience. We pay higher wages. A business that doesn't pay people enough to live well is not entitled to be regarded as a business. We don't either encourage or discourage unions. There is no such thing as a union. There is a lot of noise and disturbance that the Jews and other agitators get up; but the only union is the union of union labor officials. They have tried to organize our shop, but they can't insure the men as good wages through the union as we give them, so they have never succeeded.

"Lots of employers try to keep wages down. They represent the old school of business controlled by stockholders who want to get something out for the parasite share owners. That sort of employer soon loses his job. It will all be changed in the New Era, and the New Era is here now. It will see industry and enterprise operating for the greatest good of the community as a whole. Our effort is to make the best possible jobs for the sake of making the best possible people, and not for profits or big production. That's what we seek to do all the time, and while your face is in that direction, neither the Jews nor anybody else can beat you. By the way, we have some thousands of Jews working for us; we see that they work, too, and that they don't get into the office."

Mr. Ford discussed invention, inventors, and patents. All kinds of inventions are constantly being offered to him, and he tries to avoid meeting the inventors lest they might some time accuse him of stealing their ideas. An intensely human person, but hard as nails about business, he said it was frequently

pitiable to see an old man, who had perhaps worked twenty years, bringing in an invention, which any engineer would have told him in five minutes was entirely worthless. Any inventor, however, can get an interview with an engineer at a Ford plant. An enormous engineering and experimenting force is maintained, but he hasn't much more patience with the expert than with executives in general. "The expert is a good man to tell you what was being done down to closing time day before yesterday," he says.

For Free Competition, No Patents

"I believe absolutely in free competition, and in abolishing patents, which kill competition," he said again. "The inventor never gets the benefit of his patent. An invention or device that is useful is always a matter of evolution. On the 'Model T' car, of which we have built 5,500,000, was one device which I patented, and was sure nobody could get. Afterward, I found that the same thing, precisely, had been patented in 1826 by a piano tuner! We patented our magneto device, but afterward I found that Michael Faraday had produced the same thing long before! I got a patent on a universal joint inside a ball-and-socket joint, and was sure it was new; later I found the very same thing on an old steam engine built forty years ago! I keep that engine religiously just for the sake of that device. I have taken out 300 or 400 patents in all countries, and I undertake to say there is not a new thing on our car. People are constantly showing us how to put something else on the car, making more parts when we are trying to reduce it to fewer parts. But there is one advantage in that: the fellow who is showing you how to put on something new, very often shows you how to take something off and simplify it all. The real thing is to get one piece where there have been two; to get the whole machine as near one piece as possible. The inventor who has a good thing or a good combination will find a way of getting his benefits out of it if he is let alone."

People with enthusiasms and causes are always coming to Mr. Ford for encouragement—and financial help. After listening to an earnest young man on one of these missions Mr. Ford said, "You've got a good idea. I had one once. It took me twelve years to get my good idea out of a woodshed and into a shop twice as big. But I didn't go to rich men with it. You go and work out your idea, even if it does take fifteen years."

Doesn't Seek Publicity: He's It

When he drove the first "benzine buggy," it was said he was crazy. "But they don't say it to my face," is a remark he once dropped. "They" say his real genius is for publicity. Perhaps; but a letter came from the office of THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS about photographs, addressed to the "Publicity Director"—and it wandered around two days because nobody knew what the title meant! Mr. Ford, like Roosevelt, doesn't have to seek publicity; he just naturally *is* publicity and can't help it.

"Advertising?" he echoed one day. "Absolutely necessary to introduce good, useful things; bad when it's used to create an unnatural demand for useless things, as it too often is. It's one reason why the Jews dominate the press: they control most of the advertising."

In Detroit the Ford business consists mainly in the Highland Park plant, where some 40,000 men make Ford cars; and the River Rouge plant, nine miles across the town, where tractors and parts for cars are made. There are thirty-five plants about the country, twenty-two of which make some parts, set up cars, and distribute. About 80,000 people are directly in Ford employ aside from agents, garage owners, and others indirectly concerned. Iron mines at Iron Mountain, northern Michigan and coal mines in Kentucky, owned by Ford, send ore and coal to Detroit; the coal over his own railroad, the ore in chartered boats that will presently be superseded by Ford-owned ones. Subsidiary plants to make special parts are being set up in many places, where water-powers can be had. At Hamilton, Ohio, one day, Mr. Ford saw a canal wandering under streets and bridges, and was interested. Now he owns a splendid water-power establishment and factory there. At Green Island, N. Y., near Troy, he is developing a great Hudson River power and building a model town. Only ball bearings will be made there.

Huge Foreign Interests

During the war he invested \$5,000,000 in a plant at Cork, Ireland, to make tractors. "There are two great water-power opportunities on the Shannon and one on the Lee River, in Ireland," he said. His eye is on them. He would like to show Britain. At Cadiz, Spain; Copenhagen and Bordeaux, are Ford assembling plants; at Manchester, England, 75 per cent. of the parts of cars are made, the rest shipped from America, and

there assembled. There are two assembling plants in South America; and that's just a beginning. Ford is everywhere.

"But when you have motorized and internal combustionized the world—and the petroleum runs out?" I asked.

"An acre of potatoes will produce alcohol to plow it with tractors for 100 years. Before the war in Germany they produced a gallon of potato alcohol for nine cents. That's easy. Better fuel than gasoline, too."

"And you haven't shown how to plow corn with a tractor," I weakly suggested, seeking a poser.

"Plant alternate rows of corn and potatoes, 3 feet 8 inches apart; north and south, to let the sun in; cultivate the potatoes with your tractor, and the corn gets its plowing as a by-product. We do it on the farm."

Mr. Ford is experimenting to make better plows, that will reach down eighteen to twenty inches and give the land a real stirring—subsoil it. "We've done some of it, and about doubled the crops after the first year," he said. "At first the new soil doesn't do so well; needs air and frost."

He has his thoughts on the whole gamut of agricultural implements, which he thinks need modernizing; haven't kept pace with agricultural science. "My father bought a harvester in 1881," he said, "and I bought one last year. There was no difference except father's was rather better."

The farm, and farming, constitute Mr. Ford's chief avocation. He took me to see a scientific test of plows and disc harrows, for which all the big manufacturers had sent mechanics and expert operators. They were working on one of his big fields; the results from each implement were studied and compared, the draft loads accurately measured, etc.

Mrs. Ford and the Ford Home

The Ford home, a lovely gray stone mansion, is at the center of the farm, overlooking a beautiful curve in the Rouge. With the hope that Mrs. Ford will forgive me a little infraction of the obligation implied in acceptance of hospitality, I shall record that she and her husband were childhood friends and that she looks altogether too young to be mother to the twenty-eight-year-old son, Edsel—their only child—who is president of the Ford Motor Company. Her two small grandchildren being in the house and asleep, she laughingly said she didn't dare to play the famous pipe organ. Full of humor and

anecdote, she poked fun at her husband's omniscience about machinery.

"We were going in a weird trolley up a mountain out West," she said,—“my mother, Mr. Ford and myself. I was nervous, but mother seemed perfectly satisfied.

"‘Aren't you a bit nervous?’ I asked my mother.

"‘Oh, no; if Henry thinks it's all right, I know it is.’ I wish I could have that much confidence in any man.”

And Mrs. Ford would have her own Ford story. “We toured England in a Rolls-Royce one summer,” she said, “and everywhere Mr. Ford was pointed out, and stared at, and audibly discussed, till finally I declared:

"‘Next time we do this, we'll change our name and travel in a Ford; then nobody will think of bothering us.’”

Mr. Ford insisted that I see the River Rouge plant. There, the oft-described Ford system of semi-automatic manufacture was turning out tractors and auto parts; conveyors bringing everything to the right place at the right time; everything coördinated, synchronized, balanced perfectly; not a lost movement;—the last word in this system that has so completely substituted machinery for human hands that it requires 80,000 people to run it! But the machinery made my head ache and I spent the afternoon with the blast furnaces, where the tap draws off a white-hot stream of molten iron. This runs off through a ditch and spills into a pitcher-shaped ladle on a railroad car. When the pitcher is filled—85 tons—it is run over to the mould and casting building, poured into smaller pitchers that, swung from overhead carriers, convey it around and pour it into the moulds. It leaves the furnace at 2800 degrees Fahrenheit and in an hour or two is cast, at about 2700 degrees. It's the only place where the original blast-furnace heat has been used in casting.

"What do you think of it?" asked Mr. Ford next day.

"I'm an idiot about machinery," I confessed. "It made my head ache. But that

business of casting metal while it's still hot from the furnace—I want to stay a week to watch—"

Mr. Ford interrupted with a consolation I'll share with every other mechanics-idiot: "You're no idiot: you found the only thing there."

"Pay the Judges Better"

One more Fordism. Next to his antipathy for Jews, is his wish to have judges paid more. "Supreme court judges should be paid as much as the President," he insists. "Make them so independent that you can get the best men, and then get them to give the best in them. That's the most needed public reform." He repeated and emphasized that conviction whenever we talked of governmental affairs.

"My politics?" he echoed once. "Absolutely non-partisan. My father was a strict Republican; my first ticket was mixed. I almost always vote, but didn't vote last time because I had taken the Dearborn *Independent*, and thought I'd rather stand where I'd be free to say exactly what I thought. There's nothing in party politics, anyhow."

It would be possible to write a book from my days of talks with Mr. Ford; much of it startling, most of it stimulating; some of it, I frankly told him, sounded to me like plain bosh. He just laughed.

On the wall over the corner where he likes best to sit, in somebody else's dingy little room in the Dearborn plant, are these lines, framed. They make a fitting epilogue for this story:

THE THINKER

Back of the beating hammer by which the steel
is wrought,
Back of the workshop's clamor, the seeker may
find a thought;
The thought that is ever master of iron and steam
and steel;
That rises above disaster, and tramples it under
heel.

* * *

Back of them stands the schemer—the Thinker—
who drives things through,
Back of the job the Dreamer, who's making the
dream come true.



AMERICA AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN

[Mr. Dunn, who is a Washington correspondent of long experience and thorough acquaintance with men and measures, contributes herewith a striking article upon the forthcoming conference from the standpoint of what are accepted in Washington as American doctrines and policies. The article is as frank and straightforward in its statement of what are deemed the American views of Far Eastern affairs as Mr. Simonds' article this month is valuable for showing opinions held elsewhere, whether in Europe or Japan, about America's relations to the Pacific and the Orient.—THE EDITOR.]

AS the conference for the limitation of armaments assembles the world looks on with mingled emotions, hopeful for its success and fearful of failure. Never before has the purpose of an international convocation been so universally endorsed by public opinion, and yet there has been much apprehension on the part of thoughtful persons who are aware of serious obstacles to be overcome before satisfactory results can be achieved. Notwithstanding the general approval of the movement to limit armaments, predictions have been made that nothing could be accomplished on account of conditions in both Europe and Asia. But these conditions were known to exist when invitations to the conference were issued and accepted, hence there must have been a belief in the minds of the responsible men of the great powers that, despite whatever stood in the way of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world, there was a reasonable prospect of success, or they would not have consented to participate in the conference. Would it not be strange, indeed, if that which apparently everybody favored and apparently nobody opposed should fail? The tax-ridden world will not calmly accept lame excuses for the defeat of a movement which seeks relief from present burdens caused by war and still heavier burdens in preparing for future wars.

It is upon the invitation of the United States that the conference for the limitation of armaments assembles, and the delegates from this country will make every effort to bring about a solution of the problems which must be settled before actual progress toward reducing military establishments can be made. It so happens that the relations of the United States to the rest of the world are such that

our Government can urge a reduction of armaments without arousing the suspicions of other nations as to our sincere purpose. Also our representatives will be able to offer, in a manner which can in no way offend the most sensitive peoples, suggestions for the settlement of questions which are recognized as obstacles to a satisfactory agreement. This nation does not have to assume an altruistic attitude, and pretend to be solely interested in humanity. Our people and our representatives are earnestly in favor of limiting armaments, not only because such action will tend toward world peace, but for plain business reasons. The United States is able to take this position of leadership because it entails no sacrifice of principles nor change of policies. Our Government will insist only upon fair dealing in international affairs and demand for American citizens equal rights and privileges with other nations in all parts of the world.

Barrier of the Far East

The main barrier, either real or fancied, that looms in the pathway of those who would settle all disturbing controversies and prepare the way for permanent peace and set the world whirling along in its old orbit of prosperity and progress, is the Far Eastern situation. This includes every international complication that concerns the countries whose shores are washed by the waters of the eastern Pacific ocean. Every great power is interested, because every country important enough to be called a power is entangled in some phase of Far Eastern affairs. Most vitally concerned are the four strongest nations of the earth, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan. These countries have diverse interests in the Orient and

divergent views as to the methods of handling the commercial and political conditions.

Unless these views can be reconciled it would appear that an agreement for limitation of armaments is extremely remote. The United States, Great Britain, and France have important possessions in the Orient, while Japan is in the eastern Pacific. All of these countries have great commercial interests in the Far East. The United States has become more vitally interested since the acquisition of the Philippines and the construction of the Panama Canal. These two events brought this country in closer touch with the Orient; they also aroused the other nations—Japan, Great Britain, and France—to a keener interest in the situation and inquiry as to what the rise of a new power in the Far East might mean. Theretofore this country was almost a negligible quantity in Far Eastern affairs. Trade with the countries bordering on the eastern Pacific had been established to a limited extent, but it was not actively fostered nor did our people look forward to any material enlargement of our commerce in that part of the world. We had neither a merchant marine nor much of a navy to protect our commercial interests. Our goods were carried in foreign ships and our merchants trailed in the wake of those who made foreign trade a real business. But there has been a great change, and the United States is now almost equally interested with other nations in everything that pertains to the Far East.

The Japanese Idea

Japan feels that her geographic position should make her the dominating influence in the Far East; a dominance even more comprehensive commercially and politically than the United States exerts over the American continent. But the conditions under which this country achieved its prestige in American affairs were different from the manner in which other powers have acquired interests and control in the Far East. The United States secured independence and set the example for other peoples in the American hemisphere. When the colonies of European nations declared their independence the United States welcomed them into the association of Republics and made it impossible for any foreign power to regain mastery over them. Occidental nations have acquired control in the Far East by the strong arm of force and by compelling an unarmed and meek people to comply with

their demands. As to Japan, that nation after lying dormant for centuries and rated second in importance to other Oriental countries, by reason of the intelligence and industry of her inhabitants leaped in almost one bound from semi-obscurity to a position among the great nations of the earth. Japan became adept in the manufacture and use of arms; she became stronger than all other nations in the Far East; she successively defeated China and Russia; she acquired Korea. And with all these successes to her credit, with a strong, impelling desire for further expansion, it is natural that Japan should consider that she is the master of the eastern Pacific; that she should look forward to further expansion in China, in Manchuria, and in Siberia. The desire to maintain not only a sphere of influence, but actual domination in China is stimulated by the apparent breaking up of that once great empire.

The Open Door

The policy of the United States can be stated in three words, "The Open Door." To us the "Open Door" means that in China and Siberia every nation shall have the same rights as any other nation; that there shall be no discrimination or favoritism in the matter of concessions, trade, and the rights and privileges of different nationals. We do not intend to have our economic interests destroyed by any government exercising political control. Coupled with the "Open Door" and a necessary coördinating factor of that policy, is the demand for the integrity of China. But for the intervention of the United States there is no doubt that China would long ago have been divided among the great powers of the earth, or, mayhap, the great powers would have had wars over the possession of parts of China as they did a century and a half ago over the possession of parts of America. At all events the integrity of China has been maintained thus far, nominally, at least; and largely through the efforts of the United States.

Of course we are aware of the encroachments of other nations. Germany forced the Shantung concession which the Versailles Treaty in turn gave to Japan. Japan has gone farther than she would ever have dared, save for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and is now in political control of a large part of China, exercising a power wholly at variance with what we mean by the "Open Door" and the integrity of China. This is one phase of the Far Eastern question that

stands in the way of limiting armaments and the peace of the world.

Japanese Contention and the Facts

The Japanese are a wonderful people. The hermit nation which had no intercourse with the world seventy-five years ago has become a world power and is now demanding world rights; aye, getting them by diplomacy or taking them by force. They are an industrious people; they work hard and they make whatever they have seen other people make; they want a market for the products of their busy workshops. Japanese statesmen have talked about expansion and the necessity for more room for their surplus population until the impression prevails that the country is in a state of congestion and that every acre of land in Japan has been utilized.

They have made the world believe that Japan must find lands where her people can go and produce foodstuffs or there will be a famine and starvation in the islands. While it is true that Japan has a large population for its size, there is no such overcrowding as we have been led to believe. There is yet land available in Japan for agriculture. Japanese are not an emigrating people and do not especially choose lands with climates dissimilar to their own. Japan has controlled Korea for twenty-five years and only 250,000 Japanese are in Korea. Japan has had free access to Manchuria since 1905 and yet there are only 125,000 Japanese in that great territory. She has access to Siberia, but has not colonized in that region because her people do not like the climate. Japan does not colonize in, nor cultivate, the lands either of Manchuria or Siberia because those countries do not produce the favorite rice to which the Japanese palate has been accustomed. Japanese do not want as food the wheat and barley grown on the uplands and in the colder regions of the north.

The Yellow Peril

It is evident that Japan seeks dominion in the eastern Pacific. She clings to Shantung, not because she wants a place for her people, for that province is the most densely populated part of China. Japan desires to control the resources of the Far East and furnish the brains to manipulate its industries. She wants to control the vast man-power of eastern Asia.

The desires of Japan are in the nature of demands and are based on her geographic position. Because certain countries are ad-

jacent to her it is natural, perhaps, that Japan, as the one great world power situated in the Far East, should claim a greater right of control and interest. But in taking advantage of her geographic position, Japan has asserted a domination of the lands bordering on the eastern Pacific, which is not in accord with our policy of the "Open Door," or what we mean in our declaration concerning the integrity of China. Her statesmen have tried to create the impression that Japan was merely asserting a Monroe Doctrine over that region such as the United States maintains on the American continent. But there is no parallel in the conditions. This country's Monroe Doctrine is protection, not exploitation. It preserves nationalities instead of destroying them. We make no claims to rights and privileges in the countries of America that are not enjoyed by other nations. We do not seek to control their resources, transportation facilities, and, even more important, their man-power.

The control in the Far East which Japan desires is the real "yellow peril." If she can control the resources, lines of transportation, furnish the brains for conducting the governments, and, finally, be in a position to mobilize the man-power of China, Manchuria, and Siberia, she will not only dominate the Far East, but will be a serious menace to Occidental civilization. It is necessary for our Government to take cognizance of this possible domination by Japan and to prevent it. Standing firmly for our policies, the "Open Door" and the integrity of China, the United States should be able to rely upon the support of all other nations and avert a possible world calamity which might follow if these policies should continue to be disregarded.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance

From the time it was written the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Japan has been a detriment to the interests of the United States, a cause of uneasiness as to Far Eastern affairs and a constant menace to the peace of the Pacific. During two decades there has been much twaddle about "hands across the sea" and "blood is thicker than water"; and the wonderful possibilities for the world when "the two great English-speaking nations in a firm and fast alliance go hand-in-hand down the pathway of the future." All this sounds well and, on our part, has a great deal of sentiment behind it.

We are grateful for the cordial treatment

we received in Manila Bay in 1898 when the German Admiral carried a chip on his shoulder. Our Government made use of England in 1913-14 to stay the hand of Japan, while she herself kept hands off Mexico. True, she exacted a *quid pro quo* in having us repeal the free tolls law for our coastwise ships passing through the Panama Canal. Then our participation in the great World War somehow brought us closer together—sentimentally. But the wise man has no illusions. He knows that Great Britain is ever looking after British interests in every part of the globe. He knows that Great Britain always has regarded the United States as one of her great rivals and a prospective competitor in what she holds to be her natural or acquired rights. England was supreme in the Far East until after the United States acquired the Philippines. Not even the rapid rise of the Nipponese Empire gave her any concern.

Our participation in the Boxer War in China, and declarations for the "Open Door" and for the integrity of China showed her that her old rival was a world power and, as such, was "meddling in the Eastern game." Then England made an alliance with Japan; an alliance which has hung like the sword of Damocles over the Far East and which has brought about a situation that grows more and more serious when contemplated by the civilized world. Japan has asserted and enforced demands in China which would not have been attempted but for that alliance and the knowledge that she had behind her the greatest naval power in the world. Other nations would not have permitted these encroachments by Japan save for the fact that the alliance with Great Britain made interference impracticable. Under this alliance Japan has gone forward ruthlessly to secure dominion over the Far East. She has absorbed Korea, blotting out a nation by conquering and annexing it; she has made China a semi-vassal state; she has acquired Shantung and is reaching for more; all because she has the backing or passive acquiescence of Great Britain.

All Cards on the Table

Those who are really bent on accomplishing something worth while at the conference will direct their energies toward a settlement of all those controversies arising in the Far East which are the subject of deep thought and discussion in the foreign offices of great nations in the Occident. In dealing with the Far Eastern problems the United States

can adopt its time-honored diplomatic policy of laying all the cards on the table face up and inviting others to do the same.

There is nothing the United States desires to conceal; nothing that her representatives want to withhold from the other delegations. This Government will ask only what it has heretofore maintained as fixed policies, and which has received the acquiescence of all other great powers, the "Open Door" and the integrity of China. If other countries have approved these policies and evaded them on one pretext or another, there is an opportunity to retrace their steps. There are methods and means of reaching agreements among nations if such results are desired. For that reason the advocates of limiting armaments hope for success.

France wants the terms of the Versailles Treaty fulfilled as to indemnities and reparations. France will insist upon such a guarantee before she will consent to a limitation of her armament. With such a guarantee on the part of the powers participating in the conference France would be more secure than she is with 800,000 men under arms. That the delegates to the conference must meet this question is inevitable. It must be solved before the way is made clear for an agreement to limit armaments.

The Alternative

While it is no doubt true that there is more real sentiment in the United States than in any other country for limitation of armaments, that sentiment is not going to control our delegates to the extent that they will sacrifice everything in order to get an agreement from other nations to limit war preparation. We will go as far as we can in all reason and then present our alternative. Probably a number of significant utterances made in Congress when the legislation relating to limitation of armaments was under consideration have not been forgotten. Even the most ardent proponents of the movement had reservations and they were to the effect that we would in good faith offer to limit armaments, but if our overtures were rejected and it became necessary to build stronger and stronger military establishments the United States was better able to maintain the pace than other nations. That is still true. Nations may go ahead and bankrupt themselves in building warships and stacking up war materials, but the United States can stand the strain longer than any of them.

THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION AND AMERICA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE FACTS

A MONTH ago in discussing the approaching Washington Conference I laid particular stress upon the economic blunders which explained much if not most of the evil after-effects of the Conference of Paris in 1919. In the present article I shall try to summarize briefly the main points which must be considered in the forthcoming conference in the national capital, since by President Harding's invitation the whole Far Eastern Question is thrown open for discussion.

Now at the outset I would urge my readers to face the situation as it exists. We have to deal with a problem of which war is one of the possible eventualities. Underneath all the optimistic statements from Washington there must be seen the solemn fact that we are again in the presence of the clash of two policies, the Japanese and our own; and that if accommodation cannot be found now, war in the future is not only possible but likely.

And the fundamental fact is that we are undertaking to put a limit upon Japanese aspiration and expectation. Let us go farther and say quite frankly that we are undertaking to interpose along that pathway which for Japan in the minds of a large portion of her people means the only route to safety. For, as I explained last month and shall presently outline again, the markets of China and Siberia—and a real supremacy in those markets—seem to Japanese statesmen and financiers alike the sole condition of existence for the crowded population within the narrow islands which constitute the homeland of the Japanese.

The economic factor comes first. Sixty millions of people living in the restricted limits of a few islands, smaller in combined area than those of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, can exist only if they are able to find a foreign market for their manufactured products and have in this market such advantages as insure continued

retention. In their belief, China and Siberia offer for an indefinite future precisely the necessary opportunity. Moreover, Japan possesses the fleet and the army to dominate the Far East, unless she is blocked by some non-Asiatic power, or by some combination of such powers.

But the economic factor is complicated by the moral. The United States and several of the British Dominions have undertaken by domestic laws to forbid Japanese immigration. The effect of this is twofold. In the first place, on the moral side, it is, in effect, asserting a doctrine of race-inequality, since all of these countries permit the immigration of other races. In the second place, it eliminates the most attractive available places to which the Japanese might migrate and thus relieve the congested situation that exists at home.

Now then, the real problem of the Pacific is comprised within these two facts. The United States has undertaken even before the Washington Conference, indeed by fits and starts since 1899, when John Hay enunciated the policy of the Open Door, to deny to Japan any special advantages in China. Our policy has been based upon an assertion, sometimes strongly made, sometimes weakly, of the doctrine that all nations must have free access to China and that the older doctrine of spheres of interest shall not be further applied. But at the same time we have asserted the principle that the Yellow Race shall not settle within our boundaries.

From the American point of view both principles seem reasonable. One hears now much talk about the fact that we ask no special privileges for ourselves, but only equal opportunity. Such talk, however, rests upon an inadequate appraisal of the situation; for equal opportunity for all, absolutely equal, means in reality a great advantage for us, since many circumstances combine to make us superior to all our competitors, notably the possession of raw materials, of food and of a highly industrialized population. It is

this circumstance of inequality which must be reckoned with.

Again, it is true that every nation has the right to close its gates to aliens. But when a nation undertakes to exclude only the aliens of one race, then it places upon that race a stigma, which must arouse resentment, particularly in the case of a proud, progressive and powerful people like the Japanese. In reality, the moral factor counts at least as much as the economic, and contributes perhaps the gravest barrier to success at Washington, as it was an important detail even at Paris.

What I should like to do at the outset is to persuade my readers to drop that point of view which played so much havoc at Paris, and which is comprehended in the conception that we are doing an unselfish thing, seeking nothing for ourselves and striving to serve the cause of the common good. It may be possible for us to harbor this view at home; but what is important is the fact that all of the nations with whom we are now to deal have a totally different conception of our purpose and our principles.

Above all, the nation with whom we must come to an agreement, if the gravest trouble is to be avoided, sees and will continue to see in all our policy a direct and even a deliberate menace to its own very existence, a menace which is the more intolerable because the United States asserts and maintains a doctrine of the inequality of races, since it excludes the Japanese, while it freely admits the Europeans.

To Japan, to Europe, the United States is setting out upon a campaign of economic imperialism in the Far East. It is seeking to establish a condition or a set of conditions which will enable it to dominate the Far Eastern markets commercially, although, in terms, the conditions admit of equal opportunity to all. From the Japanese point of view there is necessary a handicap in their favor. If they do not have it they must not only suffer, but perhaps cease to be a great nation. And not only have they acquired this handicap, but they have within their own hands the power to retain it.

Our motive in Europe, as in Asia, will seem unmistakably materialistic, no matter what opinion we may hold as to it. We have got to do business with people who hold a certain set of views with respect to our purposes; and it is nothing less than madness for Americans to decline to recognize the character of these views.

II. THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT

Now, turning back for a moment to the historical factor, it must be appreciated that times have changed since John Hay enunciated what has become the famous Open Door policy. Two-thirds of a generation has passed. By her victorious war with Russia, Japan ousted one of her dangerous competitors. As a consequence of the World War she not only eliminated Germany, potentially at least a formidable rival, but, owing to the fact that the European powers and the United States had their attention concentrated in the West, she became in reality the paramount power in the Far East.

At the present moment China is torn by factional warfare. There are at least two governments contending for control of the carcass and, as everyone knows, Japan has steadily promoted this fighting and thus contributed to the corruption and disintegration of the Chinese nation. Possessing Port Arthur and the Dalny Peninsula, which she took from Russia, holding Korea, having a strong foothold in Manchuria, even established in Vladivostok, Japan has only to continue her present course to retain and even extend her control.

We are then at least twenty years away from the conditions of the Hay period. What Hay had in mind, primarily, was to interrupt the process which was rapidly transforming the map of China into another patchwork like that of Africa. Fresh from their African colonial adventures, all the great powers, Britain, France and Germany, were creating spheres of interest and cutting up China among themselves. Japan was still only in the background, while Russia, on her side, was cutting off the northern provinces, as the British and the French were operating in the south.

The Open Door, as conceived, was a form of Monroe Doctrine. It aimed at preserving China from the European powers, as the Monroe Doctrine aimed at excluding European imperialism from both Americas. But to-day there is no question of any one of the four great European powers expanding its empire in Asia. The most Britain or France can hope for is to hold what each of them owns. What both of them have to fear is that Japan will become in fact the champion of the doctrine of Asia for the Asiatics; and to this appeal India and Indo-China may alike respond. Germany and Russia have ceased to be factors. As for the

rest of Europe, only Holland has considerable territory at stake; and Holland cannot defend what it holds, save as it has the support of the United States or European nations, and this in practice means Britain.

So far as Europe is concerned Japan has little more to fear. She has indeed insured herself against British hostility by that Anglo-Japanese alliance, which remains in being, although it has been challenged recently in the Imperial Conference and will lapse or be renewed exactly as events in the Washington Conference shall determine. Only Britain, of all European nations, has a fleet which might menace the Japanese; but Britain is not only an ally at the moment, but has tremendous interests at stake, all of which would be jeopardized should there be a break in friendly relations between herself and Japan.

By force, then, we are the only country that could maintain the principle of the Open Door and, as a result of many circumstances, some of which I have mentioned, we are the only country which would care to raise the issue at the present moment. As for the rest of the world, even the so-called great powers have either ceased to be great or are so engrossed and absorbed in their own troubles at home and in their outlying provinces that they have no time or strength to give to the Asiatic question. Indeed France and Britain have everything to lose by arousing the hostility of Japan in the present hour.

But the United States has the strength, financially, industrially and in all ways. And she is raising the question. Let us think for a moment at least of how this seems to the Japanese. Twenty years of patient, persistent effort, two wars and an enormous burden of expense, military and naval, borne willingly, but no less heavy on the shoulders, have brought Japan to a point of unquestioned supremacy in the Far East, provided the United States does not challenge the hard-won position. But the United States not only does challenge, but invites the rest of the world to its own capital to participate in a discussion of what most vitally concerns Japan.

Thus, while the American thinks rapidly from John Hay to Charles E. Hughes, with only a brief halt at the proposals for internationalizing Manchurian railways which were once unsuccessfully interjected by Philander C. Knox, and also aimed at a form of equality of opportunity, the truth is that

this is to omit all consideration of the historical factor. We are in reality undertaking to apply a principle of two decades ago to a Far East which has totally changed in character since that time. And no policy can be more dangerous than one founded upon an essential anachronism.

We are approaching a new question. We are not approaching an old question which has changed form only slightly since John Hay was Secretary of State and William McKinley President. We are not dealing with a free China, or with what the diplomats call a *rase table*, a clean slate. We are not undertaking to provide rules and regulations in accordance with which all nations shall enter a game and play it henceforth, all starting from "scratch" so to speak.

No, we are undertaking to deprive a great and powerful nation of nearly all the advantages which it has won by war and by sacrifice, by incredible effort stretched over more than two decades. We are asserting sound principles, the right of China and of Siberia to independence, the right of all nations to equal opportunity in China and in the Far East generally. But it is not less true that if the principles be established we shall profit commercially. Nor is it less true that all Japanese believe, not only that they will lose much, but that they will be menaced in their very existence. What is at issue is not the cake of international commerce, the mere prize to be won by fair competition. For the Japanese it is very literally the bread of life.

And in the larger sense the duel is between the Japanese and ourselves. President Harding's invitation to the Washington Conference is—no one can mistake this—in fact a challenge, however courteous and considerate in phrase.

III. BRITAIN'S PART

Now the first circumstance, outside of those affecting Japan and ourselves, must be the attitude not alone of Great Britain, but of the British Dominions, which in this case is something quite different. We may recognize at the outset that the British themselves, speaking for the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, would prefer to see the question left undisturbed. The Anglo-Japanese alliance has been an extremely useful thing for Britain, invaluable in the last war. Great as are British commercial interests in China, these are not yet gravely menaced by Japan.

Indeed, an accommodation based on the old "sphere of interest" policy might easily be found. This would leave the south to Britain and the north, with the old Russian regions, to Japan.

And for the British the political factor is enormously dangerous. India is in a very bad state. There is widespread unrest and worse. There is unmistakable disorder in the Mohammedan districts which take their inspiration from the west, and which have been aroused by the Turkish events. But there is hardly less unrest in other regions which ever since Japan defeated Russia have been increasingly moved by something that at least vaguely approximates the familiar doctrine of self-determination and seeks actual independence—an emotion in part comprehended in the phrase, "Asia for Asiatics."

Now were Japan to come out openly as the champion of this doctrine, were she to set herself up as the protagonist of the principle of Asia for the Asiatics, the reaction in India might be disastrous. It would be, at the least, pouring oil on the fire, already kindled; and England, as everyone knows, has trouble enough on her hands at home and abroad now without seeking a new peril in the most vulnerable of all quarters. Safely united with Japan in the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the British might find insurance against the gravest peril which could conceivably arise in the Pacific.

But balancing this concern for the Far East is the British desire to arrive at a compact with the United States. And we have in fact, if not in terms, signified that the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is an essential condition precedent, not to alliance—we do not hold out the hope of alliance—but even to friendship, the merest friendship. Thus in reality we strike Japan, by seeking to compel her ally to leave her; and we make a substantial demand upon Great Britain. We ask her to run certain very real risks, for which we offer no actual reward, although we do imply that any possible advantage must be contingent upon the abrogation of the alliance.

At this precise point, however, the views of the Dominions begin to have influence. Canada, Australia, New Zealand—all are more or less of the American view in the Pacific. Australia and New Zealand not alone maintain an exclusion law against the Japanese and the Chinese, but Australia maintains a form of universal military ser-

vice, frankly with the menace of Japan in mind. Were it not for the British strength behind the Australians, nothing seems more certain than that the Japanese would by force of arms open the door to the vast unpeopled regions of Australia and thus find homes for their surplus population.

More and more it is to the United States that the Australians and the New Zealanders are looking for protection against Japan, as Britain becomes more and more deeply enmeshed in her home problems. In a sense we are becoming guarantors of the independence of Australia. Canada, less menaced, still holds to our view in the matter of immigration and has for its rising Pacific ports a natural interest in seeing an Open Door in China and in Siberia.

In Australia, opinion is divided as to whether it is wiser to drop the Anglo-Japanese alliance or not. Such a course might prove the prelude to a Japanese attack, under certain conditions. But there is no question as to the absolute necessity of avoiding anything which might lead to the alienation of America. Canada holds absolutely to the denouncing of the treaty. South Africa, less concerned, yet also committed to the "white man" policy of exclusion, follows suit. Australia and New Zealand seek the satisfaction of the United States, but are willing that the treaty should be renewed, provided it does not give offense to America.

Once more it is essential to see the other fellow's point of view. We are, in inviting Britain to our Conference, actually opening the door to an almost unlimited number of troubles for her. At the precise moment when Britain, at home and in the Empire, is manfully struggling with the gravest conditions which ever in peace or war have faced British statesmen in her long history, we are asking her representatives to come to Washington and participate in a discussion which must open new difficulties and may end in new wars.

True, since limitation of armament is one topic of discussion and the avoidance of any naval competition with us, the restriction of expenditure upon navies, is desirable, there is measurable British advantage. But it cannot be set against the possible risks. The sole thing which could make the parley attractive to the British would be the possibility that from it might emerge an Anglo-American understanding, arrangement—best of all an alliance, speaking from the British point of view.

But when Lloyd George suggested that the best solution of the Pacific Question was the substitution of an Anglo-American-Japanese alliance for the Anglo-Japanese, thus at one time aiming at avoiding a break with Japan and promoting compromise between the Japanese and ourselves, official Washington instantly responded with an unmistakable negative. This, I think, more than anything else, explains the fact that Lloyd George has at last announced that he will not come to Washington, although he had intended to make the trip.

And these circumstances, which I have dwelt upon, explain why there has been a marked cooling down of British enthusiasm for the Conference itself. The truth is that it carries too many perils for British security. Attendance is a duty, it is inescapable, but it carries with it no promise of profit commensurate with loss which may possibly be suffered.

With the French point of view I shall not attempt to deal here, beyond stating that on the question of disarmament, as it affects the navy, France, being without any considerable naval force, has little concern and is naturally favorable to any proposal that tends to reduce navies, since she cannot for financial reasons undertake to build a real war fleet. So far as limitation of land forces is concerned, France has an army based upon her own estimate of her needs in the direction of Germany and her requirements in her colonies. She is prepared to reduce these land forces, provided we are willing to renew the Anglo-French-American treaty of guarantee, and renewal means ratification by the United States Senate. But if we will not promise our troops to make good the void created by the reduction in the numbers of hers, in case Germany attacks, she will not consent to reduce.

In the matter of the Pacific, France, like Britain, would prefer that the question should not be raised. She has in Indo-China a colony larger than France, with a population half as large. She has in the Pacific, island colonies of which New Caledonia and Tahiti are the most considerable. Against a Japanese attack she could defend neither her continental nor island colonies. Commercially, her stake in China is relatively small. As between American and Japanese domination of the Far Eastern market she has little to choose.

But since the question is raised France can be counted upon to vote with us, provided

we are prepared to accept the responsibilities which must come with the possible engendering of anti-French sentiment in Japan and the translation of this sentiment into aggressive designs upon French Asiatic possessions, and provided, also, we are willing to give some substantial support to French interests in Europe, financial, if not military. What cannot be expected is that France will agree to disarm without promise of our aid, or support us blindly in the Pacific, where she has much to lose by Japanese hostility and little or nothing to hope for if America replaces Japan as the dominant force in the Pacific.

Italy on her side does not figure in the Asiatic picture. We can have her support unconditionally in the Pacific, but she has definite things she must and will ask of us financially, if not politically, in Europe.

IV. THE ISSUE

We come, now, squarely to the issue. What will the United States propose to the world in conference assembled in Washington? We must avoid thinking in terms of abstractions, "The Open Door" and "Equal Opportunity for All," are as dangerous catchwords as any of the Fourteen Points. If we intend to demand that the integrity of China be respected, the first question, is obviously, "What integrity?"

For clearly there must be a point of departure. In the strict sense of the word the presence of the British in Hong Kong and in Wei-Hai-Wei constitutes an infringement of the integrity of China. But we certainly do not mean to ask Britain to withdraw. France, too, has a great naval base in the south, but again we do not mean to question this. Even Portugal has a little slice at Macao, but no one suggests that we ask Portugal to quit.

As for Japan, she holds lands which were Chinese. She holds Korea, which either as part of China or as an independent country has claims upon us, if we are out to vindicate the doctrine of self-determination. Then there are the Port Arthur Peninsula and the Island of Formosa. Do we recognize these Japanese invasions of the integrity of China or do we pass these over as we must the British, French and Portuguese infractions? At least these infractions have the advantage of time, for the territories have been Japanese for more than a decade and a half, and by virtue of a treaty signed at Portsmouth.

In any event we question Shantung. But the Japanese have "semi-officially" announced that Shantung is a settled question, settled by the Treaty of Versailles, settled by a unilateral agreement with China, which refuses to accept but cannot resist unless we back her, which means in fact war. Then there is Siberia; shall we insist that Japan retire altogether? Will we agree to sink our protests over Shantung, if Japan quits Vladivostok? Conceivably this basis for bargaining might have value, for Japan herself is divided as to the advisability of taking on Siberia as well as China.

But the Open Door and the Integrity of China are something beside phrases. We must specifically indicate what we will accept as the basis of the future. We have, by the Lansing-Ishii agreement, recognized the special interests belonging to Japan because of her position. In old diplomacy such a recognition was tantamount to a surrender of interests by all parties making it. Thus Germany, reluctantly and for compensation in the Congo regions, recognized the special interests of France and Spain in Morocco after Agadir. But the same Lansing-Ishii agreement rather humorously restated the doctrine of the Open Door, which in fact and in practice it utterly demolished.

Are we to say to Japan, "We accept what has existed for some years and does now exist—Shantung included—but henceforth everyone has the same position and no one gets more territory or more special privileges?" To this Japan will agree, obviously, but the difficulty is that what Japan has now practically insures her possession of everything. Her military forces, her political agents, her diplomatists control the Chinese situation, raise Chinese factions against Chinese factions, promote disorder and then intervene to restore order.

No, obviously the thing is a farce unless we mean to bring the whole situation back to a sound basis, unless we mean to put our force behind the principles of Chinese independence and Siberian freedom. We are going to invite the Japanese to abandon their policy of the past few years, to get out of China politically and militarily, or we are merely going to have a dangerous discussion leading nowhere but promoting bad feeling everywhere. And if Japan says "no" and means it, what are we going to do? And if she says "yes" and doesn't mean it—which has been her historic course in similar situa-

tions—what are we going to do about it?

If the object of the Conference is to arrive at mere verbal statements, another Lansing-Ishii agreement, all is simple. But the American people have unmistakably had their attention fixed upon Far Eastern affairs and expect something different. For them the conference is for the purpose of insuring equality in the East. It will fail not merely if such equality is not obtained in language, but also if it does not result in practice; and they will eventually demand that their government give force to the words written at Washington in 1921, if such shall be written.

But if in opening the Far Eastern Question the President and his Secretary of State meant business, then it is clear that there must be a liquidation. The whole Far Eastern situation must be placed upon a working basis; and this means, first of all, that Japan must renounce political and military aspirations in China and agree to respect the integrity and refrain from harming the unity of China by setting faction against faction. It means, if it means anything, that Japan must accept our view as to China and the Far East generally, and that view, as I have indicated, to the Japanese minds—to many, if not all, minds—spells ruin for Japan and discloses unmistakable profit for ourselves.

We hope, Washington manifestly hopes, that the European powers, particularly France and Great Britain, and again most particularly the latter, will support our view. It hopes or hoped that the moral pressure upon Japan would suffice to bring the Nipponese around. But it is certain that for this support Mr. Harding must pay in Washington as Mr. Wilson paid for his League of Nations in Paris. He must pay if he only pledges his country to stand the damages, if damages result, and I have indicated that from the British point of view, and even more from the French, who have not a fleet, damage will result if Japan represents a repetition of the sort of thing which after her Chinese War deprived her of the fruits of her efforts and of her victories.

And so far as I have been able to discover no one in or out of official life in this country expects to pay anything for outside support. All the discussion in Washington is on the purely ethical basis. Our thesis, it is asserted, is right and just and fair to all concerned; therefore all, save perhaps Japan, must support it, and the reward must be

limited to the well-doing. We seem now, under a new administration, still the prey of words, and still blind to the manner in which the world has been conducting its international relations, from the Treaty of Westphalia to the last meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris, the other day.

V. POSSIBILITIES

What then is possible in the present situation? Where does there appear, if anywhere, the chance of success for the Washington Conference, outside the narrow limits of the limitations of naval construction?

It must be found, if at all, I think, in certain Japanese facts. Japan has been likened to Germany, as Germany existed before the war. There is much of exactitude in the parallel, but it seems to me that there are certain qualifications. The fate of Germany has manifestly sobered those who in Japan imitate the Teuton and, until he failed, had hoped to repeat in the Far East the successes of the Hohenzollern in Europe.

In case of war between the United States and Japan, the Japanese would know in advance that they could not hope for British support, and would have to expect eventual if not immediate conflict with Britain, for the Dominions could not confront the possibility of a victorious Japan without absolute terror. Such a war would be quite different from the possible conflict with us which Japanese soldiers did not shrink from before the last struggle. What we accomplished then changed the professional view of the Japanese soldiers. Moreover, our navy, new, has changed the situation materially, since we have expanded it.

There is a liberal party in Japan, as well as a military. There are voices raised which urge that a war with us would be fatal, and that concessions are better than that ruin which overtook a Germany which would not hear of concessions. If it were not for the racial question it is very possible that this element would have far more influence than it has. But even as it stands it has influence, although it has not, in any sense, decisive influence. At best, however, there is a voice in Japan which is raised for understanding.

The two factors, the changed situation perceived by the military man, the existence of an opposition to the extreme military policy and party—these hold out some hope, not much, I think, but a little. For even the soldier sees war as rather a different

thing from what he had imagined before 1914, and it is hard to see how war could escape bringing ultimate ruin to Japan, even if terminated in another Peace of Portsmouth instead of a second Armistice of Rethondes.

But there is a minimum as well as a maximum. Unless our representatives are willing to make concessions, to recognize certain special interests of Japan, to pay in China for successes in Siberia; in a word, to bargain in the old-fashioned way which is now described and denounced as "secret diplomacy," conceding Japan things which will be as awkward to explain as was the Shantung settlement made in Paris, it seems to me there is not a shadow of possibility of any agreement whatsoever. And the difficulty is that we have only to yield a little to abandon everything, for Japan is already entrenched and needs only to hold her trenches in China to prevail.

Japan—that is, the Japanese General Staff, naval as well as military—has discarded the idea of an offensive war. That went with the collapse of Germany and the demonstration alike of American strength and the new orientation of British policy. We shall be, nominally at least, the aggressors if there is war. But if we are to undertake the task of asserting and maintaining the integrity of China, it will be war, and we shall have to send our forces to Asia. China, you know, is like Humpty Dumpty, and if "all the King's horses and all the King's men" can restore the fallen colossus, the task will be at the least stupendous.

And the restoration cannot be brought about by pen and ink, any more than the tranquillity of Europe could be restored by all of the almost endless pages which make up the Treaty of Versailles and its companion pieces. It cannot be brought about by solemn subscription to a new set of "points" as impeccable and as impracticable as the famous Fourteen of still recent memory. Two views are in shock in the Pacific, ours and the Japanese; and they are backed by two powerful nations, one of which at least considers its very life at stake and for years has been preparing with all its resources to defend its conceptions.

It is a fact that the great majority of foreign critics, writers upon international affairs, expect the Conference to fail. They look upon the failure as inevitable because they see both sides of the question, ours and the Japanese. They believe that only by a policy of compromise and bargain, in reality

by a return to the old doctrine of spheres of interest, could any arrangement be expected which would, in fact, let us in without turning Japan out.

They see the Conference not as a new experiment in idealism, but as one more example of economic imperialism. The armament side of the thing does not impress them, because they know that Japan and Britain are quite ready to join us in a reduction of expenditure upon navies, since they can far less easily bear the burden of competition than ourselves. They know that land forces will not be reduced, save as we promise to make good the reduction in case of need. And they do not expect any such promise of us.

For what it is worth the European view is clear. It is that the Japanese-American clash in the Pacific is one more of those historic duels between nations in the nature of things rivals. And, to put the matter quite bluntly, they, in a large number of cases, have already counted upon war as the ultimate outcome. They see our purpose to be one of expelling Japan from China, and they appreciate, far better than most American writers, what the actual position of Japan in China is. They appreciate, too, far more accurately than Americans, the stake for which Japan will contend. If she makes herself the master of the Chinese millions, even for a brief span of years, the consequences in power are almost incalculable.

By contrast there is something almost appalling in the calm fashion in which Americans are discussing the whole matter of the Pacific, and the degree to which comment on the Washington Conference is concentrated upon the disarmament feature, which in the nature of things is relatively trivial, since at best no one is going to disarm, and three nations which don't want or can't afford to quicken or maintain the pace are ready to agree to reductions in navies.

VI. A WARNING

I cannot close this article without a word of warning to my readers, many of whom have been following me in peace and war through these pages for more than seven years. America failed at Paris because those who represented us placed an undue value upon abstract principles and attractive formulæ. Our failure was not more conspicuous and was far less costly to us than the failure of British statesmanship in the years immediately preceding the

World War. There was a belief, which was the prevailing conviction in England, that a basis of agreement could be found between British and German conceptions and that war was impossible. There were conferences, public and secret, galore, visits by sovereigns and visits by statesmen.

Yet war came, and was bound to come, because the British failed utterly to estimate the German purpose as it existed. Now we have to deal with a nation organized in the military and naval sense as perfectly as Germany, and driven by precisely the same economic pressure. For two decades Japan has been concentrating her energies, her attention, her comparatively slender resources upon an heroic effort to upbuild her fleets and her armies and have them proportionate to the opportunities which, as she sees them, are the necessities of her position.

As I have said, the outcome of the World War has had its effect. The result was not what Japan expected. The western world was not entirely exhausted and, by consequence, Japan's own field of opportunity in the Far East was not cleared of obstacles. On the contrary, while Europe was frankly exhausted, there rose on the other side of the Pacific a new naval and military power, with which Japan had not thought before that she would have to deal seriously. What the Germans thought of us in 1917, and before, the Japanese thought.

Whatever idea there was in Japan, even in chauvinistic quarters, before 1918 of an aggressive war, an attack upon the Philippines or upon the Pacific Coast, that conception has gone with the general staff plans of operations into the scrap basket. But Japan has not abandoned her own dream, her own conception of supremacy in the Far East. At most she has only considered the limitations which the new state of affairs placed upon her ineluctably. In 1914 she would not have come to a Washington Conference which even discreetly planned to discuss Far Eastern conditions and fundamental conditions at that. Her coming now is proof positive that, unlike Germany, she can learn.

Yet, coming as she does, she has indicated unmistakably at once her fears and her determinations. She has affirmed her purpose to insist that what has been internationally accepted, whether it be Shantung or the Twenty-one Demands, shall not be discussed as unsettled questions. She has indicated, beyond all else, that while willing to agree to do lip service to the doctrine of the Open Door,

reaffirmed in the Lansing-Ishii agreement, which actually did it to death, she is not prepared, and will not be prepared, to abdicate her position in China or elsewhere in the Far East.

The Open Door doctrine is only one of the things which—possible in the era of William McKinley—have become something quite different in the day of Warren Harding. We are twenty years after the fact in seeking now to reassert the principle. Certainly it is not beyond our power. Conceivably it is not outside our right, or even our duty. But it is idle to close our eyes to the circumstances, as the British closed their eyes to similar circumstances when they undertook to deal with a Germany which for a generation had strained every nerve to prepare for future greatness commensurate with German hopes, as if all the preparation and all the hopes were no more than madness confined to a few, a passing fever with only domestic significance.

I do not know the limits which Mr. Hughes has set for his policy. But it is a self-evident fact that beyond a certain point, which is not far away from the starting point, the possibility of war must always be envisaged in the Far East, not, I repeat, because Japan will attack us, but because, beyond this

point, she will regard any course of ours as deliberately hostile and fatally menacing.

If it is the substance we are after in the Far East—I mean if it is in fact equal opportunity, with the integrity of China assured, with Japanese political and military power in China eliminated, with Japanese commerce compelled to fare as we fare in the Chinese markets, then not the assertion but the application of this purpose means war with Japan. And it will mean it just as long as Japan is controlled by the present influences. One may calculate that a time will come when the control will pass to other hands. Similar calculations were made in Britain with respect to Germany, and are still being made.

The gravest danger now, as I see it, is that we shall one day be surprised by war, as Britain was surprised in July and August, 1914, despite all the danger signals which from Tangier to Agadir had lightened the European horizon. And we shall be surprised if we continue to neglect the obvious necessity of appreciating the Japanese point of view, instead of merely iterating and reiterating the merit and the wisdom of our own. Moreover—a fact which Geneva appreciated, if Washington did not—the surprise will all be American, for the world already expects the clash.

REMEDIES FOR INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

BY GEORGE E. ROBERTS

(Vice-President, The National City Bank of New York)

A SITUATION in which great numbers of people are out of work and suffering for the necessities of life while an actual glut of such necessities exists is clearly abnormal and due to maladjustment somewhere. There is a derangement of the exchanges. The people have not reduced consumption because they wish to do so; the desire for each other's products is as great as ever, but something in the nature of a deadlock exists which shuts down industry all around and restricts consumption.

Naturally there is a great interest in the situation, with anxiety to find an explanation for it. Some people jump to the conclusion that the existing system under which industry is organized must be fundamentally at fault.

Clearly, they say each individual has a right to a chance to earn a living if he is willing to work, and society owes him an opportunity.

On its face this seems to be an incontestable proposition, but does it state the whole case? Are there no conditions attached to it? Are the relations between society and the individual one-sided or reciprocal? Society consists of all of us, and has no resources except as it can draw from its individual members. Unless the latter owe obligations to society, how can the latter have any obligations or ability to discharge them?

We come, therefore, immediately to the conclusion that each individual is himself a member of society and a part of its resources, with definite obligations to it, which must be

considered in connection with his claims upon it. Perhaps the remedy will be found to be not so much in having society conform its policies to the individual as in having the individual conform his practices to sound public policies.

Undoubtedly it is very important to know how not only to tide over the present situation, but how to secure stability to industry and prevent the recurrence of such conditions.

The Organization of Modern Industry

Industrial crises arise fundamentally from the state of interdependence that has developed in modern industry, or, in other words, from the fact that we all have become specialists, devoting ourselves to some one kind of work, from which we derive our incomes in money, while we depend upon satisfying our wants by expending these incomes in the market. We have adopted this system because it yields the largest aggregate product, and the best results to all classes and occupations. Industry owes its progress largely to this division of labor, and to organization by groups and specialization within groups, together with the accumulation of capital in the form of power-driven equipment which increases the productivity of labor.

It is needless to describe the achievements of modern industry. By increasing the volume of production it has raised the standard of living for the entire population, for obviously goods will not be produced unless they are distributed and consumed, and it is equally evident that the great bulk of things produced is not consumed by the few rich people, but by the great body of the people. If anyone would properly value the gains that have resulted to all classes from modern industry he should not only take account of the rise of the standard of living that actually has taken place in the last one hundred years, but think of what the standard of living would be for the present population if the productivity of industry was no greater now than one hundred years ago. Some idea of this can be had from the standard of living in countries that have made but little industrial progress as China.

Individual Freedom in Industry

This highly organized state of industry is carried on under a state of individual freedom. Individuals voluntarily distribute themselves in the various occupations according to choice, convenience, and the relative compensation that can be had in them. There is

no compulsion other than that which necessity lays upon everybody to make himself useful somewhere. Society does not undertake to say what an individual shall do or what pay he shall have, and as a rule the people who complain of the existing order would be the first to protest against any such regulation of industry. If, however, the individual demands the right to direct his own movements and manages his own affairs he must assume some responsibility for the results.

The Equilibrium in Industry

The demands of the public for consumption and what it is able and willing to pay effects a natural distribution of the people in the various occupations, and their compensation also is naturally adjusted so that under normal conditions there are just about enough in each occupation to perform that particular service for the rest of the population. Each group sells its services or its products to all the other groups, and when the groups are all nicely balanced to each other everybody has employment and the entire industrial product is absorbed. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that there is no other market for products, and no way by which any group can buy the products of others but by selling its own.

This mutual situation, which makes it to the advantage of all groups and classes that the industrial equilibrium shall be maintained, provides the final authority over the distribution of individuals in industry and over prices. If the pay of the people in any group is raised disproportionately as compared with the incomes of the other groups, more people are likely to be attracted into that group than can find steady employment there and unemployment will result. If wages in a given occupation are pushed up artificially, without any corresponding increase of incomes for people in other occupations, the latter will find it necessary to economize somewhere in order to meet this increased expenditure, and unemployment will result, and very likely, but not invariably, it will be in the industry where costs have increased. In short, unless industry is in balance, and the compensation of the people in different branches is in right relations, the exchanges will be blocked and distribution will not take place until the situation is corrected.

The general conditions in industry may be likened to those in a single highly organized factory where different portions of the work

are done in separate departments, but coming together for the completed product. The departments must be in balance with each other to give the best results. Unless they are production will slow down and there will be unemployment in some of the departments.

The Present Unbalanced State of Industry

The inability of Europe to produce and buy from other countries is the first disturbing factor in the present situation. It throws the trade of the world out of balance, and brings pressure to bear upon countries outside of Europe to help the latter back to her former position in international trade. But we also have an unbalanced state of industry at home, more serious in its effects upon our prosperity than even the influence of Europe. I refer to the loss of the normal equilibrium between the products of the primary industries, or what we may call the extractive industries, producing foodstuffs and raw materials, on the one hand, and the products of the town, or manufacturing, industries together with transportation costs, on the other hand.

All prices and wages went up fairly well together during the war, and in the excited interval immediately following, but this was plainly an abnormal movement, due to the stress of extraordinary conditions. It was inevitable that prices should react from the level then attained, and the unevenness with which the reductions have been made has disturbed the balance in industry, and brought about the state of unemployment and depression that exists.

The Fall of Farm Products

The products of agriculture, being directly affected by foreign conditions, have taken a rapid decline, and on an average of values are back practically at pre-war prices. For many of the staples, prices realized by producers are much below the pre-war level, as price comparisons are usually made at the central markets, and the farmer has had to bear the higher freight rates from his locality to the central market.

Professor George F. Warren, of the Department of Agriculture, formerly of the faculty of the New York College of Agriculture, in a recent study of prices published by the Department, makes the following statement relative to conditions touching the great body of our farming population:

Compared with a 5-year average before the war as 100, the purchasing power of some farm products at prices paid to farmers in June, 1921,

were as follows: Corn 61, oats 60, barley 53, wheat 93, rye 101, buckwheat 101, flaxseed 55, beans 81, corn 56, cotton 51, cottonseed 52, hay 68, cabbage 111, onions 73, potatoes 64, sweet potatoes 89, peanuts 48, apples 91, chickens 116, eggs 77, butter 83, milch cows 80, beef cattle, 69, veal calves 73, sheep 66, lambs 79, wool 58, hogs 67, horses 45. Practically nothing that the farmer sells can be exchanged for the usual quantity of other things. It is physically impossible for farmers to absorb the products of factories. Farm prices have dropped much more than wholesale or retail prices of farm products.

These figures, as Professor Warren says, show the inability of the farming population to buy the products of the factories in normal amounts. A similar situation exists as to many of the other primary industries, and if in calculating the number of people directly affected we include the small towns of the rural sections, we must conclude that the purchasing power of approximately one-half of the population is thus affected.

The Reaction upon the Town Industries

Of course, there is unemployment in the town industries. Their market is in large degree gone; fewer workers are required to supply all the manufactured goods that the farmers are able to buy at ruling prices.

Since Professor Warren's statement was written the price of cotton has advanced from about 11 cents per pound to around 20 cents per pound, on the strength of Government reports that this year's crop will be scarcely more than one-half the normal yield. This recovery will be helpful to an owner who has a store of last year's cotton, but it does not help either the grower of this year's crop or the consumer of cotton goods. It raises the cost of living to the wage-earner who has employment, and imposes a new hardship upon the worker out of employment.

It may be that the prices of farm products will recover to some extent, but nobody can tell when, and there is no reason to expect a reinstatement of war prices. Meanwhile, the situation is out of balance because of the stubborn resistance set up against a corresponding reduction of wages in other industries.

Attitude of Labor Organizations

It is natural that wage-earners upon impulse should oppose a reduction of their pay. It is an habitual attitude, but a mistaken one under present conditions. This is not a trial of strength with their employers, but with the economic law, and there can be only one outcome. A market does not exist for their products at the present costs.

It is useless to say that wages will not come down until the cost of living falls farther. Wages unquestionably are the chief factor in present prices, particularly wages upon the railroads, in coal mines and in the building trades and industries, for transportation, fuel, and rent enter into all industrial and living costs. In some parts of the West corn probably will be burned for fuel this winter, as a result of the high cost of both mining and shipping coal. The cost of living is not a thing by itself; every man's wage enters into another man's cost of living.

Wage Payments vs. Wage Rates

Moreover, the question whether wages shall come down or not is already settled for actual wage payments. It is useless to ignore the fact that they have been heavily reduced. The millions of wage-earners who are working part time or are wholly without employment are aware that wages are not being maintained. The trouble is that wages have been reduced in a manner which accomplishes nothing either in restoring the balance or reducing the cost of living. Coal miners, while making large wages when they work, in many districts are not working more than half time. They urge that they should not be asked to accept lower rates of pay under these conditions, but the high cost of coal is one of the factors in creating the condition.

There are only two general classes of people to whom the products of the town industries can be sold—the country people and themselves. The country people can buy not more than one-half as much in quantity because of the high prices; and the workers in the town industries cannot prosper simply on high prices which they pay themselves. A state of half-time work at double-pay never will restore prosperity.

All this is not saying that the wage-earners should not endeavor to better their condition. It means only that the workers can gain nothing by raising costs on each other, or by laying all emphasis upon money wages.

Temporary and Permanent Remedies

If it is true—and the facts are incontestable—that industry is unbalanced between certain great groups of producers, there can be no effectual remedy short of getting them back into mutually supporting relations.

It is impossible for employers to long continue operations unless they can sell their product. The amount of liquid capital is small compared with the total output of

industry, and the credit of a company manufacturing for stock at the present high level of costs would be quickly impaired. The piling up of unsold stocks against which money was borrowed would weaken the market and eventually involve the employer in losses that by diminishing his capital would curtail his operations and react unfavorably upon his working force.

The idea of employing great numbers of men upon public works raises at once the question as to the wages that will be paid. If it is conceded that there is an obligation upon the community to provide the individual with work, it cannot be conceded that the wages shall be fixed by himself. The public has no resources by which to provide employment except by exercising the taxing power, and taxation will reduce the amount of free capital and postpone the normal revival.

The people who advocate these methods do so upon the theory that the depression is a temporary affair and that the problem is only to tide over until the natural revival comes. But there can be no revival until the balance in industry is restored, and these proposals would tend to prevent the restoration.

Unemployment Insurance

When we come to the remedies designed to avert such periods of reaction and unemployment in the future, the one most commonly and reasonably urged is some form of unemployment insurance. Mr. Lewis, head of the coal miners, offered a plan to the late Unemployment Conference for the accumulation of a reserve wage fund in good times, to enable them to operate in bad times.

Whether such fund would be held by the employers or paid into some public treasury is not clear from the newspaper reports, but no fund can be accumulated without being charged to production or taken out of current wages. It is safe to say that Mr. Lewis will not favor having any part of the coal miner's wages withheld for the purpose of taking care of him at a future time. He will be as quick as anybody to resent such action as paternalistic. It is safe to say that every labor leader who advocates unemployment insurance does so upon the theory that it will amount to an increase of wages.

The plan belongs in the numerous category of schemes for eating one's cake and still having it. Such plans never work. Unemployment insurance, if charged to employers, will increase the cost of production and come around to the workingman to pay. There

is no fund in the hands of employers to pay it without leaving them less to expend in the regular channels. Employers like Mr. Rowntree, of England, now in this country, who advocate unemployment insurance, do so upon the theory that by relieving the workman of the fear of unemployment, production would be increased and the cost covered in this way. In other words, the workman is to be induced to pay the cost by increased production. If, however, the workman should be convinced that wages depend upon production, it is reasonable to believe that he would rather have all that is coming to him given regularly in the pay envelope than to have a part withheld in someone else's custody.

Depression Is a Corrective

This plan, moreover, fails to take account of the fact that the slowing down of industry automatically is a sign that readjustments are necessary. The idea is conveyed that in time of depression there is nothing to do but sit around at somebody's expense, waiting for the situation to right itself. That is far too much the attitude now, and it would be more so if the pressure was removed. The pressure of self-interest is required upon every factor in the situation. Depression is a sign that something needs to be corrected, and that industry must conform to economic law. The plan assumes that industry is static, whereas industry is always changing. There must be flexibility in wages and prices to give free play for natural development.

Fundamentally, the plan is paternalistic. The workingman would pay the cost, either by deductions from his normal wage or by an increase of his living expenses; hence, the whole justification for the proposal must be found in the theory that he will not have the intelligence or resolution to save when he has employment, against a possible period of unemployment.

The Compensations of the System

The wonderful productiveness of the modern industrial system when working in a state of balance (which is due in large part to the incentive offered to individual initiative) affords the means to accumulate a surplus with which to tide over the occasional periods of unbalanced industry (also due to freedom of individual action). In other words, we must save in good times to meet the losses of bad times. Every good business man

makes such provision. The only question is whether the wage-earner shall save for himself or be relieved of that necessity and of all responsibility for the state of industry, by having somebody else save for him.

When confronted with this choice the self-respecting workman will prefer to save for himself, and his instinct is sound. Society can do nothing for the individual that will take the place of what he can do for himself. All that man is to-day he has come to be through the influences that have called out and developed his powers. Every faculty that he possesses is strengthened by use and atrophied by disuse. Anthropologists tell us that the most self-reliant and progressive races have been developed under climatic conditions which compelled them by foresight, industry and resolution to make provision in the summer season for the winter following. It is common observation that the children of the rich do not have a fair chance in life, because they lack the incentive or pressure required to bring out their latent abilities.

The Real Lesson of Industrial Depression

The real lesson carried by industrial depression is that of the fundamental dependence of all branches of industry and all classes of society upon one another, and of the wonderful effectiveness of the economic law in compelling them to do justice to one another. The individual machine will not work except upon conditions that are essentially fair as between the groups into which society is naturally divided. Every group reaches the highest possible compensation for its services only when all other groups do so, because at that time the industrial organization is in balance and the highest productive capacity is realized. Every group and every individual, therefore, is interested in promoting the highest possible degree of effective coöperation.

It shows the fallacy of a prevalent belief that it is possible for the owners of capital to successfully conspire to deprive the wage-earning class of a fair share of the product. Present conditions show that the profitable use of capital depends upon the buying power of the people.

It shows that the general state of industrial relations and the general distribution of the industrial product are not controlled arbitrarily, but are subject to the operation of natural laws which, if given free play, will bring beneficent results.

PRACTICAL MEASURES TO REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT

BY SHERMAN M. CRAIGER

MODERN democracy organizes to rout an insidious social foe. In America, the National Government has just held a conference to further measures for more employment of its citizens. The European countries and others affiliated with the League of Nations have been seriously engaged in carrying out some of the measures, recommended by the International Labor Organization, to reduce unemployment. Their experience is available to this country, through the American representative of that organization, Ernest Greenwood.¹

Why is there general idleness in industry in the United States, where the ruling power is in the hands of the people, and where, by nature and circumstances, so much wealth abounds? We possess a surplus of food and clothing, ample fuel, and adequate housing, though crowded, factors that exist nowhere else in the world. There are still vast acreages of virgin soil to be cultivated, minerals to be dug, rivers and harbors to be developed, as well as factories to be built and equipped. Not only have we a growing demand to be satisfied, but there is also a world-wide call for our products, particularly of the mills and factories. Has our capacity for organization and coöperation become weaker?

Apparently one of the remedies for the existing paradox is to be sought in this direction, as Secretary Hoover is marshaling the representatives of industry and labor, along with those of commerce and finance, to devise emergency measures in mining, manufacturing, transportation, shipping, construction, and public works. This is a decided step ahead, although but a partial measure. Much is gained when we face the facts frankly, however, and recognize that involuntary idleness on such a scale as now exists is a menace, unjust and unnecessary.

What the country is primarily concerned

with now is the increase in unemployment—the additional 3 or 4 per cent. above the normal, so-called. Not that I would use that term as implying a desirable condition, but simply as inevitable under the existing degree of industrial evolution and the capacity of human beings to coöperate. Probably the social organism as now constituted never can wholly eliminate involuntary idleness, but it must adjust itself to reduce this.

The Unemployed Always with Us

As long as the volume of unemployment does not exceed 2 or 3 per cent. of the total population, we do not seem to be seriously affected. That has been our condition for about twenty years. Glance at an analysis of the normal trend of employment in the United States from 1902 to 1917, made by Hornell Hart. He shows that the peak of idleness usually came in January of each year, when there was an average of 3,400,000 out of work. Conditions improved steadily from then through the harvesting season until October, when the average number of unemployed was about 1,900,000. On a percentage basis we make use of the calculation made by the U. S. Bureau of Education that in 1920 there were about 64,000,000 people in this country over twenty-one.

From the foregoing it is clear that, during the fifteen years prior to the World War, there never has been a time when considerable unemployment of an involuntary sort did not exist. From one point of view it may be estimated that each year there have been a million and a half persons desirous of working who were unable to find anything to do. This indicates a defective organization of industry, for one thing, with a possible relation to the rate of wages. Here seems to be a pertinent field for our business men and labor organizations to explore. Can they discover a way to limit the effects of idleness due to seasonal unemployment, casual labor, and to changes in industry?

¹ Detailed information regarding conditions of labor and unemployment in any particular country, as well as the steps taken by the governments concerned, may be obtained by addressing him at 618 17th St., Washington, D. C.

We are suffering now from these as well as another evil, which is called cyclical unemployment. This is really a lack of work due to periods of general trade depression, and is experienced by every country during a series of years. Some of these symptoms are fundamental to the entire structure of social and economic systems. They have combined to bring about, perhaps, the most severe crisis ever known.

How acute it is may be seen by comparing the conditions at the beginning of November in ordinary years, when, as has been pointed out, there have been about 1,900,000 persons idle. To-day, according to figures prepared by Secretary of Labor Davis, there are approximately 5,735,000 fewer people employed in industry. This indicates an excess of 3,835,000 now unemployed, and no words are needed to bring home the gravity of the situation.

Decline Beginning in 1920

No sudden change has brought this about. As long ago as April, 1920, the difficulties began to show themselves in various industrial centers. I spent some time in visiting manufacturing towns in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut both in April and May, last year, and found symptoms of declining industry. In the former month some large factories in Lowell and Holyoke found themselves short of orders, and laid off many employees. Several plants in Springfield and Worcester followed suit the succeeding month.

The textile and steel industries in eastern New York continued in normal operation until July, when the price of cotton suddenly broke from 43 to 11 cents a pound, and the orders for steel rails and billets began slowing up. Almost immediately there was a curtailing of output throughout the important industrial centers of the Empire State. In Connecticut and Rhode Island the cotton and woolen mills either shut down or continued to operate with reduced working forces. The same thing happened to the metal industries.

A similar trend appeared in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—other great industrial regions. In the Southern States the stagnation in cotton and tobacco was nearly complete. The grain belts were affected by the fall of the market for farm products, and the cattle growers also suffered. The general business decline was in full swing.

Two factors helped to get us through the first period of the industrial setback a year ago. The people had savings from previous years of high wages, and the winter of 1920-21 was unusually mild. But there has been a progressive decline in employment from the peak, which was March, 1920.

The Situation in New York State

While the statistics leave much to be desired, an examination of the reports from 1580 factories in New York State shows a decline in employment to date of approximately 30 per cent. This indicates that there are 450,000 fewer workers in industry than at the high point of last year. The greatest reduction has taken place in the iron and steel mills of the State, where from 20 to 30 per cent. of the former employees are at work. A heavy curtailment exists in the number of workers engaged in the production of agricultural machinery and implements. The metal industry is generally affected most adversely.

The shirt and collar industry of Troy is employing about half its usual quota. The textile and woolen mills along the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys are slightly busier. There are seasonal gains in employment in the men's clothing industry, and in the manufacture of cloaks, waists and women's apparel.

Perhaps the greatest center of unemployment is in the City of New York, although reliable figures are lacking. One of the greatest needs, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the country, is a mechanism for collecting accurate statistics on employment, and if machinery of this sort can be devised and set up, as a result of the National Unemployment Conference, a decided step ahead will have been taken. Some of the present figures may be taken as accurate.

The federal Government on January 1 last reported a total of 518,220 persons employed in factories in New York City. This number contrasted with 755,463 at work there on January 1, 1920, indicating a reduction in employment of 31.8 per cent. By the first of last April the increase in industrial operations in the City of New York had brought about the employment of one-third of these idle men and women, or approximately 79,081. Thus, at the beginning of the spring we had about 158,162 idle in the metropolis, in the various factories.

With these figures in mind we may proceed to a consideration of the statistics of

the New York State Department of Labor, which indicate a decline in factory earnings in June and July. With August there came seasonal shut-downs of plants, and these have not shown a consistent revival during September. At the beginning of October there has been a slight spurt in some trades.

In a recent walk through the factory districts of Brooklyn, I found displayed the "help wanted" signs on the doors of the smaller factories. One manufactured clothing, another suspenders. In the Bronx I noticed an occasional placard for help. A safety-razor factory required additional employees, and this was true of other specialty plants.

On the whole, I question if there has taken place any considerable reduction in the ranks of the unemployed factory workers in New York City; in fact they have probably grown.

To these figures should be added those representing the involuntary idle among the sailors, longshoremen and other workers. About 16,000 sailors are out of work, due to the falling off in our export trade. It is estimated by William F. Kehoe, secretary of the council of the New York City Central Trades Organization, that there are 96,000 idle longshoremen and teamsters; 22,500 machinists not working, and 18,000 printers, pressmen and photo-engravers unemployed. He places the number of idle ship workers at 250,000; but the latter do not all belong to New York. There are no reliable statistics as to the number of clerks and executives out of work, but a visit to the offices of the National Employment Exchange and other private agencies frequented by this type of worker revealed a very large quota.

Altogether, it is undoubted that the estimate of half a million unemployed in the metropolis, as made by John Sullivan, president of the Central Trades Assembly, is approximately correct. In this total, of course, are not included the numbers of skilled workmen, members of the building trades, and allied lines, who elect to remain idle in lieu of accepting compromises in the wage scale, as offered by the Employers Building Trades organization.

Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Other States

If approximately 13 per cent. of the idle workers of the country live in the Empire State, a great deal of difficulty is experienced in localizing the remaining 87 per cent. In Chicago, a survey made some time ago by

the Association of United Charities indicated that there were 100,000 jobless in the Windy City. Curiously enough, there is no official record available of the employees in the State of Illinois, or other information on employment. It is a remarkable commentary on the failure of a great democratic commonwealth that it never has organized itself to acquire the most rudimentary facts concerning the daily work of its people. Well may Viscount Bryce question if democracy gives much proof of its increasing capacity to govern wisely, when one of our greatest States comes to meet an unemployment crisis without reliable data as a basis to guide it.

Philadelphia has considerable unemployment, although figures are lacking. The Industrial Relations Committee of the Chamber of Commerce is conducting a study of the situation, and expects to make a census of the people who are idle. A serious condition exists, as there has been an improvement of only about 1 per cent. in employment since July.

Throughout the State of Pennsylvania there were reported a total of 300,000 unemployed on the 15th of August. About 69,000 were formerly engaged in metal and machinery plants, 48,000 in the mines and quarries, 20,000 in wholesale and retail establishments, 12,000 in transportation industries and public utilities, and 61,000 common laborers. The remainder were in miscellaneous occupations.

The reports from Ohio indicate an acute situation, the unemployment being greater than a year ago, or in January last. At least 50,000 miners are practically idle. The steel mills and rubber factories are operating at about one-third of their normal capacity. The savings of the people have largely been exhausted, and in some of the industrial centers the unemployed are now being fed by the public.

In Wisconsin about 130,000 persons are without work, both the skilled and unskilled trades being affected.

The improvement in the automobile and truck manufacturing industry is responsible for the better state of affairs existing in Michigan. This influence has reacted on the allied industries, so that there is at present more employment, by 25 per cent. than at any time since January. Most of the idle are common laborers.

In West Virginia the number of the unemployed has increased by 40 per cent. since the first of the year. The great majority of

these are mine workers, of whom it is estimated that a quarter of a million throughout the United States are without jobs.

Kentucky suffers in this connection, and reports about 60,000 idle. In a lesser degree, Tennessee has one-third of its mines out of commission, with a corresponding growth of unemployment.

Similarly, in Alabama, the unemployed are confined to the coal, iron and allied industries. A few cities in Georgia report an excess of idle, but it is not large.

Florida, on the other hand, has almost no unemployment, and even reports a small shortage of labor in certain spots.

The New England States show improvement in certain industries, such as the cotton and woolen mills, the boot and shoe factories, and the paper plants.

Maine has about 18,000 without work. In New Hampshire 21 per cent. of the workers are idle. Vermont is in better condition, her textile industries operating at from 75 per cent. to 85 per cent. of capacity. The quarries and metal trades, however, are still working at a low ebb. The town of Springfield, Vermont, with a normal population of 7000, has lost 2500 of its people through unemployment.

A quarter of the workers in Massachusetts are out of work. Within the past few months over 2000 persons have left the city of Worcester to seek employment. Among these are many foreigners who have returned home. Others are women who have gone back to farm life.

Connecticut has 120,000 idle, while the conditions in Rhode Island are far from good.

While in Minnesota and Nebraska the general conditions have not greatly improved, there is a ray of hope in the Dakotas. The Industrial Commissioner of North Dakota writes that any laborer who will accept the wages offered by farmers can secure immediate employment. The percentage of idle in South Dakota is very small.

Kansas has about 10,000 out of work. In Iowa a steady improvement has occurred since June, when the factories were employing about 40 per cent. of their maximum number. Most plants in Missouri report more work than for many months.

The greatest amount of idleness in Oklahoma is in the oil industry, railroad repair shops, packing houses, the coal and lumber trade. At least 35 per cent. of the meat packing plants are closed.

Texas has a large number of idle factories, but increased activity in the building trades. Half of the workers in New Mexico are on part time.

There are from 15,000 to 20,000 idle in Colorado, while in Montana there is less work now than last January. This is ascribed to the closing of copper mines and lumber mills.

In Utah and Arizona a considerable amount of employment has been going on in the coal mining industry, and the railroad shops. The latter State reports more activity in building and road construction, with a better demand for agricultural labor.

The far western States, California, Oregon and Washington, have had a relatively good summer, and there has been a considerable growth in employment in the fruit industry, the canneries, on the farms and in public works.

On the whole, it is a fair estimate that there is from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. less employment in American industries than a year ago. On the railroads, 302,053 workers had been laid off on April 1, a reduction of 15.2 per cent. in a year.

Domestic Service

While it will be well for us to take the statistics given hitherto as the best obtainable, some allowance must be made for them. Undoubtedly some of the workers have gone from the factory to the kitchen or the farm. I remember in Troy recently that some young women formerly employed in factories in New Haven had returned to their native town and accepted work as maids and cooks. This in the face of the fact that the collar and shirt factories in Troy have laid off perhaps from 3000 to 4000 women in the past year. Many of the latter, however, belong in the country districts along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, and have returned to their homes.

There is no proof, at the same time, that there has been a general exodus of women from the shops to the kitchens, or of the men to the farms. In New York City to-day there are not enough cooks and general houseworkers to supply the demand. That is, while the girls are willing to accept a 10 per cent. reduction of wages, they, frankly, are living on their savings of the past few years rather than working as domestics for the lower pay offered. In the metropolitan district of New York, embracing a radius of twenty-five miles from the City Hall,

there is a demand for houseworkers that is not met.

This condition prevails in many towns in New York State to my personal knowledge. It is true, also, in other States. Relatives in Ohio and California write me that they cannot obtain help for their farms. Likewise in Illinois, and, very probably, in other localities.

It is apparent that the general unemployment among factory and industrial workers is not going to affect the demand for domestics. The employment agencies report that such persons rarely become good servants. Where the experiment has been tried it has not been successful. Rather than work in a kitchen many girls prefer to go without a fully nourishing diet, let alone the pay offered.

Here may be the place to observe that one of the underlying reasons for this state of affairs is the false economic policy adopted by the United States during the war. Instead of conscripting labor for the munitions and other war-work plants, the people were drawn into them by artificially high wages and thus given an entirely erroneous notion of the workings of the law of supply and demand. We pay a dear price for readjustment.

Wage Reductions in the Building Trades

Again, what shall be said of the attitude of some of the building trades, whose refusal to accept a reduction of wages along reasonable lines has resulted in holding up a great volume of needed building construction, with accompanying paralysis of employment in allied industries?

Happily, there are some signs of returning sanity in this particular situation. On Labor Day, Judge Kenesaw M. Landis of Chicago gave a decision as arbiter in the dispute between the building trades employers and employees of that city by which the building labor wage is cut from 10 per cent. to 36 per cent. This applied to all crafts, save the stone carvers, who are experts in chiseling intricate designs on stone. It is expected that this decision will be accepted by both the men and employers. About \$100,000,000 will then be released for building purposes—sufficient to give employment to 25,000 idle men.

Public Works

At a meeting at the City Club of prominent Chicagoans, representing charitable,

civic, industrial and labor organizations, it was proposed to create a fund of \$40,000,000 available for labor. This comes out of bond issues authorized by the city, county and State authorities, and opens up a way to alleviate some of the present hardships.

In the State of New York there will be a continuous letting of public work, such as buildings and highways, during the fall and winter, writes L. F. Pilcher, the State Architect. There are considerable sums available. A total of \$17,465,000 is provided for road improvement. The canals and the New York-New Jersey Vehicular Tunnel receive \$10,563,000 and \$5,000,000, respectively. There is \$1,043,000 for public buildings. Many thousands of men as a consequence will be employed.

A City Employment Bureau

At the beginning of September, Mayor John F. Hylan of New York appointed a Committee on Unemployment, representative of the financial, commercial, transportation, real estate, mercantile, philanthropic and social service interests. As a result, the resources of the city of New York have been mobilized to meet the crisis. The committee recommended the formation of an Industrial Aid Bureau to cooperate with the Federal authorities as well as those of the State.

This was created by the city government, and began operations in the middle of September, \$25,000 having been appropriated by the Board of Estimate. The employment division of the Bureau aims to bring men and jobs together, through a clearing-house where employers may find the type of worker suited to their needs. The applicants are classified as unskilled laborers, clerical and professional workers, and women, skilled and unskilled.

The Bureau is administered by the Commissioner of Public Welfare, a representative of the American Legion, and the president of the Labor Council, all serving without compensation. A total of thirty-three salaried positions were provided for in the appropriation, and these were filled from the men and women who had been on the unemployed list. Half were ex-service men. Thus the city set a most commendable example.

Commissioner of Public Welfare Bird S. Coler, the Chairman, reviewed the proposed activities of the Board in admirable fashion:

"No time will be spent," he said, "in exhaustive, costly surveys. The steps to be taken may be summed up as follows: To create a need for

workers, men and women; to ascertain where this need exists and systematically to list all calls for workers; to make the worthy jobless acquainted with the functions of the Bureau; to introduce the man to the job, and the job to the man; to provide at least one day's work if the earnings of that day will avert hunger; to begin weeding out, immediately, those not entitled to the benefit of the Bureau. This applies to the itinerant, particularly to the out-of-town type, that with every epidemic of unemployment comes in hordes to New York City."

Some idea of the excessive number of those unemployed in the metropolis may be gained by considering the record of a single day's work at the Industrial Aid Bureau recently. There were 306 men and women registering for positions, and of these, 103 were sent out to prospective employers in answer to requests. Only 79 received situations, or 26 per cent.

At the Bowery Mission during a recent week, meals were served to 1715 men, an increase of nearly 200 per cent. over the corresponding week of last year.

Ex-Service Men in New York

A very unhappy situation has arisen in connection with the plight of the ex-service men, of whom the American Legion officials state about 40,000 are out of work in New York City. From 50 to 60 a day have been applying to the Legion Bureau for food, clothing and work. Fortunately, it has been ascertained that an amendment to the poor laws of New York was adopted in May, 1920, providing that any veteran of any war must be taken care of by "outside relief," and under no circumstances be sent to an almshouse. Former soldiers will receive jobs if possible, money with which to pay their rent and buy food, if necessary, and whatever else is needed to keep them in good health. It is unthinkable that any ex-service man should suffer. None receiving relief under this act are to be classified as paupers, or as recipients of poor-law relief.

The menace of thousands of hungry men, unsheltered and unclothed, as far as warm outfits are concerned, is so grave that the public has given evidence of awakening to the seriousness of conditions. During September, Urbain Ledoux, who had appealed to the mass psychology of Boston by holding a "slave market" on the Commons there for a number of jobless, arrived in New York, and announced his intention of repeating the program there. If his plan was to secure attention it was eminently successful, for the police broke up the meeting, and at

first even denied permission for him to distribute food to the hungry men. After the first flash of general publicity, however, the public began to manifest deep interest in the plight of the unemployed sitting in the parks of the city. Representatives of women's organizations made regular visits and distributed sandwiches and coffee to the unfortunates.

Individual Experiences

The difficulty of securing a position in New York at this time may be illustrated by the following specific instances: A skilled executive, with a college training, was unexpectedly thrust out of his place on the first day of August, due to the liquidation of his employer. He set out to call on corporations engaged in similar work, and in the space of two weeks interviewed the representatives of thirty-one large concerns. Also he replied to eight advertisements in the daily papers.

One of the latter was from a bank which made him an offer of several thousand dollars a year with a bonus. In the meantime one of the firms he had called upon made him another offer, equally attractive, which was accepted, and he went to work without delay.

Another man, without special training, also was discharged the first of August. He had a grammar-school education, served for one enlistment in the Navy, sold silk for a wholesale house, and also worked as checker in a large restaurant. Every morning for three weeks he arose at five A. M. and hurried out to get a newspaper. After nearly a month of wearily standing in line for several hours each day he was offered a position at \$18 a week. It was only through the help of his wife, who herself secured a place as waitress in a restaurant, and earned enough to pay room rent and buy food for two, that he was enabled to persevere.

The usual sleeping place of the single men has been on the benches of the parks, under the wheelbarrows, and in carts, on the steps of buildings, and even on the ground. Newspapers have served as their only protection from the damp and cold. These men are not the usual type of unemployed. Many of them have been observed at the little lakes in the edge of the park stripped to the waist washing their shirts.

A "Buyers' Week"

An important step was taken by the Mayor of New York toward the end of September in calling a conference of merchants and busi-

ness men to consider the feasibility of trying to stimulate business by means of a so-called Buyers' Week. At the meeting, Franklin Simon outlined a plan of action calling for the coöperation of wholesalers, retailers, railroads, hotels and other business groups. He divided the intensive selling campaign into two periods of one week each.

The first called for the coöperation of the manufacturer and wholesaler. By means of letters to stores and announcements in trade publications it was proposed to interest the large selling organizations throughout the country to send their buyers to New York and consolidate purchases during a Trade Revival Week. Considerable employment in many lines is bound to follow.

The second week calls for the coöperation of the retail merchant. With special publicity and buying inducements offered in the press, the public recognizes it as a legitimate, organized movement and responds in such a manner as to result in a larger volume of business and increasing employment. Rightly handled, there is considerable power in the suggestion of a Buyers' Week, and many cities are manifesting interest in the plan. It is expected that during November, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, and possibly Boston, will undertake a step along this line.

One large New York house had a full-page advertisement in the press offering to buy \$500,000 of merchandise at once for cash and put it on sale at exactly the wholesale price paid for it. This is an example of public spirit that doubtless will be far-reaching in its effects.

An Employment "Drive" in Philadelphia

The City of Philadelphia has brought together the representatives of fifty-four business houses, industrial corporations and related organizations, pledged to seek jobs for the unemployed. Every important railroad, manufacturer and business man agreed to join with all others in providing employment for those who have been involuntarily idle. The Chamber of Commerce is actively coöperating with the effort, and there is a feeling of encouragement over the outlook. It is only by the most diligent, soul-searching activity that results will come.

The Governor of Pennsylvania announces that there is a total of \$88,525,232.11 available during the calendar year 1921 for the construction of highways. This is made up of federal, State, and local funds. At this time about \$50,000,000 worth of this work

is under way. In addition there is an appropriation of \$666,000 for public buildings and \$450,000 for bridges. This will afford considerable employment throughout the winter and spring.

Various Interesting Suggestions

In a number of States some novel measures have been under consideration. The Mayor of New Britain, Connecticut, has had before him a plan by which delinquent rent-payers could perform work for the city, their wages in part to be turned over to their landlords in order to avoid evictions. Another scheme was to let property owners who, because of unemployment, were unable to pay their taxes, meet their debt to the municipality by doing some manual labor.

The City of Racine, Wisconsin, inaugurated a municipal work project, and voted a special bond issue of \$150,000 for street, park and cemetery improvements. Three hundred unemployed heads of families began work on the undertaking at the rate of 35 cents an hour. Some of them have worked for six days a week and others but two or three, according to the needs of their families. In cases where men refuse the work offered, the city denies all further aid through charity.

Governor Channing H. Cox of Massachusetts has given considerable attention to unemployment throughout the State. He has urged, as a permanent policy, the setting aside of 10 per cent. of the appropriations for improvement projects in order to make possible a reservoir of employment for the coming of hard times. He points out that in the course of a seven-year period this would ordinarily amount to several million dollars for the State or municipality adopting it, so that when the cycle of unemployment approaches periodically there will be machinery ready to cope with it in part.

Governor Cox has communicated with the county, city and town officials throughout the State, urging that projected public improvements be started immediately instead of waiting until the spring. The replies indicated a general willingness by community officials to help relieve unemployment.

There are several appropriations available in Massachusetts for public purposes. Eight hundred thousand dollars has been appropriated for buildings. The sum of \$6,000,000 is involved in active contracts on highways and \$920,000 for the waterways division.

A somewhat different policy has been

adopted in Indiana. Although the balance in the highway fund amounted to \$2,700,000 and the inheritance tax for 1921 amounts to approximately \$600,000, the automobile license tax to \$2,200,000, and the proceeds of a levy to as much again, it is not the policy of the State to let contracts for road construction during the fall. A few construction contracts will be let during the winter for projects to be built in 1922.

Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas writes that there are uncompleted contracts this fall for a large amount of road mileage, with appropriations amounting to a grand total of \$6,489,390.65. He adds:

While we have made no program to use public work for the purpose of relieving the labor situation, our State Highway Commission is keeping in mind the wisdom of that policy, and as the situation develops it is advising county boards in the letting of contracts to take cognizance of helping the labor conditions.

A forward policy likewise has been adopted in New Jersey. The last Legislature appropriated \$500,000 for highway construction, and there is available, in addition, approximately \$3,300,000 from appropriations or bond issues of former years. Furthermore, they have available the receipts from motor vehicle licenses and fees. The work on all of these contracts has been let and the construction will continue throughout the winter, weather permitting.

Governor O. H. Shoup of Colorado writes that there will be approximately \$7,800,000 of federal, State and county funds available this year for road construction and maintenance—also \$1,000,000 for public buildings. It is expected that contracts will be awarded throughout the winter.

In Missouri, Governor Hyde says there is about \$6,500,000 in hand for road-building, and \$3,500,000 for public buildings. He anticipates that by the first of next March there will be an additional \$10,000,000 for highways. Everything possible is being done to push the contracts for the expenditure of the money appropriated in order to assist in taking care of the labor situation.

Maryland has provided \$3,000,000 for highway construction, \$1,500,000 for buildings, and \$250,000 for waterways.

The Governor of Minnesota, Hon. J. A. O. Preus, is giving considerable attention to the problem, and writes that the largest sums of money for construction and improvement work in 1922 will be spent upon the public highways. The State has recently taken over

about 7000 miles of road, to be maintained and extended from funds provided by a license tax on automobiles.

"Staggering Jobs"

One method of helping to tide over the unemployment crisis is that initiated in September in the plant of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation at Sparrows Point, Md., whereby the workers divide their jobs. While the company officials did not formally sanction the arrangement the plan was worked out between the men and the foremen of the departments, under which the men work one week and lay off the next. This allows other men to earn something toward the support of their families. While not practicable for all departments of the plant, it seems to have worked all right where applied.

This scheme was brought up at the National Unemployment Conference, and, while favored by the American Federation of Labor, met with objection from some employers. It was pointed out that serious dislocation would result in certain plants by taking on men unfamiliar with the work in hand. Production would become slower, and hence a general falling off in efficiency. "Staggering jobs," as it is called, is an emergency measure and of strictly limited utility.

Wanted Everywhere: Lower Prices

The underlying need is that prices of all essential commodities shall be reduced. This includes not only materials, but the major factor of wages. While organized labor has already accepted considerable reductions a further deflation of wages is inevitable. There must be sharp cuts in those commodities which have not yet had a thorough readjustment.

Congress must quickly readjust the burdens of taxation. Also it should pass the railroad bill providing for the payment to the roads of \$500,000,000, and thereby stimulate railway purchases. It should also agree to the President's plan to refund the foreign war debts, as the allied nations have lost \$139,702,269,225 and have no way of paying us. Our business men must then extend long credits to Europe in order to be able to export the locomotives, cars, railroad material, agricultural machinery and raw material needed abroad. Measures of this sort more than anything else will tend to restore our own prosperity and give our people normal employment.

"FARMER" GOVERNMENT IN TWO OF CANADA'S PROVINCES

BY HON. SIR P. T. McGRATH, K.B.E.

(Past-President of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

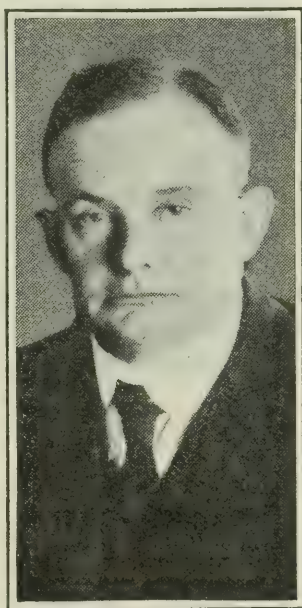
THE ninety journalists from all parts of the British Empire who toured Canada last year found one of the most interesting subjects for study there in the functioning of the Farmers' Government in the Province of Ontario. The British Isles have large Labor groups latterly becoming prominent in politics; in Australia and New Zealand Labor parties have long taken their share in administrative control, but, in Canada, as in the United States, although Labor is highly organized, it has not made similar headway, and the last Canadian Parliament contained but one recognized Laborite.

In the Canadian Provinces the situation, until recently, was much the same, but in the years immediately preceding the war the Farmers—as one Labor element—began to organize themselves into grain companies, elevator companies and coöperative companies until now they control much of the commerce of the Western Provinces. Success in these directions impelled them to enter the political arena, as they argued that they could, by this means, secure better treatment for themselves; and Ontario, the largest, best-educated, and most progressive Province of the Dominion, with a population of roughly three million people, took the lead.

At the dissolution of the then existing Legislature in October, 1919, the Conservative party, under Sir William Hearst, held 77 of the 111 seats and the Liberals (in opposition) under Hon. Hartley Dewart, held 30, Farmers and Laborites occupying the remainder. But the Farmers put up an aggressive campaign, contested nearly all the seats, and, probably as much to their own surprise as to their opponents, captured 45,

the Liberals carrying 28, the Conservatives 27, and the Laborites 11. This created a novel complication for Canada, because none of these groups was in itself strong enough to control Parliament. However, the Farmers and the Laborites combined, and, by offering the Speakership to an Independent Liberal with pro-Farmer tendencies, secured a majority of 2 with the Speaker in the chair. They counted, too, with confidence so far, that the inherent differences between the old parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, would prevent these from combining and seriously threatening the stability of the administration thus called into being.

It was a very unexperienced aggregation of which the Farmers' leader, Mr. Ernest C. Drury, assumed the primacy. Of the 111 members, over 80 or 72 per cent. were sitting in Parliament for the first time. Mr. Drury himself had not been a candidate; most of his followers were novices; and, in opposition, only three Conservative Ministers had escaped defeat, Premier Hearst and five others having succumbed, while the Liberals likewise had lost many prominent men. The Farmers, in fact, had won in numerous three-cornered contests, slipping in between the Conservatives and the Liberals.



HON. ERNEST C. DRURY
(Farmer Premier of the
Province of Ontario)

A Premier from Unofficial Life

It may be asked how a man not in the Legislature, and not even a candidate at the election, could be selected by the Governor to form a Ministry and assume the Premiership? The answer is that, under British constitutional practice the Governor entrusts the formation of a government to the person who, in his judgment, is best able to secure

the support of a majority of the members of the Legislature to carry out policies upon which they may mutually agree. Usually, of course, such a man is a member of the Legislature, but not necessarily so.

Constitutionally it became Premier Hearst's duty, on being defeated, to advise the Governor that he would be unable to carry on the government of the Province and to tender his resignation and that of his colleagues in the ministry. Meanwhile the Farmers had met, chosen Mr. Drury because of his special merits, completed an alliance with the Laborites, and were thus able to put him forward as the most likely man to insure stable control; and the Governor naturally invited him to undertake the duty under the circumstances. Hence Mr. Drury assumed the burden Sir William Hearst had laid down. The Cabinet he selected was composed entirely, and almost necessarily, of untried men. He and his Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Manning Doherty, were not in the House at all, and neither was the lawyer whom he selected to become Attorney-General, while of those with seats only one had been in the Legislature before and he for but two sessions. They were all, it might be said, little known to the general public, but they were representative men in their own lines. It was stated by Mr. Drury that not one of his followers sought a position, either directly or indirectly, and that it was only after the greatest persuasion that some were induced to accept portfolios, because they argued that they lacked the qualifications therefor.

A "Pitchfork" Government

He offered two portfolios—to the Laborites, whose nominees were Mr. Rollo, a broom-maker and journalist, and Mr. Mills, a locomotive engineer, and the two groups compromised on issues on which they were likely to differ. He secured as Attorney-General, Mr. W. E. Raney, a Toronto lawyer, actively hostile to the liquor and race-track interests, and, by other Farmer members resigning their seats in the party's interests, vacancies were created through which Messrs. Drury, Doherty and Raney, secured seats in the Legislature. Thus Ontario acquired what some of its enemies sneeringly termed a "pitchfork" government, but though more than two years has elapsed it is questionable if the stock of the Farmer party has dropped materially since its inauguration.

Mr. Drury's first official act after assum-

ing office was to cut his own salary from \$12,000 to \$9,000 a year, on the ground that the former figure was too high for the services rendered, and that the preacher of economy should practice it himself. This was the first of many surprises the Farmers gave to the so-called "practical politicians" and, to the Province in general. They disavowed "patronage," and appointed a woman as Registrar of Deeds in one of the counties on the death of the man to whom she had been assistant, much to the disgust of certain elements, not all outside their own party, who expected this "plum" would go to some political supporter.

The Farmers also advocated the abolition of the Provincial Government House, the residence of the Governor, a million-dollar structure erected a few years previously by the Conservatives and maintained at a heavy annual cost—too heavy, in the opinion of the new administration. Mr. Drury also outlined some novel theories of governmental procedure, one being that the Ministry should act as a Directorate and that all groups in the House should feel at liberty to initiate legislation and count on the support of the Ministry. Another was against enforcing party discipline on the customary lines, allowing members, in the main, to vote in whatever way they liked. Similarly, he advocated a fixed four-year term for the Legislature with a specific date for its election, as in the United States, but had to abandon this, because of the outcry made against it as un-British.

When the Hydro-Electric Commission, created by a former government to administer this public utility in the Province, submitted to him plans for taking over and extending radial electric lines in various districts, he refused to become responsible for a further expenditure of nearly seven million dollars until he had appointed a board of experts to inquire into the merits of the project; and the wisdom of his stand was confirmed recently by the commission reporting against it. Likewise, when rates which he considered excessive were proposed by another concern for the supplying of power for purposes with which the Government was associated he replied in true farmer parlance, that "he did not propose to give the whole crop to pay for the use of the threshing machine."

It is not easy, in a limited space, to enumerate all the departures from ordinary political pathways made by the Farmers since taking

office, but one as to lawyers is worth noting. The usual practice elsewhere throughout the British Dominions is for lawyers to be given the suffix "K. C." (meaning King's Counsel) as a political honor. A King's Counsel is, in theory, a lawyer of outstanding attainments, capable of giving counsel to the King and undertaking legal actions on the King's behalf. When conferred politically this distinction has often been abused and the Farmers decided to place the conferring of it hereafter in the hands of the Judges of the Highest Courts of the Province, a reform that was universally commended.

Ontario's Ministry Wins Confidence

When the Farmer Government assumed office there was a disposition in most quarters to give it a fair trial, and, despite the inexperience of its members, their manifest sincerity and genuine efforts to deal with public matters fairly resulted in this view being maintained up to the present. The Conservative and Liberal groups have bombarded it with severe criticisms from time to time, but the "Farmer" Government has outlasted two sessions of the four it must normally face, and its position seems unshaken seriously.

Mr. Drury, the Farmer's Premier, is forty-three years old, a native of Crown Hill, a small village in Ontario, where he farms an area of 250 acres won from the wilderness 103 years ago by his great-grandfather and held by the family ever since. He comes honestly by his present prominence, as his father was the first Minister of Agriculture for the Province, and he himself has always shown a tendency toward political studies, is a fine extempore speaker and an authority on fiscal and tariff questions. He strongly impressed the "British Empire" journalists with his competence and his sincerity and with the success, so far, of the experiment. Mr. Drury is as unlike as possible the typical farmer of the stage and the "comics"—a lanky, ill-clad, unkempt being with long whiskers filled with hayseed. He and his colleagues dress well, look prosperous citizens, and, curiously enough, are all clean shaven, except the Attorney-General, who is not a farmer and yet furnished the only exhibit of "facial foliage" among the group.

The Overturn in Alberta

The success of the Farmers in Ontario naturally stimulated them in other Provinces to similar attempts to gain control and in the contest in Alberta last July they entered the field as a definite organization, with candidates in most of the constituencies. Here they were even more successful than in Ontario, for besides defeating the government of Premier Stewart, they carried 39 out of 61 seats, thus securing a majority over all other elements. But here, also, as in Ontario, the Farmers chose as their leader one who had not been a candidate in the election, but whose suitability for the Premiership was generally recognized. He is Mr. Herbert Greenfield, an Englishman by birth

and a farmer in the Province for many years; and a seat must now be found for him, and another for the lawyer chosen as Attorney-General, but no difficulty is expected as to this. Premier Greenfield assumed office on August 12, and all his Cabinet are farmers, or connected with agriculture, except Mr. Ross, Laborite, whose admission indicates a more or less binding alliance with the Labor party. The Cabinet includes one woman, Mrs. Parlby, who sits without a portfolio, and the second woman cabinet minister in Canada, the first being Mrs. Smith, in British Columbia, appointed some months previously.

Illustrating how young these Western Provinces are, is the fact

that not a member of the Greenfield Cabinet was born in Alberta, though all have lived there some years. Three came from England, two from Scotland, and three from other parts of Canada. It is obviously too early to offer any comment upon this new Alberta administration.

And now the Farmers are looking for new worlds to conquer. Headed by Mr. Crerar, leader of the Farmer group in the Federal House at Ottawa, a "National Progressive Party," with the Farmers as the backbone, is preparing to contest the Federal election this autumn, as a "third party," with the hope of wresting the Dominion Government from the Conservatives and Liberals in much the same way as the farmers of Ontario and Alberta have secured control in those Provinces.



HON. H. GREENFIELD
(Farmer Premier of the
Province of Alberta)

THE BELGIAN SPIRIT

BY NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

ONLY a tough-fibered people could endure the treatment which the Belgians suffered at the hands of the invading German armies for four long and dreadful years, without breaking under the strain. The violation of pledged neutrality was bad enough; the excesses and abominations committed at Dinant, at Louvain, at Termond, at Aerschot, and elsewhere, were sufficiently horrible to break the stoutest human spirit; but even worse were the rigors day by day of the severest and most ruthless military government imaginable. Life is hardly worth living when one may only do his daily work under military surveillance and subject to repressive and arbitrary limitations and exactions. Home and country are far from what they should be when one may not show or take delight in his country's flag.

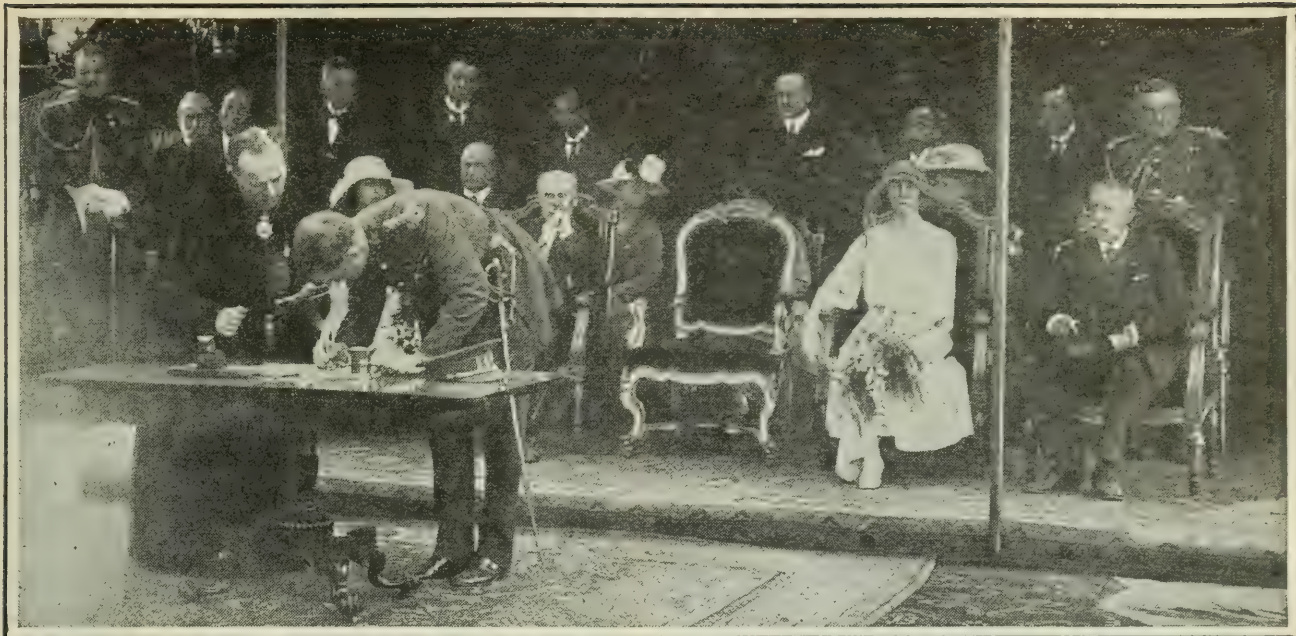
Those who through all this sustained and guided the spirit of the Belgian people are in the first rank of the war's heroes. Their courage, their endurance, and their lofty self-sacrifice could not have been exceeded on the field of fiercest battle. King Albert and Cardinal Mercier stand out as the noble leaders of the Belgian people, whose place in history is secure. By their side stand those ministers of state and civil administrators such as Burgomaster Max at Brussels and Burgomaster Nerinx at Louvain, whose courage never faltered and whose spirit never quailed. To this lofty leadership the Belgian people responded splendidly, and as a result, they are to-day a finer people because of the discipline they have endured than when the war so suddenly broke upon them.

The task of economic and physical reconstruction is going on apace. Of course, save in the towns where the invading armies did their first dreadful damage, and in those parts of Flanders where the line of battle swayed to and fro throughout the war, there has been no such physical destruction as overwhelmed so large a portion of France. On the other hand, Belgium's economic problem has been a difficult one, since the Germans bent all their energies during their period of occupation to create a situation favorable to them when, as they fondly hoped, Bel-

gium and the northern departments of France should at the close of the war come under the sovereignty of the German Emperor. The Belgian people are hard at work. Their railways are being rapidly restored, their factories repaired and newly equipped, and their fields restored to normal tillage according to the most approved methods.

Louvain itself has become one of the world's spiritual capitals through its sufferings and its sacrifice. Those who assembled there from all corners of the earth in the midsummer heat of last July to take part in laying the cornerstone of the new University Library, which symbolized a world's free coöperation in lifting Louvain to its feet, constituted an assemblage probably without parallel for personal distinction and for representative character. The royal family of Belgium, Cardinal Mercier and his ecclesiastical coadjutors and associates, the ministers of state and the diplomatic representatives of every power on earth, great commanders, men of letters, of science, and of the fine arts, bearing credentials from scores of universities, academies, and learned societies scattered round the globe, and more than twenty distinguished representatives of the Institute de France wearing the striking uniform of that body, walked through the crowded streets amid the shouts and cheers of a multitude of citizens, young and old, rejoicing that the years of destruction were past and that new years of construction and progress helpful to humanity were opening. Perhaps not since the Middle Ages in an Italian or Angevin town has a similar sight been seen. There were no police guards, no soldiery, no form of protection for all these potentates and dignitaries. They walked quietly and peacefully among the people, safe in the people's hearts, and protected from any harm by the loyal devotion of leaders and people to a common ideal and to its formal celebration.

Those who witnessed the ceremonials of that day will never forget them. It was not only a birthday for the new Louvain, but it was a birthday for the new and strengthened spirit of the people of Belgium.



AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE NEW LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN, BELGIUM
(King Albert is signing the Book of Gold, with Recteur Ledeuze in attendance. Ambassador Whitlock stands in the background toward the left. Seated in the center of the picture are Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President Poincaré, Queen Elizabeth, and the Prince of Monaco)

THE UNITED STATES AND BELGIUM

LOUVAIN, JULY 28, 1921

BY MAURICE DEFOURNY

(Professor of Political Economy at the University of Louvain)

ON the night of August 25, 1914, the Germans set fire to the city of Louvain and burned to ashes the magnificent library of the old Belgian university founded in 1425.

Not during a siege—as many uninformed people still believe—nor in the midst of a battle was this celebrated building destroyed. Louvain was not a fortified city; the Germans entered it without opposition, and they had been occupying it since August 19. The German troops carried out the orders of their generals. Without the excuse of strategic necessity, they put Louvain to fire and sword, to punish Belgium for having resisted their march and to terrorize the Belgian people and force them to ask for peace.

When the civilized world learned of the crime committed at Louvain—a crime against humanity and against science—there arose everywhere a loud cry of reprobation. Indignation was nowhere greater than in the United States. But people were not satisfied by verbal protestations alone.

A committee was formed, with Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler as president, to help in the restoration of the University of Louvain, and this committee offered to take charge of the construction of the library destined to replace the one burned by the Germans.

Mr. Whitney Warren, the famous New York architect, came in person to choose the site of the future building, and agreed to make the plans.

The corner-stone of the new library of the University of Louvain was laid on the 28th day of last July by Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler.

It was an occasion of most unusual solemnity. Mr. Butler was surrounded by some of the greatest figures of the World War: the King and Queen of the Belgians, Cardinal Mercier, President Poincaré, Marshal Pétain. President Harding had asked the United States Ambassador to Brussels, Mr. Brand Whitlock, to represent him. The Government of the French Republic had sent officially M. Léon Bérard, Minister of Pub-

lic Instruction. The universities and academic institutions of all the civilized world had sent representatives or messages. The ambassadors and ministers of all the allied and neutral countries were present.

First there was a solemn academic meeting at which speeches were made by Cardinal Mercier, the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler, M. Raymond Poincaré, M. Helleputte, Minister of State, and M. Carton de Wiart, Prime Minister of Belgium.

America's Part in the Ceremony

While President Harding's deeply moving message was being read by Ambassador Brand Whitlock the entire illustrious assembly remained standing.

Particularly applauded was the speech in French of Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler, when in noble terms he explained the lofty character of the gift:

The war is over. The time has come when we must heal the wounds, care for the orphaned, the poor and the unhappy; and reconstruct those monuments which express the highest aspirations of human kind. America, eagerly desirous of helping you in this task, cannot give as much as she would, but does want to give as much as is possible.

The rebuilding of the library of the University of Louvain was her first wish and she seized upon the opportunity thus offered her. I am happy to be here, in the midst of this exalted gathering, as a representative of the many Americans who have, in proportion to their means, contributed to this work. In their name, I shall lay the corner-stone of this edifice, assuring you that their sympathy and their good-will will follow closely the progress of reconstruction.

This building which is now about to rise from out of the ruins will bear witness to the bonds uniting our nation to Belgium, to France, to England, and to their allies.

A nation which defends a noble cause receives a new baptism of the spirit. This baptism we too have received as well as you; and our hearts, sealed in this stone, are an assurance to you that never shall we hold back, if the liberty of the world should be again endangered, and if cannon and flames should threaten these noble monuments of thought and of progress.

Laying of the Corner-Stone

Then, with appropriate ceremonial, the corner-stone was blessed and laid at the *Place du Peuple*, Louvain's largest and most beautiful square, before a gathering of 30,000 people.

Cardinal Mercier, his head crowned by the miter, blessed the stone, while the choirs, accompanied by the army trumpets, sang a hymn written for the occasion.

When Mr. Butler spread the cement on the stone, he said in French to the King and to Cardinal Mercier, who were beside him:

I lay this stone in the confident hope that the noble building to arise above it will last through countless generations as a home of the spirit of man.

Finally, the rector of the University of Louvain spoke, glorifying the act of the United States, and conferred upon Mr. Butler the degree of doctor *honoris causa* of the University of Louvain.

During the banquet which followed the ceremony there were a number of toasts by Cardinal Mercier, Mr. Brand Whitlock, Ambassador of the United States; Léon Bérard, Minister of Public Instruction in France; M. Filippo Meda, former Italian Minister of Finance; M. Rott, sent by the National Swiss Committee; M. de Cru, sent by the University of Geneva; M. Andreada, Professor of the University of Athens; M. César Caire, President of the Municipal Council of Paris; M. Beck, Minister of Public Instruction in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg; M. Truc, Professor of the University of Montpellier; M. Pirenne, Professor of the University of Ghent; M. van den Heuvel, Minister of State and Professor at Louvain.

Cardinal Mercier set forth the deep significance of the ceremony in words that produced a deep impression on the audience. He said:

The monument which is to be constructed here, and whose scattered treasure will be reconstituted by the nations vying generously among themselves, encourages us to look confidently forward to the future. The aspirations of the present generation for peace, security, tranquillity are universal. . . . The new library of the University of Louvain is a symbol that will teach the present generation and the generations to come what they can do and what they ought to do. It will direct them rightly toward the source of goodness and the origin of all their noble aspirations. When the library is finished, as Mr. Whitney Warren telegraphs at this very moment, every stone in it will speak. The universities of the civilized world will have their shields affixed to the walls as a symbol of protest. The voice of the chimes will proclaim the eternal principle for which Belgium sacrificed herself—honor, right, humanity.

Emphasizing in his turn the symbolic character of the gift, the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. Brand Whitlock, replied to the Cardinal:

The moral significance of that act of prodigious stupidity which was the destruction of the library, Gentlemen, was immediately realized on the other side by many scholars—more than ninety-three of them—because they were endowed with the faculty of imagination, a quality common to both French and Anglo-Saxon culture. You have heard the speech of the distinguished representative of this culture, President Butler, and it seems to me that in coming to raise the walls of this institution, to feed the fire of this center of learning, we see the symbol of the union of the two civilizations who work for the same goal, and who, by remaining united, will attain the height of their common ideal.

The ceremony this morning, Gentlemen, was beautiful and also consoling. I seemed to see all Belgium reunited in the presence of their Majesties, the King and Queen, happy once more after their long period of suffering. I seemed to see a new dawn. How proud must the people be of their sovereigns and of their Cardinal. They embody the noble qualities which have made Belgium through this war the great moral power of the world; therefore, your Eminence, your Excellencies, Gentlemen, in asking you to raise your glasses to the health of their Majesties, and of his Eminence the Cardinal, I toast Belgium.

Real Meaning of the Occasion

The ceremony of July 28 was without doubt the greatest, the most moving, and the most significant that has been seen since the war. Never on any occasion has there been such a gathering of directing minds and eminent personalities. Civilized Europe and America were represented by their most illustrious men. An assembly absolutely unequalled!

The laying of a corner-stone of a library is in itself a matter of frequent occurrence; it does not explain this mobilization of the best intellectual minds of two worlds. America's gift to the University of Louvain—a magnificent gift, to be sure—does not explain it either. America is the country of royal generosity, and from her, for seven years, Belgium had been accustomed to receive much and often.

On July 28, at Louvain, it was not really a matter of laying the corner-stone of the library, nor of the celebration of a great philanthropic gift—all this was only the actual pretext for the occasion. Other and deeper was the significance of the ceremony. It was the glorification of the highest moral values of humanity. It was a ceremony in praise of the cult of honor, right, and liberty.

The cult of honor! On August 4, 1914, a small nation of seven million inhabitants, with a little army of 200,000 men, held at bay a nation of eighty millions of men, with ten million soldiers. This little people drew itself up like a rampart against the most for-



DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER SHOWING CARDINAL MERCIER AN AMERICAN SILVER COIN THAT HE WAS PLACING IN THE CORNER-STONE BOX

midable of armies. They resisted forces which they knew were irresistible. They might have let the invader pass through and taken refuge in the passive statement of insurmountable violence opposed to them. They might have contented themselves with an energetic verbal protest. No one would have cast blame on them. Their weakness excused them beforehand. The world would have grieved, but not reproached. Their cities would be standing, their fields would be prosperous, their children would have escaped martyrdom, and, in addition, like many others, they would be enriched by the gold of the belligerents. Ignoring every ruse, face to face with conscience, they would have none of this equivocal and profitable attitude; in spite of their greatest and most evident interests, and in order to conform to the spirit and the letter of the treaties they had agreed to, they sacrificed themselves unhesitatingly to their heroic conception of honor. A loud cry of admiration throughout the entire universe greeted with praise this superhuman conduct.

This cry was still vibrating when another cry—one of indescribable stupefaction—mingled with it. The German, in his march of invasion, had just burned the city of Louvain and the library of its celebrated university! First the murder of the body of the Belgian

nation, then the murder of the soul! For the university of Louvain, five centuries old, was the soul of the Belgian nation.

Until the nineteenth century the only institution of higher learning, it established community of ideas and feelings among the youth of the Belgian people; it formed their moral unity, even before their sovereign independence had been consecrated by political union. The University has fashioned for a long time the spirit and heart of the liberal classes and, through them, the spirit and heart of all its citizens. This center of lofty spirituality must be destroyed. By the utter destruction of the library of the University and of the treasures it held the German, in his stupid and unmeasurable pride, thought he could dry up forever the living spring, source of virile virtues, generous sentiments and knightly honor which had broken his first rush to the conquest of the world. But what is spiritual is indestructible. The attempt at moral murder had to fail. The soul of the Belgian people is intact. On July 28 the temple which was the cradle of their virtues was rebuilt. The new building will have the value of a symbol; by the piety of civilized humanity it has been erected to the glory and cult of honor.

America's Tribute to Belgian Honor

This building has another significance: it is due to the munificence of the United States of America. The United States had no immediate nor utilitarian motive for entering the war. Her material life was not in danger. Her security was not threatened. The ocean saved her from violence. But America saw that an injustice had been done to a small people who were almost defenseless. She saw a powerful people were without regard for the faith of treaties. She believed that if she refrained from taking part in the struggle bad faith would triumph over right and honor. The very foundations of Christian civilization were at stake. If Belgium, France, and England should yield, it would be right and liberty which would yield. If the tyranny of potentates and slavery of peoples were to have a new birth in the advanced countries of Europe, they would, according

to the constant law of history, be carried throughout the world. Humanity, in its most precious possessions, was in danger. For a world where right, honesty, and liberty tried to reign, there would be substituted another world where astuteness, self-interest, violence, and arbitrary will ruled without shame.

As soon as this became clear to the American conscience America's decision was made: "Civilization is threatened, we can save it; we must save it." For the sake of the purest and loftiest moral ideals, the people of the United States bared their swords in a struggle from which they had nothing to gain and in which they could lose much. Their sacrifice, from the spiritual point of view, was the same as Belgium's. They sacrificed themselves to their love of justice, right, and liberty in the same way that Belgium sacrificed herself to her love of honor.

This building, erected on Belgian ground by America, at the same time that it glorifies honor, recalls the fact that there are nations so filled with idealism that they are ready to respond to the defense of right, justice, and liberty, should they be threatened.

Such was the double symbolism of the building of the library at Louvain. It will perpetuate undoubtedly the memory of a crime which it would be neither good nor just to forget. But, above all, it will chant uninterruptedly a hymn of gladness to the spiritual forces of humanity.

It will publish abroad throughout the world that violence, military might, material riches, and economic interests are not the only powers of the earth and rulers of nations; that, if some peoples do abase themselves even to the point of wallowing shamelessly in this gross and abject materialism, there are others whom idealistic forces govern above all else; and that, thank God, the force of ideals, impervious to the blows of violence, ever triumphs in the end over physical forces which are by their very nature subject to disintegration and destruction.

This building at Louvain, a veritable monument, will be an eternal invitation to strengthen these moral forces that are so precious, and to work unceasingly for their progress, purification, and glory.



CIVIC SIGHTSEEING

BY MARJORIE SHULER

INDICATIVE of the rising tide of democracy and the increasing understanding of the responsibilities of citizenship among women are the women's city clubs which are springing up all over the country, from the west to the east coast and from the south to the north.

The welfare of a city is a tremendous aim—one of the greatest visions of any of those countless objects for which women have been organizing themselves for half a century. And the results obtained by the clubs founded with this aim are commensurate with the breadth and unselfishness of the idea. In Boston and San Francisco, New London and Toledo, Chicago and New York, Kansas City and Cleveland, and in scores of other communities, large and small, women's city clubs to-day are inspiring their own members and encouraging other women and men as well to the performance of civic service.

The Chicago Women's City Club was one of the first of these organizations to come into being, and its recognition as a factor for civic betterment by other established institutions and municipal officials has been remarkable. The campaign of one of its committees for a clean city, a campaign which featured anti-smoke posters, led to the appointment of the committee's chairman as director of the woman's section of the conservation department in the United States Fuel Administration for Illinois. The activities of the committee for prevention of city waste resulted in the appointment of its chairman to the municipal garbage commission. The club has done much to develop the city bathing beaches, and one of its important services to the community is a welfare exhibition which it sends from neighborhood to neighborhood.

The Boston club has had a phenomenal growth, its present limited membership of five thousand taxing to the utmost the capacity of the big old colonial house which is its home. There are almost-daily programs by which the members are kept informed of current history, and pending legislation—national, State and city—is thoroughly discussed. It is said that the club is the "one

place in Boston where no woman waits for an introduction before speaking to any other woman."

Very much the same spirit of democracy pervades the club in Washington, another city where the social lines are of the most rigid order. The business and professional women of Washington initiated the idea for the club, but the demand of the women of leisure for admission was so surprising and emphatic that the membership was immediately broadened to include all types of women: wives of officials high in the Government service, home women, business women, and leaders in various national organizations. The club has a goodly membership outside of Washington, and women from many States make it their headquarters while in Washington to urge the passage of some bill by Congress, or to confer with federal department chiefs, or to attend conventions.

A fundamental feature of all women's city clubs is the study of local municipal government. City officials are asked to appear before meetings to explain their work, to answer questions, and to consider suggestions for reforms.

A unique method of studying the municipality has been successfully practised for two years by the Woman's City Club of New York—a sort of "civic sightseeing," which has given hundreds of women an entirely new conception of their government.

Instead of having officials from the city departments come to their clubhouse, the women go to the city departments. There, instead of having talks by the elected chiefs of departments, they have practical explanations from the Civil Service appointees who carry on the details of the work.

A constructive plan is worked out for these trips to the city departments. Each year certain departments are selected and a schedule outlined to last for four months, with two-hour lectures twice each week. Members are required to register for the entire course and to pay a fee. Four hours' work a week and early trips such as are necessary to see the municipal courts in

operation have not diminished the enthusiasm of the women, and each year a surprising number complete the course with practically perfect records of attendance.

The first series of lectures was given from January to April, 1920, in the Departments of Health, Education, Public Welfare, and Correction, the institutions being visited in addition to regular classroom lectures.

So great was the interest that two extra series of lectures were given in the autumn, one month being devoted to the Criminal Courts and one to the Tenement House Department. The latter was of special concern to the club, since one of its committees had shortly before completed an investigation of home work in tenements, reporting the existence of "child labor, economic exploitation, danger to health, and injurious competition between workers." As a result the club, in coöperation with the men's City Club of New York, introduced bills in the 1920 and 1921 legislatures to abolish home work in tenement houses in cities of the first and second classes throughout the State.

The regular course from January to April, 1921, included the Departments of Fire and Licenses, the Civil Service Commission and Transit Construction Commission, and the Departments of Finance and Docks, ending with a trip on a tug around the harbor. The course which opens in January, 1922, will begin with a return visit to the Department of Education, in which the club is particularly interested.

The visit to the Fire Department resulted in a series of suggestions from the women which the Fire Commissioner ordered incorporated in the general safety instructions to the public and in the directions on safety printed in theater programs.

During the talks at the Health Department it developed that the department was handicapped in enforcing the sanitary code through the lack of a sufficient number of inspectors. The most frequent violations were said by the officials to be spitting and smoking in the subways, handling of food exposed for sale in shops, exposure of candy and fruit to flies and dust, and unclean soda fountains and ice-cream parlors. The women promptly offered their services as volunteer inspectors, and in accepting them the Commissioner of Health created the Sanitary Reserve. Forty members of the club were immediately organized for the Reserve, and the constructive way in which the women prepared themselves and undertook the work

undoubtedly had much to do with its being made permanent.

Club members volunteering for the Sanitary Reserve are required to study the sanitary code and to pass the following test:

1. What is the Sanitary Code? How can it be amended?
2. Name the members of the Board of Health. How are they appointed?
3. Have the official inspectors of the Department of Health police power?
4. What, in your opinion, are the three or four most important provisions in the Sanitary Code that are vital to Public Health?
5. What requirements are necessary before a restaurant can be operated in New York City?
6. What are the provisions of the Sanitary Code pertaining to the covering and protection of human food?
7. Where should all inquiries be referred pertaining to the manufacture, sale and ingredients of food?
8. What are the provisions of the Sanitary Code with regard to the proper cleansing of eating and drinking utensils?
9. What is the method used to protect the public from being served by food handlers who are diseased?
10. Give the time of year when screens are required to be placed so as to exclude flies from food premises?
11. How should milk be stored and handled?
12. If garbage cans are not covered, and are also cluttering up the sidewalk, to what Department should you report?
13. If the neighbors disturb you by unnecessary noises, to whom should you complain?
14. If a dead animal is found on the street, to what Department would you complain?
15. If vermin infest an apartment, where should you go for relief?
16. Whose business is it that fire escapes should be kept clear?

While members of the Reserve have no authority over offenders, their warnings check thoughtless violations of the law and the information which they furnish the Health Department inspectors has proved of value.

The spirit of coöperation which is developing between the club and the city departments is proving beneficial to both. The women are learning to respect efficiency where it exists and to make intelligent criticisms where there seems need. The officials are stimulated to better civic service by the support and appreciation of the club. Meanwhile the city bids fair to derive considerable profit from the activities of this club, whose sole requirement for membership is "interest in the welfare of New York City."

As in New York, so elsewhere throughout the country, thousands of women and many communities are benefiting by this newest development in the woman's movement.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

LOOKING FORWARD TO THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

DURING the past two months the approaching Conference on the Limitation of Armament at Washington has bulked large in the magazines and reviews of all the English-speaking countries, as well as in those of the leading European nations. Several notable addresses have also been devoted to the subject. On the eve of his return to England, after a sojourn of three months in the United States, Viscount Bryce discussed this, among other international topics, before the Merchants' Association of New York.

Lord Bryce on Common Interests

After expressing confidence that a settlement of the Irish Question would soon be reached, Lord Bryce observed that public opinion in America is at this moment fixed upon nothing more than upon the approaching Conference, the invitation to which "has been accepted with wholehearted joy by the British people":

There can be no more complete approval of it, no more complete and earnest acceptance of that invitation anywhere than in England; and it seems to me it comes with special fitness from the United States, because you have no cause of quarrel with any other country; because you are impartial as between the different States of the Old Country; because there is no power which threatens you and obliges you to keep up armaments, and because there is no power which could hope to attack you with success. By her geographical position and by her inexhaustible resources, America stands out as the one impregnable country. (Applause.)

Now, the reduction of armament, gentlemen, is a matter of the greatest consequence to all the world at this moment. It has been sometimes supposed that armaments make for peace. They do not. They make for war. They are not only a symptom, but they are also a cause. The existence of great armaments in a country fosters a large class who know how to make armaments and know how to work them. It creates the desire to use the armaments which exist; it keeps the idea of war constantly before the mind of the

people; it makes it seem a natural and probable thing, and diminishes the horror with which the advent of war ought to be regarded.

At this moment it is the common interest of all the states of Europe to reduce their expenditure. You know very well what their position is. Even before the war it was all they could do to bear the crushing load of taxation which the maintenance of great armaments involved, and now after the war, where their debts are doubled or trebled or quadrupled, where the mere payment of interest charges on those debts throws such a burden on the people, how is it possible that armaments can be maintained? Therefore, I cannot but believe that you will have from France and from Italy, as well as from Britain, an expression of the strongest desire to join in reducing these armaments. . . .

But let me add that if any country were to stand out, if any country after the United States and Britain and our recent allies had expressed their wish to reduce their armament, were to stand out against the plan to reduce its armament, that country would expose itself to a suspicion which would be well deserved. I do not believe that any country will venture to take such a course.

I can see at this moment no danger threatening the United States that has come within the range of probability.

There is only one question affecting the Pacific countries which is really a question fit to cause anxiety, and that is the question of China. You have in China a vast people, an industrious people, a people of great depth and many fine qualities, whose government is at present unstable, whose provinces are divided, which is in fact, in a state of weakness which exposes it to danger, and that makes its neighbors look with anxiety upon its future.

There let me say this—that the interest of the European powers, in particular the interest of Great Britain, in the future of China is exactly the same as the interest of the United States. I can see no reason, then, why the policy of Great Britain and the policy of the United States should diverge in any way where the interests of China are concerned. What they both desire is that China should be peaceful; that there should be a free and open entrance for all commerce into China upon equal terms; that communications throughout China should be safe, so that foreign goods should have access to every corner of the Empire. These are the things which China needs. These are the things in which we are agreed, and why should there be any difference of opinion between Britain and America upon that subject?

Great Britain's Attitude

In the *Nineteenth Century* (London) Mr. John Leyland makes some attempt to forecast the position to be taken by the British representatives at the Conference. He finds that the key to the Conference lies in great sums expended upon armaments in Japan and the United States. So far as the British Navy is concerned, this writer holds that it has already been cut down to the bone, and that when the British representatives join the Conference "they will have nothing to give away." Summarizing the naval programs of the United States, Japan, and Great Britain, it appears that by the year 1928, or earlier, the United States will possess sixteen post-Jutland capital ships (battleships and battle cruisers), carrying sixteen-inch guns; Japan an equal number of such ships, and Great Britain only four. In addition, however, the British Navy has the *Hood* with fifteen-inch guns, and possibly other ships of that class may be built. Considering the proposals for further expansion, both in the United States and in Japan, this writer maintains that disarmament cannot begin with the Royal Navy.

Conceding that discussions of disarmament can lead to nothing so long as the things exist which conduce to war, Mr. Leyland then raises the question whether it is possible so to adjust international differences and to limit national ambitions in the Pacific and the Far East that the nations will be willing to turn their swords into plowshares:

The thing now is to determine a just and generous policy in what is known as the Pacific Question. The phrases "sphere of influence" and "sphere of interest" have become discredited, but some sphere must be allowed to Japan in Northern China or elsewhere. It will not imply annexation, as Korea was annexed, but it will assuredly imply something privileged and reserved. There must be compromises and sacrifices if peace is to be preserved and the rivalry of armaments abated. It may not be possible for the United States to go far without encountering both the ambitions and the practical needs of Japan. Our position at the Confer-

ence will be that of throwing all our influence into the scale to attain a settlement. We shall be there as the friends of the United States and the allies of Japan. Both the friendship and the alliance must be maintained. The more closely the position is examined the more clearly will it be seen that the chief, though not the only problem of the Pacific, is centered in the financial and political disruption of China. Advocates of the "open door" and of "equal opportunity" should realize that the application of these principles will raise questions of exceeding complexity and far-reaching import. Very earnest must be the endeavor to attain a durable settlement. Happily, when the pundits of the powers see lying before them the prostrate body of chaotic China, they will have at their elbow a Chinese physician to advise on the resuscitation of this ancient structure of Asia, whose very presence will forbid any hints tending toward dismemberment or partition.

Mr. Leyland's final suggestion—a bold one, he admits—is that President Harding bring the United States into a Triple Entente or association (the Monroe Doctrine permitting) with Great Britain and Japan.

Can England Pay the Piper?

In the *Fortnightly Review* (London) Captain H. B. Usher declares flatly that Great Britain simply cannot afford any such sum as would be required to parallel the naval programs of the United States and Japan. Replying to Mr. Winston Churchill's argument, that unless England has a fleet second to none, the Empire will continue to exist only "on sufferance," Captain Usher gives Mr. Churchill distinctly to understand that if the British Empire can exist only "on sufferance" by putting down a stake of £8,000,000 every time America does the same thing, then it can exist only by the "sufferance" of America:

It is merely a matter of arithmetic. It is indisputable that the United States could still, with an effort, go on "seeing and raising" us long after we were at the end of our financial resources.

At all costs we must go to Washington with a better message than this. Our minds must be made up that, disarmament or no disarmament, we are not going to break ourselves by playing a game of naval poker against America. Nor shall we lose



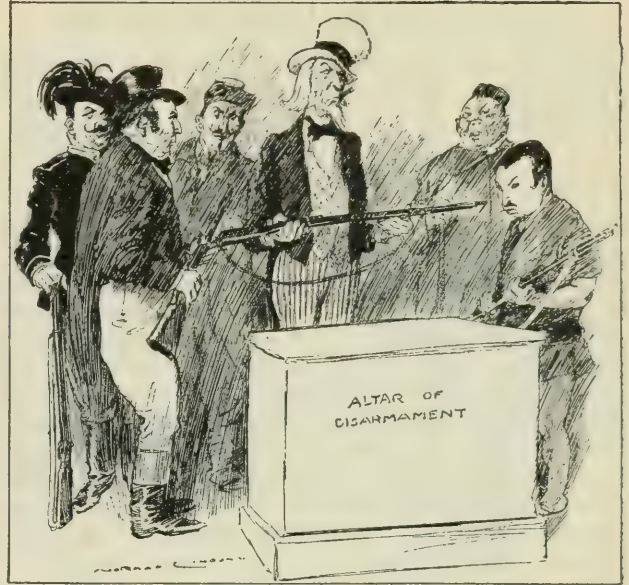
EVEN UNCLE SAM, THE WORLD'S STRONG MAN, FINDS ARMAMENT A BURDEN
From *Jiji* (Tokio)

anything by saying so; a little more sincerity, especially in admitting the obvious, would make diplomacy more rapid and more fruitful. We ought to make it clear that if America desires the expensive luxury of possessing the largest navy in the world, especially at a moment when the ships under construction are sure to be obsolete before they are needed, we do not intend to contest her wish. We only propose to have a fleet adequate to protect our communications, and we do not regard her as a possible enemy. There remains Japan. Japan has now for many years been our ally, and our very loyal ally. The alliance may or may not be renewed; even if it is not, there is no reason why our relations should not remain as good. On the other hand, the relations between America and Japan are not cordial, and American public opinion is apt to look askance at our alliance. It is clear enough already, but it should nevertheless be made even more clear, if that be possible, that in no circumstances whatever will our coöperation with Japan in the Far East be allowed to draw us into hostility with the United States.

Even though that be done, the attitude of watchfulness of one another which America and Japan maintain, and their present naval programs, do stand to some extent in the way of the organization of international relations on a better footing. There is also—it is no use refusing to face the fact—a possibility of a conflict of interests over the racial question between Japan and Australia. The problem of the Pacific is a real problem, and it may not be very easy to solve. Yet upon its peaceful and quick solution may depend in great part the future of civilization, for disarmament and coöperation must be world-wide or nothing. I said at the outset that Britain cannot solve the world's problems unaided. She is in a position to render the greatest assistance, that is all. Fortunately, there is no reason to suppose that she will be unaided. After all, America has invited the powers to the Washington Conference, and she has presumably not done that for nothing. She has invited them to discuss the question of disarmament, which is the crucial question on which everything turns, for the choice is between the reign of force and the reign of reason. We should therefore go forward in the expectation that America intends to assist toward disarmament. We should make our own anxiety for the attainment of that end clear beyond the possibility of doubt. We should also use all our influence with Japan in order to secure her close and cordial coöperation. At present her attitude is a little cautious and non-committal.

As to Japanese ambitions, Captain Usher tells Japan that she cannot compete against America, much less against America and an Australia with Great Britain behind her, in a race to build a navy:

On the other hand, we and the Americans together must understand that both the world's peace, and common justice to Japan herself, demand that we should recognize the reality of her difficulties, and help her to surmount them. The problem is one which requires real statesmanship on all sides, and real statesmanship is rare. But



AFTER YOU!

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

in this case the consequences of failure are sure to be so disastrous to everyone concerned that we must hope that the hour will produce that statesmanship.

Our task at Washington is to prevent at all costs the development in the Pacific of the rivalries that have reduced Europe to ruin, and then, if we can, to call in the New World to restore to the Old its sense of balance. Our immediate task in Europe is to prevent gross injustice being done, which will gravely prejudice the peace of future generations, and to persuade the Continental nations to put the war behind them, and to settle down into a permanent and peaceful relationship.

America and the Freedom of the Seas

Another contributor to the *Fortnightly*, Mr. Holford Knight, after a prolonged stay in America, states his belief that the American attitude toward naval armaments is affected by two primary considerations: (1) that the high seas must be brought under international control and the rules of the sea, during peace and war, must be determined and enforced by the collective will of the nations, and (2) that the international regulation of the seas shall provide for the immunity from capture of private property, except contraband of war as determined by such regulations.

From conversations held with "personages in American affairs" this writer is convinced that the failure to agree upon an international authority to police the high seas would mean a resumption of the competition of naval armaments. The only basis, in his view, of a limitation policy is the international policing of the seas. Until that is arrived at, naval expansion is inevitable.

What Will Be Done for China?

A writer in the *Contemporary Review* (London), Mr. D. Halliday Macartney, discusses the possible bearing of the Conference on China's future:

Nations have their rise and decline. With the passing of Germany we have others struggling to claim greater supremacy, and to what purpose in the evolution of her nationhood does Japan require 180 millions for defense? Shantung must once again be restored to China. Owing to our intervention some of Japan's extreme demands were resisted, but it is dubious whether the existing internal situation in China is not due to Japanese intrigue. China is not yet sufficiently stable to combat Japan's influence, and Great Britain should, in association with other civilized nations, guard China from her foes. Sad would it be if our commercial and financial interests alone made it essential to alienate China instead of strengthening the ties which bind her and us together. Some of the issues which are puzzling to many who desire to see a weary universe—drained of many of her most promising youth, staggering under financial difficulties—restored to industrial pursuits, may be summarized by asking what the lawyers term interrogatories. Should Japan and the United States fall out—and it is not impossible, as Mr. H. C. Bywater in his book, "Sea Power in the Pacific," mentions—how do we stand? Similarly, China and Japan might conceivably have other means than a tribunal to determine their troubles. If the Alliance still holds good, are we to support Japan at the expense of China? The day when Great Britain can be isolated in Eastern questions and be neutral has gone.

Would Armament Restriction Avert Wars?

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for October former Congressman Samuel W. McCall, of Massachusetts, while admitting the value of disarmament as a national ideal, warns his readers against illusions regarding the effect of a reduction of armament upon the likelihood of war. Such a policy would not, in his opinion, go to the root of the peace problem. That problem would not be solved either by reduction of armaments or by complete disarmament.

Mr. McCall reminds us that the United States declared war in 1812, when it had practically no army at all, that President Cleveland sent his warlike Venezuelan message to Congress in 1895, when we were defenseless against England, that France declared war against Germany in 1870 with hardly half the military strength that Germany had. History shows that frequently nations with comparatively small armaments have made war. It is Mr. McCall's belief that when nations have differences under the

present system they are likely to go to war to settle them, even if they all have weak armies and navies, or none at all. He argues that unless nations shall provide some way to settle their controversies peaceably a material reduction of armaments will leave the general question of peace as far from settlement as ever:

It is indispensable that there should be an arrangement among nations to resort to some peaceful method of settling differences before taking up arms, and scarcely less necessary if they have no armaments at all than if they possess them.

The plan with which Mr. Wilson associated his name may have been far from perfect in all its details, but it was the noblest attempt at practical idealism that has ever been made by any statesman. It was evident that there must be some general and central agreement to outlaw war, and that the nations must band themselves together for that purpose, or that wars would happen in the future just as they had happened in the past. It was just as evident, also, that another general war, with the methods of warfare that have come in, as barbarous as they are destructive, might mean the obliteration of civilization, if not the extinction of the race.

It is objected that such an arrangement would infringe upon the sovereignty of nations. Precisely the same objection might be made against an agreement for the reduction of armaments. What more sovereign power is there in a nation, and what one is more necessary to its preservation than the power to arm? If by agreement it consents to put a limitation upon this power, it could as well be argued that it was limiting its sovereignty. But the right of a nation to shoot up the world and to endanger civilization should



AM I IN FOR AN OPERATION OR A MANICURE?

From the *George Matthew Adams Service* (New York)

be limited, just as the right of an individual to shoot up the community in which he lives is limited.

Shall the Covenants Be "Openly Arrived At"?

A strong plea for a "World's Town Meeting"—an open conference at Washington—is put forth by Mr. William Allen White in *Collier's* for October 15. He says:

To-day America's one hope is in an open conference. The things we are asking are realizable. The lever of European chaos makes us irresistible in our demands if we state these demands daily in their clearest, simplest terms to mankind. This can be done only through debate and official utterance. There is no channel by which debate and official utterance can reach the nations of mankind if the conference is closed. The weight of liberal opinion all over England, France, Japan, and Italy cannot crush the imperialistic designs of the actual governments of these countries if we withhold the facts from free, open, intelligent discussion in the world, while the questions are pending. It will do no good to record our good intentions in history. We must see that our good intentions make history.

So, after all, while the preachers and the reformers and the uplifters are clamoring sweetly for the dawn of a better days through this Disarmament Conference, it is highly important that the chambers of commerce, the agents of big business, and the heads of the labor unions—practical men who never fool themselves—should be stirring their bones in the demand for an open conference. For if we close it the outcome will be disastrous. And if the taxes of the world keep going into armaments—ships and guns and soldiers and gas and aircraft and machinery of destruction—your Uncle Sam may as well hang up the fiddle and the bow for this era of our civilization and wait for the general resurrection



THE CALL ACROSS THE WORLD
From the *World* (New York)

in some other and far-distant time for his full development.

We are all in one boat on this planet. Civilization cannot rot in spots. Like "the little dog whose name was Rover," when civilization is dead it is dead all over. If it rots, we rot with it, and the blight of war has touched us all. And the dry rot of civilization comes from the aphid of hate that the war released. The world must have faith before it can resume the business of civilization—faith of men in men, faith of nations in nations, faith of all of us in the general decency of mankind and the changeless goodness of God. But faith never grows behind closed doors and in secret conclaves. Men make their noblest professions and square them with their greatest deeds while they are being watched. Open diplomacy is the safest diplomacy.

"Fool me once, and it's shame on you; fool me twice, and it's shame on me."

M. BRIAND: THE MAN AND HIS POLICY

THE fact that Premier Briand of France, recognized as the most important statesman of Continental Europe at this moment, is to represent his country at the Washington Conference lends special interest to the character sketch of him which appears in the *Fortnightly Review* (London) for September. The writer of the sketch, Mr. John Bell, is the Paris correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* and an experienced observer of European politics. He writes as a frank admirer of M. Briand, who in this, his seventh premiership, has displayed qualities that neither his friends nor his opponents had believed that he possessed. "By his conduct of affairs, his tenacity of purpose, his manifestation of will-power, he has falsified

the prophecies of political students outside France and disillusioned many of his countrymen. Critical foreigners and Frenchmen alike have had to revise their judgments of Aristide Briand."

The one incident that stood out in Briand's career prior to his entry on his seventh premiership at the beginning of the present year was his masterly handling of the railway strike in 1910—a strike which he broke by calling the men to the colors. Mr. Bell sees in that incident a parallel to M. Briand's recent exhibition of power in deciding on a line of action which the majority of his countrymen believe to be consistent with the future security of France. Mr. Bell is not among those Englishmen who are

afraid of French imperialism. He believes that in the plight which the war has created in France the French people are following their best interests in the firm stand they have taken in regard to the solution of the peace problems.

M. Briand has been more than once spoken of as the Lloyd George of France. Knowing both men, "from close personal study of their intellects and methods," Mr. Bell recognizes the facts that both are of Celtic origin, both sprang from the people, both have been the architects of their political fortunes, and both are men of imagination. But there, in his opinion, the resemblance ends. As M. Briand's environment is totally different from that of Mr. Lloyd George, so his mental outlook and methods differ from those of the British Premier.

He is a deep and careful thinker, and when he has done his thinking on any particular problem, and has arrived at conclusions thereon, he holds to them tenaciously. M. Briand never revises his opinion unless he is confronted with facts which have escaped his notice. And this is a rare occurrence. One of his most wonderful qualities is that of assimilation. It takes him a long time to make up his mind on any grave question, which is studied at every angle from the evidence brought before him. Officials at the French Foreign Office know his power of assimilation, his appetite for reports and documents bearing on subjects on which decisions have to be reached. They also know the inflexibility of his judgments, and consequently make a point of presenting complete dossiers.

Briand does much of his thinking, not in his cabinet at the Quai d'Orsay, but in his little flat in the Avenue Kléber. It is a modest lodging for a French Premier. But M. Briand is a modest man. If in passing through the rooms of this flat you knew not its occupant you would say they were the headquarters of a bachelor of moderate means. Probably the only luxury in the flat is the telephone, which is much used in these days. M. Briand answers the rings himself, and he opens the door to his callers, whom he receives in his study with its simple mahogany furniture.

Next to politics, according to Mr. Bell, M. Briand has one passion—the land. He has a practical knowledge of agriculture, and whenever possible he spends his week-ends in his fields and among his cattle at Cocherel in Eure. A native of Brittany, he is fond of the sea and is an expert yachtsman.

Mr. Bell is inclined to ascribe M. Briand's hold on the Chamber of Deputies very largely to his oratory. As an instance, his memorable phrase about the French gendarme taking Germany by the scruff of the neck if she refused to pay by the due date served to rally the country to him. Mr. Bell, who has heard all the French deputies who are acclaimed as orators, regards Briand as the greatest orator in the Chamber to-day.

In reading a statement in the tribune Briand is dull, but in making a speech, whether it be to sustain his policy or to answer criticism, he is magnificent. Never a note he has in his hand. Not that he does not prepare his big speeches. He composes them in a quarter of an hour, reclining on a sofa during this period and thinking of his arguments. He is a striking figure in the tribune, arresting without being picturesque. His voice is mellow, musical, and generally even. Like most Frenchmen he is prodigal of gesture. A favorite attitude is to bend over the rail of the tribune and lower his voice almost to a whisper. The Chamber is impressed, and there is tense silence. M. Briand often emphasizes a serious argument in this way. It is not an oratorical trick; it is the culmination, the finishing touch, of a serious argument.



PREMIER BRIAND

The position taken by M. Briand on international affairs is generally understood in the Allied countries, but Mr. Bell shows that, along with international worries, the French Premier has internal anxieties. As Premier his position is peculiar. Like M. Millerand, he was long ago excluded from the Socialist, now the Communist, party, but he still belongs to the Left, and the singular thing is that the Chamber which he is governing is of the Right. Several of the groups that endorse his foreign policy are in reality hostile to his political faith. But France is now mainly concerned in obtaining reparation, in the rebuilding of her towns and villages, and in securing assurance that she will be safe from German attack in the future. Although the Right may be hostile to M. Briand's political philosophy, it will support him in his practical policy. A testing time lies just before him. In common with Mr. Lloyd George, whom he admires, M. Briand has the ability to retort effectively when attacked. He never shows a sign of temper under criticism.



ONE OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE BERRY SCHOOLS, ROME, GA.

THE BERRY SCHOOLS AND THEIR BUILDER

A LITTLE more than twenty years ago a young woman living near Rome, Ga., was teaching a Sunday-school made up of poor children from the farms around her father's plantation. She found that they were unable to read or write, and that there were many things besides letters that they needed to be taught. Gradually there took form in this young woman's mind the dream of day schools and industrial training for these children of the poor white families of that vicinity. She herself had only a piece of woodland which was part of a farm, given to her by her father when she was a child. With lumber that she purchased from a nearby sawmill she put up a little one-room, whitewashed building that was used for both Sunday and day school. This little school-house soon had to be enlarged by the addition of rooms on either side to accommodate the pupils that came from far and near. Soon she was asked to start schools in other places, and within two years she had four such schools in operation.

The next step was to erect a two-story modest frame building to serve as a center of a "real school," as she thought of it. Money to pay the teachers and meet the other expenses had to be sought from outside sources. Her first journey to New York resulted in gifts of money, and, in the course of time, as the givers came to see how much could be accomplished with even small sums, their benevolences increased. The story of those early years of struggle and achievement has been told in a sketch of the Berry Schools by Francis R. Bellamy, in *Good*

Housekeeping for October. He sums it up in the following paragraphs:

Through it all, indeed, went that curious thread of laughter and tears, while the boys were learning that farming did not mean just scraping the ground for a crop of something or other, while the two cows were becoming a small dairy where all modern sanitary and scientific methods were followed. And besides education, the boys were getting that shadowy thing, that priceless gift, called culture. Above all, they were learning the gospel of work. They were building the roads, washing the dishes, cooking the meals, studying the Bible, erecting the buildings, keeping the books. No place for a shirker, that school in the woods.

Even for the teachers a *régime* of such work was one that called for devoted, self-sacrificing people. A rising bell at five o'clock, breakfast at six, school at seven, and then until sunset scrubbing and washing and ironing, teaching and milking and farming, making every minute count. A group of determined crusaders, those teachers and leaders. The school should not fail if they could help it.

It was ten years before the girls' school was started, but that is now a well-developed institution. Mr. Bellamy says of it:

Practical home-making is the aim of the girls' school, of course, and yet through all the buildings, the log cottages and recitation rooms, the shrubbery-lined walks and beautiful flower gardens, through them all there lies the inescapable impression that here, somehow, although each single thing is practical, visible by itself, the net result nevertheless is that shadowy thing called culture.

The flower garden and its greenhouse, with its lesson of the value of beauty around your house and color on your table; the immaculate kitchens with the appetizing butter rolls cooking on the

ranges and the girls singing while they work; the little tables for tea around the fireplace in Sunshine house, and around you all the products the girls make on the old-fashioned looms—porch rugs, huckaback towels, table runners of curious and beautiful design, neckties, sport skirts, counterpanes of ancient design and weave—the effect is one of indescribable beauty of vision.

Where, twenty years ago, there was the one small schoolhouse, there is now a group of buildings, some of brick, some of logs, and substantial barns for the school farm. The school “family” now includes 250 boys, 150 girls, and thirty children waiting to be old enough to come into the school itself.

WHO WILL SUCCEED LLOYD GEORGE?

THE lack of leadership in public affairs is lamented as bitterly in England as in America. The opponents of Premier Lloyd George are especially gloomy in their predictions. Mr. A. G. Gardiner, writing in the *Century Magazine* for October, admits that no new personality has emerged to lead to moral recovery in the public life of England. Speculation and controversy are limited, he says, to men who have already played a great part in British politics.

Of these men, the first to be named is Mr. Asquith, “still the unchallenged leader of the remnant of the Liberal party, whose return to power seems the only possible chance of a dramatic change.” He belongs distinctly among the Elder Statesmen, and it may be questioned whether he has the force and initiative that are needed in the leader of a great national revival.

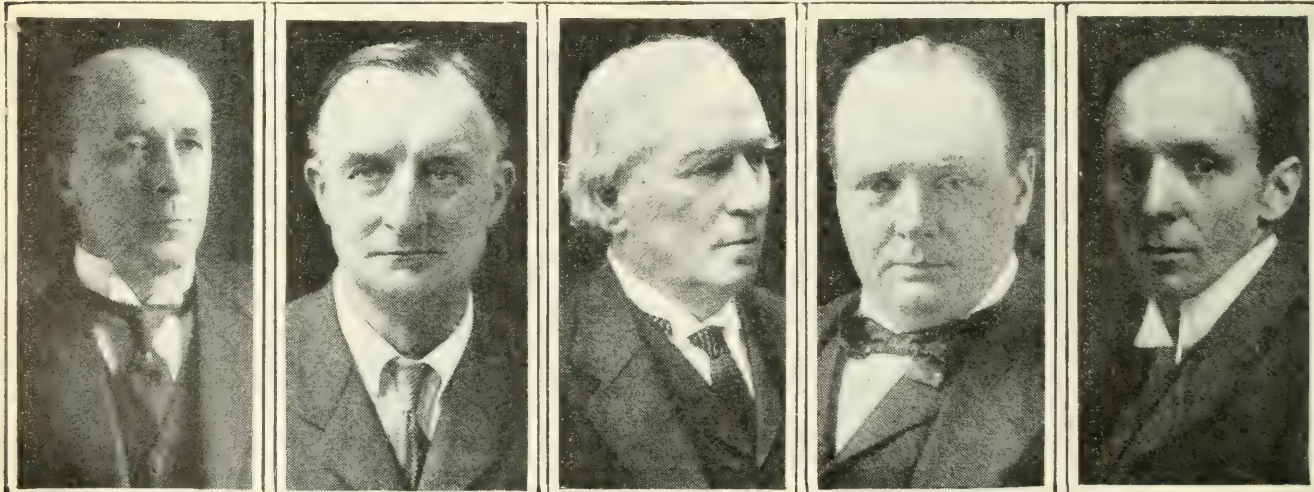
Lord Grey seems to come nearer to meeting the demand. Mr. Gardiner believes that if he would come out boldly as the national leader, he would command a following which would assure him power. In fact, Mr. Gardiner is convinced that “the only obstacle in the path of Lord Grey is Lord Grey. He thrusts aside the crown, not as Cæsar thrusts it aside in the play, but deliberately and finally. He is so far from

those who wade through treachery to power that he rejects power in the face of duty.”

The next name to be considered is that of Lord Robert Cecil, who, in Mr. Gardiner’s opinion, is “the one statesman of high character and ideals who has enlarged his political stature during the war.” Although a Tory, Lord Robert Cecil has an outlook very much like Lord Grey’s. Like Lord Grey, also, he is a statesman and not a politician, but he is a leader without a party.

What makes Mr. Winston Churchill a powerful factor in the political situation is the fact that “parliamentary cunning and address are essential to bring down the present dictator.” Mr. Gardiner sees in him the one man in politics whom Mr. Lloyd George fears, for he uses the Lloyd George weapons.

In his gallery of possibilities Mr. Gardiner includes one other figure—Mr. Reginald McKenna, now regarded as the ablest British financier. In the election of 1918 he was excluded from Parliament by the special effort of Mr. Lloyd George, but he promptly became the head of one of the great London banks, and although the city of London is Tory, Mr. Gardiner regards it as not improbable that the city itself would send him to Parliament.



MR. MC KENNA

LORD GREY

MR. ASQUITH

MR. CHURCHILL

LORD ROBERT CECIL

STATISTICS OF CITY PLANNING

AN examination of the "Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature" and the "International Index to Periodicals" (formerly "Readers' Guide Supplement") shows that during the year 1920 no fewer than thirty-eight articles in the leading magazines dealt with the subject of city planning, including the application of the "zone system." It may be inferred from this fact that there is intense activity in this field of civic improvement, and the inference is fully confirmed by statistics recently compiled. A bulletin entitled "Municipal Accomplishment in City Planning," edited by Miss Theodora Kimball, librarian of the Harvard School of Landscape Architecture, furnished most of the data for an account of "Progress in City Planning in the United States," by Mr. Jacob L. Crane, Jr., published in the *Engineering News-Record* (New York). The figures here presented, which are confined to the replanning of existing cities and their environs and do not include the laying out of new villages, and which, moreover, are by no means complete even within such limits, indicate that a nation-wide campaign of city planning is in progress, which, as Mr. Crane remarks, "promises a complete rehabilitation of urban environment in the United States."

Such work has hitherto been confined mainly to large towns. All of the first sixteen cities of the country, and fifty-seven of the first 100, have embarked on undertakings of this character.

The city-planning work in these communities was initiated directly by and the work done for the municipal governments, one department or another, in sixty-five cases; by citizens' committees, women's clubs, and special civic organizations in twenty-five cities; by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and similar organizations in eight cases; by city and chamber of commerce combined in four cities; by an organization outside the city altogether in two cases; by municipal art commissions in two cases; and by the federal Government in two cases. Features of these data are: the large proportion of work started by the municipalities and that started by citizens' committees.

City planning, arising as a new profession, has drawn men from various older professions. Table II shows the number of cities which employed experts from the several professions indicated. While many of the experts are now classed as City Planners, they are here included in the group of the older profession to which they also belong. In some cases, where several men were engaged, it has been necessary to class a city in the group of the expert who headed or directed the work. The technical work done by

city forces is usually directed by the city engineer, often with the coöperation of the park board and the other departments.

The pith of the article under review is contained in two tables, which are here reproduced:

TABLE I. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CITY PLANNING

	Undertaken Planning ¹	City Planning Coms. ²
Massachusetts	15	41
Pennsylvania	13	28
California	10	19
Ohio	6	9
New York	10	6
Michigan	7	5
Connecticut	4	4
Indiana	1	3
New Jersey	8	3
Washington	2	3
Wisconsin	3	3
Illinois	7	2
Iowa	4	2
Kansas	0	2
Minnesota	3	2
Missouri	2	2
Nebraska	1	2
South Carolina	2	0
Alabama	1	0
Arizona	1	1
Colorado	4	0
Georgia	0	1
Maine	2	1
Maryland	1	1
New Mexico	1	1
North Carolina	1	0
Oklahoma	1	1
Oregon	1	1
Rhode Island	2	1
Tennessee	0	1
Texas	3	1
Utah	0	1
Virginia	2	1
West Virginia	0	1
District of Columbia.....	1	0
Total	120	148

PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION

New England	20	32
Total east of Mississippi..	73	76
Total in Northern States...	80	80
		Number of Cities
Group		
Previous to 1900.....		2
1900-1905		3
1905-1910		26
1910-1915		38
1915-1920		51

¹Comprehensive city planning done and data available, with or without commissions.

²As of November 1, 1920. Some have not yet produced evidence that work has been started.

CLASSIFICATION BY SIZE OF CITIES, 1920 CENSUS

Population Group	Number
Less than 5000.....	6
5000-10,000	9
10,000-25,000	9
Total up to 25,000.....	24
25,000-50,000	29
50,000-100,000	19
Total 25,000-100,000.....	48
100,000-250,000	25
250,000-500,000	11
500,000-1,000,000	9
Over 1,000,000.....	3
Total over 100,000.....	48

TABLE II. KIND OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICE EMPLOYED

Profession of Expert	Number
Landscape architect.....	36
City forces (engineering and other departments)	20
Civic expert	18
Architect	13
Engineer (outside of city forces).....	4
Architect and landscape architect.....	3
Engineer and landscape architect.....	3
Engineer and civic expert.....	3
Landscape architect and civic expert....	1
Associated landscape architect, engineer, and architect	2
Total in which landscape architect appears	45
Total in which engineer appears (including city forces).....	32
Total in which civic expert appears....	22
Total in which architect appears.....	18

As to the results actually accomplished in the execution of the various programs herewith tabulated the writer says:

In at least thirty-one cities, out of probably fifty where some time has elapsed since the planning was done, many of the improvements recommended in the planning reports have been carried out, and in thirty-eight cities at least some improvements, which would probably not have been

undertaken if it were not for the replanning, have been put under construction. No city has started execution of all the proposals of a complete plan. Many, however, have definite programs for carrying out the projects through a period of years. This seems to be a sensible scheme of procedure. Only three cities state that the proposals of the plan have been ignored in the subsequent improvements, but there are about a dozen other cities where the present officials seem to be ignorant of the planning that has been done in their cities. An important element of putting the city plans into effect, namely, the control of platting of annexed lands to accord with the plan, has been definitely adopted by at least four cities, and in greater or less degree by many more.

Chicago leads in the execution of projects of fundamental importance to the development of the city. Philadelphia has started work on several huge projects. The execution of work according to city plans is definitely under way in: Akron, Albany, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Dallas, Detroit, Flint, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Rochester, St. Louis, San Francisco, Springfield, Mass., and Syracuse.

The commonest causes for delay in converting plans into construction projects are the obvious ones of lack of public support, and particularly lack of financial support. The latter has been an unusually severe drawback during the period of war activity and war prices.

Most popular interest is liable to center in individual projects, one or two at a time, and so long as these projects are a part of the plan, it is practical to carry out work in this way. Much recent interest has been in the housing deficiency and many planning reports include, as they properly should, sections on housing facilities.

At the present moment zoning is by all odds the most active phase of city planning work. Its popularity may be attributed to the facts that its benefits are easily understood, immediately available, and easily and cheaply secured. The zoning work will be valuable, but its full effectiveness cannot of course be secured unless it goes hand in hand with comprehensive planning; in fact it has been shown that zoning without planning may be a dangerous expedient.

CANADA'S AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON

BEFORE Sir Robert Borden left the Premiership it was announced that Canada would soon have her own diplomatic representative at Washington. Thus far, however, the new Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen, has not seen fit to appoint an ambassador to the United States. The Canadian press has several times raised the question when this appointment was to be made, if at all. But in his public utterances the Premier has not seen fit to give a definite answer to the question. In the *Canadian*

Magazine (Toronto) for September the matter is discussed at some length by Mr. Howard McConnell. This writer recognizes the fact that there is a sincere difference of opinion among Canadians over the advisability of creating such a post, and admits that there is something to be said on both sides of the question, but his own article is a frank plea that the appointment should be made without undue delay. He rests his argument upon the premise that Canada is an autonomous nation within the British

Federation of Nations, and on an equal plane with the United Kingdom.

The British Commonwealth is represented at Washington at the present time by one ambassador. The question arises, that if the King appoints an ambassador to represent the whole Commonwealth at Washington, then how can he appoint a Canadian ambassador with equal powers to represent a portion of that Empire at the same capital. There is a further question which seems to be of moment: Shall the Canadian ambassador have a status equal to that of the British ambassador, or shall he be subordinate to him?

The matter of whether the Canadian ambassador shall be subordinate to the British ambassador or vice versa should not enter into the discussion. While at the present time Sir Eric Geddes represents the whole British Commonwealth at Washington, the moment that Canada appoints her own ambassador, the British ambassador, from that time onward, would represent the whole Empire with the exception of Canada. Canada would have her own representative who would represent her interests. Therefore, the proposal that the Canadian ambassador shall be subordinate to the British ambassador but shall take charge of the British Embassy during the absence of the British ambassador, is not one which should meet with approval in this country [Canada]. Canada cannot afford to have a representative subordinate to any authority except her own government.

Referring to the question that arose at the Peace Conference, we are reminded by Mr. McConnell that Mr. Lloyd George and the "purely British" representatives signed the Treaty of Versailles on behalf of the whole British Commonwealth, while the Canadian, Australian and South African representatives signed on behalf of their respective Dominions. Mr. McConnell thinks, however, that to be consistent with the theory of Canadian autonomy, the British representatives should have signed only as representatives of those portions of the Commonwealth not represented by their own citizens.

The further objection has been raised that if a British ambassador and ambassadors from the several Dominions were serving at the same time, the Crown might be advised in different ways on important questions. On this matter of a possible difference of opinion Mr. McConnell says:

Just for the sake of argument, suppose that the Canadian ambassador did disagree with the British ambassador, the chances are equal that the position taken by him would be the correct position. Canadians have faith in their own country and in the citizens it produces, and they are justified in thinking that they compare favorably with the citizens of other countries. There is no doubt in the minds of Canadians that men of the type of Mr. Rowell, one of their represen-

tatives at the Assembly of the League of Nations, equal, in intelligence and ability, the statesmen of other countries.

At the first meeting of the League of Nations Assembly held recently at Geneva, Switzerland, the official reports would indicate that on only one occasion were the Canadian delegates and the British delegates in accord.

The reason which Mr. McConnell thinks may be more important than any other, why Canada needs her own ambassador at Washington, relates to Canada's trade relations with the United States:

At the present time, Canada maintains trade commissioners in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, China, France, Holland, India, Italy, Spain, New Zealand, Rumania, and South Africa. She also maintains around one-half dozen trade commissioners in the United Kingdom, in addition to her High Commissioner at London. In the United States she has not a trade commissioner, although she has trade agents. The Federal Department of Trade and Commerce is supposed to be exerting great energy toward expanding Canada's foreign trade. With this apparent end in view, it has even sponsored the doubtful expedient of advancing Rumania a credit of \$25,000,000. But is it not overlooking the best customer this country has right at her door? Canada's export and import trade with the United States is greater by far than that with any other country. Canada bought from the American people last year, in round numbers, \$925,000,000 worth of American goods. She sold to the American people during the same period approximately \$600,000,000 worth of Canadian products. This trade is increasing.

The United States maintains more than thirty trade representatives and consuls in the Dominion at this moment. The United Kingdom maintains an Ambassador and approximately 100 consuls, pro-consuls and trade commissioners in the Republic. These British representatives are naturally interested in looking after British trading interests. It is not reasonable for Canada to expect the same diligence, on her behalf, from the representatives of Great Britain as she could from her own. The various parts of the British Commonwealth are entirely too large and the various trade interests of the various Dominions are entirely too vast and complex for one set of men to handle.

When we compare our enormous trade with the United States with the smaller trade that we carry on with the United Kingdom and other countries; when we think of Canada and the United States with a common boundary four thousand miles in length; when we think of the joint interest of both of these countries in important waterways with projects for the development of power and commerce under discussion; when we think of similar problems arising out of such matters as Oriental immigration, together with numberless other questions which must necessarily arise, from day to day, from two different peoples who are inhabiting practically the same country, separated only by an imaginary line, the question arises, can we afford longer in our own self-interest, to be without representation of our own at Washington?

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER'S UNIFORM

DISSATISFACTION with the present uniform of enlisted men in the United States Army is very widespread, but views as to how it should be improved are strongly divergent. On the one hand, there are those who advocate a smart, natty, "soldierly" garb; not merely for esthetic reasons, but for the sake of its moral and psychological effect upon the wearer. On the other hand, there are many who favor a purely utilitarian costume, adapted strictly to the duties the soldier has to perform. The existing uniform seems to be a compromise, which achieves neither beauty nor utility.

The defects of the uniform are set forth in racy language by a contributor to the *Scientific American*, Mr. E. C. Crossman. As to the unsightliness of the soldier's attire this writer says:

Our present examples of uniforms don't even possess the merit of neatness, as worn by the enlisted men. The cloth used is something like the stuff of which Teddy Bears are made, a nice woolly material that defies any attempt to make it lie in smooth surfaces. The collars fit just about as often as you would expect a collar to fit, when you picked one out by the soldier's chest measurement or his foot measurement or some other extraneous consideration. They are a dejected sort of a collar, too, and don't stand up like the collar of the officer's blouse or coat. The

type of coat with stand-up collar emphasizes any lack of fit, which the lapel type of coat might conceal, and all in all, the average enlisted man of the present army, in spite of the pathetic attempt at a "military" effect of his coat, looks more like a misfit than a soldier, or the self-respecting youth that he is. Here and there some more than usually self-respecting chap rebels and spends his hard-earned cash in a made-to-order uniform of serge.

Mr. Crossman adds that the color of the uniform is "most hideous," and far inferior both in looks and as a means of concealment to that of the uniform worn by the Marine Corps. He says:

The Army shade is no shade, the uniform ranges from a dirty mustard through every variation of brown or tan known to chemistry, and some impossible to reproduce.

But he does not want the uniform to be pretty. He indicates his utilitarian leanings in the following terms:

Now that war is recognized to be a gigantic, wasteful, inefficient, crude, gory and engineering job, romantic as digging a canal and with the means for your taking off probably developed in a chemical laboratory instead of being the flashing sword, this uniform nonsense is about played out. It has no place in modern warfare except to distinguish those of one side from those of the other, and to show who are active fighting men and who are not.

War is a job of mighty hard work, nine parts walking to one of fighting, a hundred parts carrying things to one part shooting. A brass band and pretty ribbons and a choker collar and a flat back and a pair of boots with spurs on them have as much to do with the grim job of digging a trench, and then clambering out of it, later, to the rattling of engineering tools called machine guns, as they have to do with an air-lock under the Hudson River.

Mr. Crossman repeats what has often been said before about the discomfort of the closed standing collar and its unhealthful effects. He points out that the leggins and tight breeches, while they have advantages for field work, should be replaced by long trousers when this kind of activity is over. He suggests that the sham pockets might be replaced by receptacles capable of carrying a few personal belongings. As to the question of color, in addition to the remarks above quoted he says:

A change in the color of the uniform is urgently needed for more than one reason. Now that the war is over, and surplus stocks have leaked out through sales to private stores, and every discharged soldier took home and kept his uniform,



BLOUSE COLLAR (LEFT) FOLDED DOWN, CONTRASTED WITH THE REGULATION POSITION (RIGHT)
(The turned-down collar is more comfortable and not inferior in appearance)

we find it, either in full or in part, on truck drivers, garbage collectors, chauffeurs, elevator men and beggars. The very color is an abomination to a weary people. Futile and emasculated, and quite obviously unenforceable laws have been passed by legislatures and Congress, and passed just as promptly into innocuous desuetude, these providing for dire penalties for misuse of the uniform or parts thereof. The country is full of nut-brown shirts, pants and even coats to which

the wearers have good title and cannot be deprived of.

As Army reductions have resulted in a surplus of officers, the writer suggests that "a few hundred" of the latter might be detailed to the task of devising a satisfactory uniform; but would this not merely bring forth a few hundred different opinions?

CHEMICAL DISARMAMENT

A PROPOS of the world's present interest in all forms of disarmament proposals, the article on chemical disarmament in the *National Review* (London) by V. Lefebure has especial significance. This writer brings out clearly and forcibly in the first part of his article the basic necessity that all practical disarmament measures must attack the means of production of munitions. He shows that the most telling war invention has little value, except by way of large-scale production.

The lack of the means of war production, lack of preparation, reduces the chance of war. Possession contributes to the incentive. Monopoly possession is a great danger.

Disarmament must therefore attack the potential munition factory. But the process must be general, or we may blindly substitute dangerous inequalities between nations for the equilibrium which often resulted for long periods in the frank race for power of former days.

Admitting, then, its importance for disarmament, it is essential to distinguish between the different kinds of war production. A little thought reveals a clear line between the mechanical and chemical types. In the former class we include all projectors, weapons dependent upon projectiles for their aggressive effect, ships, tanks, and other mechanical appliances. The latter class includes propellants, explosives and the new materials developed in the poison gas or chemical campaign, covering, in fact, the actual death-dealing constituent of the projectile.

Proceeding to the discussion of chemical warfare, this writer emphasizes its quantitative importance during the recent war. Many still believe that explosive shell represented the greater proportion of the artillery program. The facts do not confirm this belief. It appears that at least 50 per cent. of special chemical or poison-gas shell "was included by one important Ally in artillery programs during the later campaigns of the war."

Among the German dumps that were captured in 1918 there were several that contained over 50 per cent. of chemical shells.

For certain operations as high as 80 per cent. was used. In America, as well as in Germany, in the later stages of the war the new type of shell filling was rapidly overtaking the old in variety and in magnitude of use. In the opinion of this writer two more years of war would have seen non-explosive chemicals preponderating for the "preparation" in military operations, with and without the use of shells.

This brings us to another consideration. Contrary to a common belief, great tonnages of chemicals were discharged without the use of any type of gun, and by devices which were actively developed during the various stages of the war. In chemical warfare, therefore, we have a new method of peculiar importance in any discussion of disarmament. Mechanical production for war, including tanks, guns and other appliances, may be controlled and limited in time of peace. So may the large-scale, standardized production of explosives. But in the case of chemical warfare production there are new and different factors. It is a type of production that could not be improvised so rapidly and successfully as that of the propellants and simpler explosives.

The country not compelled to improvise, but already possessing plants and experience to produce substances of the war chemical type would have a great advantage. Germany, at the beginning of the war, possessed a world monopoly in her dye industry. It took the Allies four years to approximate the poison-gas production of the German dye plants.

Who held the initiative throughout the war in offensive chemical warfare? It was Germany. Chlorine failed and gave place to phosgene. This was countered, and followed by mustard gas, another German thrust beneath our armor, and never really countered. The arsenic compounds followed soon. Other surprises were no doubt in store.

Right through, it was German productive

power which gave her this vital initiative. Admitting her guilt in the case of the first attack, she was the only belligerent with enough chlorine capacity to carry it out. Later on, when all were committed to the new warfare, Germany held the initiative, not because of her superior inventive genius, but because she could carry the chemical invention into large-scale production in a fraction of the time demanded by our many improvisations.

Why need she not improvise? Because of her possession of the dye combine, the great I.G., the monopoly of pre-war organic chemical production.

In view of these facts and of our previous arguments, we claim that chemical disarmament is the crux of the whole question. It threatens to become the *point faible* of all our schemes. Let us substantiate these grave statements.

Have any special steps yet been taken to curb the actual or potential war-producing capacity of the I.G.?

We claim that this great organic chemical combine was Germany's chief arsenal for war chemicals of all kinds. This was revealed beyond all doubt by the various Allied missions which inspected the Rhine chemical factories between the signing of the Armistice and the Peace Treaty. Some of the cold facts of General Hartley's mission have already been published. Here are some significant comparisons based on figures whose authority is indisputable. Supplied by the factories themselves, they are apt to err on the low side, if at all.

The weekly tonnage of poison gas produced within the factories of the I.G. was sufficient to fill about one million field-gun shells. They could supply, in four days, at this rate of production, more gas than would be required to fill the stock of shells allowed to a Germany partially disarmed by the Treaty! The weekly tonnage of finished explosive produced within the I.G. was sufficient to fill nearly two million field-gun shells. The stock of shells allowed by the Treaty would

be provided for by two days' production. Including gas and explosives, a mobilized I.G. could fill the shells allowed to Germany under the Treaty terms in a few hours!

Before the war the I.G. produced about 11,000 tons of dye-stuffs monthly. During the war, in its pre-war factories, largely by conversion and adaptation of plants, with some expansion, its factories produced approximately, monthly, 6000 tons of explosives and 4000 tons of gas when in full swing.

It almost appears as if the whole of the plants were converted for war purposes, but it must be remembered that considerable expansion occurred. In any case, the claim is fully substantiated that the I.G. was and remains the biggest modern chemical arsenal in the world. The possession of this monopoly by any country would be alarming. But there it stands, in a country in which, owing to the chemical campaign fostered by it, the use and manufacture of poison gas is specifically prohibited.

This writer's conclusion is that if the Allies assume that Germany has been disarmed and proceed to mutual disarmament without limiting the munitions plants of the German dye combine, Germany will be left with a practical world monopoly in poison-gas production and with sufficient explosives to feed an army many times larger than that allowed by the Treaty, and, through recent developments, the enormous advantage of 200,000 tons of nitrogen per annum, over and above all her pre-war needs. In short, as he sees the situation, eighteen months after the signing of the Treaty the one country in which the use and manufacture of poison gas are specifically prohibited remains in a dominating position for both purposes.



Wide World Photos

RUINS OF THE TOWN OF OPPAU, GERMANY, AFTER THE EXPLOSION AT THE DYE PLANT WHICH CAUSED THE DEATH OF 1000 PERSONS, UNROOFED BUILDINGS AND MOVED THEM FROM THEIR FOUNDATIONS

LIFE ON OTHER PLANETS

A RECRUDESCENCE of rumors regarding alleged signals from Mars furnishes the excuse for renewed discussion of the perennial question, Is there life—especially intelligent life—in other worlds than ours? Here is a question that has been voluminously debated in all kinds of publications, from the silliest of Sunday Supplements to the gravest of scientific journals; and, strange to say, the same sort of fallacies are prevalent in all grades of literature on the subject. The commonest fallacy was pointed out some time ago by Mr. Charles Fitzhugh Talman, in the *Scientific American*, as follows:

In the writings of many latter-day *littérateurs* and not a few professed scientists we find glib references to the "people" of this or that planet, and the use of this word implies the assumption that life, from its necessarily simple beginnings, has, in each world where it exists, ultimately developed one and only one species more or less like the human race, and clearly differentiated from and superior to all the other species produced in the same world. But nothing that we know of the evolutionary process warrants such an assumption.

The imaginable forms which living matter may assume are infinitely diverse. Look forth upon the myriad species of organic beings—plants and animals—which our own world contains. Where among them all can you find an organism, other than man, which, if placed upon Mars, would be intellectually capable of communicating with us? What success should we have in attempting to telegraph to a race of horses or guinea-pigs, for example?

And this writer adds, by way of suggesting a reply to his own question:

I think it is most reasonable to suppose that, if life has been produced at all upon other planets than our own, it has assumed forms of which we know nothing; forms which may be neither animal nor vegetal, which transcend our experience, and of which we are therefore quite unable to conceive. Given life, plastic and protean, and the laws of probabilities, and such a result would seem to follow as a matter of course.

Even could we actually perform the journey to Mars, it is not likely that we should be able to communicate with its inhabitants, and if we found existing there a great number of life forms we should probably have difficulty in deciding to which of them, if any, the designation "people" should be applied.

Mr. Hudson Maxim has subsequently written to the same effect. Nobody, however, has previously offered so trenchant an argument against the common anthropocentric notions about "the people of Mars," and

the like, as that published in a current number of *Science* by Dr. W. D. Matthew, of the American Museum of Natural History. After showing how small a place intelligent human life has occupied in the vast history of the earth, Dr. Matthew says of possible life in other worlds:

Such life, if it exists, would surely be evolved *ab initio* on independent lines of adaptation and the probabilities would be overwhelming that the results of the æons of its evolution, if by some rare chance it developed intelligent life simultaneously with its appearance on the earth, would be a physical and intellectual type so different fundamentally from our own as to be altogether incomprehensible to us even if we recognized it as being intelligence or life at all. Who that has studied the ant or the bee has failed to be impressed with the unplumbed mysteries in its sensations, its psychology, its inner life! We are far from any full understanding of the intelligence, if I may use the word, of the social insects, relatives, albeit distant relatives, of our own, brought up under the identical environment of terrestrial conditions. How much farther would we be from any comprehension of the intellectual processes of a race of beings whose ultimate origin was wholly different from ours, whose evolution was shaped under conditions that, however closely parallel, could not have been identical with those of the earth. Indeed, if we are to take a receptive attitude in this matter, why limit ourselves to protoplasm as the basis of life? What reason have we to suppose that a self-perpetuating substance, capable of acquiring the heterogeneity of function, the multiple complexity of structural adaptation, the specialization of parts, the elaboration of control and correlation organs, and finally the dominance of these last and development of conscious and intelligent beings, must necessarily be based upon the semi-liquid jelly upon which life, as we know it, is fundamentally based? Other substances, solid, liquid, or even gaseous, may have similar capacities, may have carried them out under different conditioning laws, to a result equally complex and marvelous. We know of nothing of the sort. But would we know of it if it existed, even if it existed upon earth? Would there be any conceivable method of communication, any common ideas, interests, or activities, between such beings and ourselves? It does not appear probable. How much less the probability of communication across the void of interplanetary space.

To suppose that parallel evolution could go so far as to produce similar methods of exploiting the earth to those used by civilized man—irrigation canals, cities, or other such phenomena of the immediate present—in life evolved independently in different planets—and to produce them at an identical moment in geologic time—would seem to be the result of those limitations of constructive or creative thought which are characteristic of myth and fairy-tale, of the anthropomorphic god, or the animal that thinks and talks like a man.

And he says in concluding his article:

In any specific instance, such as other planets of our own system, the probabilities of the existence of any kind of life amount to practically zero. The probabilities of an intelligent life upon Mars or Venus or elsewhere in our system so similar to our own in its character and manifestations as to be indicated by irrigation canals,

cities, or other manifestations of human civilization, appears to be zero of the second degree. The most that one can allow as a reasonable possibility is that there may be some form of life existing somewhere else in the universe than upon our planet. That we have or shall ever get evidence of its existence appears to me practically impossible in the light of present knowledge and limitations.

THE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA

MUCH has been written regarding the persecution of the Church in Soviet Russia, and the efforts of the Bolsheviks to destroy religion and instill atheism in the minds of the people, young and old. Are these charges true? What is the actual status of the Church in present-day Russia? Valuable information on this important question is to be found in an article entitled "Church and State in Soviet Russia," by V. Ladizhensky, in the *Sovremenniya Zapiski*, a Russian monthly published in Paris. The writer begins his article with a quotation from the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, as follows:

13. With a view to insuring real freedom of conscience for the laborers, the Church is separated from the State, and the school from the Church, and the freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is the recognized right of all citizens.

Mr. Ladizhensky then proceeds:

Such is the fundamental law of the republic, which does not represent any novelty to countries with democratic legislation. It might seem that such a law would least of all create hostility between the State and the Church, and still less lead to direct persecution of the Church on the part of the authorities. Yet such persecution was practised throughout the territory of the Soviet republic in the years 1918 and 1919. The law gave no ground for that, so one must look for it in the qualities and views of the ruling authorities, the Communist party of the Bolsheviks. Even before the promulgation of the law of separation of the Church from the State, in May, 1918, a prominent member of the government and its official publicist, Bukharin, wrote:

One of the means for beclouding the people's consciousness is the belief in God and the devil, evil and good spirits (angels and saints)—religion. . . . The belief in God is a reflection of the sordid earthly relationships, it is a belief in slavery, which, it is represented, exists not only on earth but in the whole universe. . . . It is necessary to fight religion, not by violence but by conviction. But the Church must be separated from the State."

Even more pronounced is the position

taken toward the Church by the eighth national conference of the Communist party, March 18-23, 1919, about a year after the promulgation of the law separating the Church from the State. The resolution bearing upon religion reads:

13. With regard to religion, the Russian Communist party does not content itself with the already decreed separation of the Church from the State and the school from the Church, that is, measures which bourgeois democracy includes in its programs, but which it never carries out to the end, owing to the many-sided connections of capital with religious propaganda. The Russian Communist party is guided by the conviction that only the regularization and the introduction of elements of consciousness into the social-economic activities of the popular masses will lead to the total extinction of religious superstitions. The party aims at the complete destruction of the connection between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, assisting in the emancipation of the laboring masses from religious superstitions and organizing a most extensive educational and anti-religious propaganda. While doing that, it is necessary to avoid carefully any offense to the feelings of believers, as that only leads to the strengthening of religious fanaticism.

The writer comments thus:

The separation of the Church from the State thus becomes a screen, which conceals something quite different. State authorities openly become opponents of religion. Anti-religious propaganda becomes their duty, and it is carried on on a most extensive scale. In many places they disinter the remains of saints most highly revered by the Church in blasphemous circumstances. On the old walls of the Kremlin . . . there appears a demonstrative inscription: "Religion is an opiate for the people." Artists and writers are invited to engage in anti-religious propaganda. Their works are published in all the cities and are circulated by the millions, literally filling the whole country. There is no possibility of enumerating these works, which will in the future make up an immense collection of expressed hatred against religion. All the writings, including the amusing verses of the poet-laureate of Communism, Demian Bedny, accuse religion and its ministers of all the calamities which have befallen humanity. The destruction of religion

promises to the laboring masses prosperity equal to that resulting from the abolition of capitalism. In the name of this prosperity and happiness the people are invited to forsake religion and to persecute its ministers.

Besides such literature, nearly all executive committees and Soviets consider it their duty to engage in active anti-religious propaganda, in all its forms. Numerous examples of this propaganda are characteristic by their vulgar directness. To cite a couple of instances: In the territory of the Don Cossacks, in the village Chekalov, there was organized on May 1, 1918, a proletarian celebration. Meetings were held, at which the orators, calling down curses upon the Christian religion and the church, admonished the people not to go to the "lie house"—a name invented by them for the church. In the village of Nizhne-Chirskaya they constructed a special platform for anti-religious propaganda in the square in front of the church. Representatives of the government mounted this platform by turns to vilify the church and the clergy. "Jesus Christ was an ordinary man and a Socialist, and Virgin Mary, an immoral woman," was preached from that platform. Emulating the examples of the French Revolution, the new authorities also announced from this platform that "there is no God. God is the human mind, which must be worshiped." All this was going on at a time when the struggle against religion had overstepped the limits of mere propaganda, and therefore the utterances from this platform to the effect that the clergy are cheats and enemies of the people have a sinister significance. . . .

Meanwhile the separation of the Church from the State was carried out everywhere in a manner usual for such a measure. The registration books were turned over to the civil authorities, the church properties were confiscated, and the churches with the sacred vessels and other religious objects, after taking an inventory, were given into the keeping of religious communities. The government hastened to carry out the measure in the provinces. But there the decree of separation of Church and State sometimes met with an extremely hostile attitude on the part of the population. . . . In some villages resistance was offered. The churches were locked, and the government officials were not allowed to take an inventory of the church property.

Certain village communities in the Kursk government passed formal resolutions against the taking of inventories, and one community even declared that the inventory could be taken only after the parishioners were killed defending their church. Neither the admonitions of the ministers nor the arguments of the local Soviet officials, not even the arrival of a special commission with a representative of the district Cheka (extraordinary commission), had any effect. When attempts were made to enter the church, in order to take an inventory, the alarm bell was sounded, crowds of armed and excited people gathered, and there were cases of murder of government officials.

The Soviet authorities in their turn took extraordinary measures to enforce the law. In the village of Podgorodishche, in the government of Kursk, a large township meeting rejected the demand of the Communists to close the church and turn its property over to the nation. This caused the arrest of eighteen people from those present

at the meeting. They were beaten and taken to the village court, where they were subjected to ridicule and indignities, particularly the minister. Five of those arrested—the church elder, the deacon and three peasants who spoke against the Communists at the meeting, were led to a field back of the church and shot in broad daylight in the presence of the entire population.

After citing another case in which resistance to the carrying out of the decree was offered by a provincial Soviet, though, of course, not in the form of violence, the writer goes on:

Communist propaganda at once pointed to the necessity of struggling against religion by means of persuasion, not violence, so as not to rouse fanaticism. Nevertheless, in spite of the extensively organized propaganda, the people, the masses of them, could not renounce the religion of their ancestors. Urged by their spiritual needs they had to turn to the Church in all significant events in their lives. And this unavoidably led to a clash between the church and the authorities, who do not recognize it and hate it. The orders of the government began to exceed the limits of the decree, and were in irreconcilable opposition to the canons of the church which it could not renounce and which to the authorities seemed nothing more than ignorant superstition. The inhibition of funeral services at the burial of deceased and executed counter-revolutionaries, the order to marry persons divorced by the civil process, disregarding their canonic rights, the interdiction to christen children before registration, the order to bury persons of non-Christian faith according to Christian rites—all that interfered with the normal life of the Church. Such interference with the affairs of the Church on the part of the government which decreed religious freedom, although at the same time aiming to destroy religion, makes a strange impression.

The church sermon also received due attention, and a sermon was the cause of the martyrdom of the Bishop of Belgorod, Nikodim, and of many priests who shared his fate. As a matter of fact, it became impossible to preach a sermon in the church after the insertion in Par. 23 of the "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of the Laboring and Exploited People of the Ukraine" of the following: All citizens have the right of propaganda of religious teachings which do not pursue any social and political aims, and also of anti-religious teachings, which in spirit do not contradict the Communist viewpoint."

In the concluding paragraph of his article Mr. Ladizhensky says:

Notwithstanding the general terror and the indifference of a certain part of the population, covert and sometimes open resistance is offered to the authorities because of the persecution of religion. The greater the persecution became the stronger grew the religious feeling among the people—just what the Communist authorities so greatly feared. And it is very significant that open protests against religious persecutions occurred more frequently in the year 1919 than in 1918.

CONSERVATION OF WILD LIFE

IN the extinction and displacement of species of mammals and birds constantly going on throughout the world we have to recognize the fact that many changes of this kind are inevitable when whole continents are opened up to settlement and exploitation by man. There are instances, however, of the needless annihilation of a species. In the *Harvard Graduate's Magazine* for September Mr. John C. Phillips states the case effectively and without exaggeration when he says:

The destruction of a great work of art calls forth genuine condemnation, in spite of the fact that it may conceivably be reproduced, or even excelled. But how about the creature that has been millions of years in the making, which, once gone, is gone forever? Usually we have to search in a roundabout way to find some economic excuse for saving it, because no purely esthetic reason seems strong enough to appeal to the mass of people!

In proceeding to sketch the conditions as they are to-day among some of the more important game and fur-bearing animals and our larger or more striking birds, Mr. Phillips is compelled to admit that in some parts of the Middle West there is to-day less game than in New England. We no longer have a Wild West, and there is no place outside of our national parks and forests where one may see large animals in great numbers. Yet there has been a marked change in the sentiment toward nature during the past quarter of a century. From the unreasoning assertion of the right to kill game at any time, the pendulum has swung in the other direction, especially in respect to the destruction of birds.

Proceeding to consider the status of some of our large mammals, Mr. Phillips says:

The case of the bison is too well known to need much explanation. In the past ten years these animals have increased tremendously in many parks in the United States and Canada, due principally to the efforts of the American Bison Society and of the Dominion Government. In fact, in certain Canadian parks they will soon have to be slaughtered for the market, to keep their numbers commensurate with available pasture. At the last census of the Bison Society there were 8473 in captivity, and about 600 in a wild state, both in this country and Canada. The annual increase is remarkable among the park animals, but the wild herds have changed very little in recent years, and probably will never amount to much. It is interesting in this connection to note that the European bison, as a result of political

changes in Russia, is now either extinct or on the very verge of extinction.

Pronghorn Antelope. There is no other species of large game which needs protection so urgently as our antelope, and efforts have been made for several years, particularly by the American Bison Society, to set aside a large tract to save it, but so far with no very encouraging results. Antelope have done poorly under fence, and little increase has been observed among the small herds in Montana and North Dakota in charge of the United States Biological Survey. In spite of its being now illegal to hunt antelope in every State at all times, they are actually being shot to-day in parts of Nevada and Oregon, and their carcasses used as bait for wolf and coyote traps. This fact was brought out in a survey made two years ago for a proposed antelope sanctuary.

Wapiti. The situation of our wapiti, or elk, is serious. Hemmed in on every side by farms and small ranches, their movements from high to low levels in the autumn are restricted, and their winter feeding grounds are occupied by herds of beef cattle, flocks of sheep, farms, and villages. If there is an early snowfall the hunger-stricken creatures appear close to large towns, as they did in Montana in October, 1919, and are greeted by a hail of lead from anyone who can borrow a rifle. Nearly every winter hundreds to thousands die in Jackson's Hole, Wyo, in spite of some hay fed to them, but the conditions are temporarily better on account of hay provided by the Biological Survey for the southern herd, and by the National Park Service for the northern herd.

The Rocky Mountain sheep still exist in the Yellowstone, the Rocky Mountain Park (Colorado), the Grand Canyon Park (Arizona), and the Glacier Park (Montana). Mr. Phillips thinks that perhaps there may be 6000 or 7000 left in the United States. As a game animal, however, they have almost ceased to exist below the Canada line. Alaska still has the white, or Dall's, sheep, but the numbers have been greatly reduced in the mountains near the Arctic coast. In other parts of the territory they are still plentiful. A rough census by the Governor of Alaska in 1919 showed from 50,000 to 75,000. This was regarded as a conservative estimate.

Caribou. In this species we have an example of a large mammal that seems to have no power of adapting itself to any sort of changed conditions. They probably would not prosper under fence unless the area was so great that they were not conscious of being enclosed. In zoological gardens they live on for a few months or a year in a miserable, dejected state, and then perish. The woodland caribou is gone from the United States, never to return, and this was probably inevitable. There were a few in extreme northern Idaho a few years ago, but I doubt if any now exist there. They disappeared from Maine in the late nineties. In eastern Canada the species is slowly but steadily vanishing. In Newfoundland it holds on in great numbers, but the forty-



ONE OF THE HERDS OF ELK IN THE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

(The only remaining great stand of elk in the United States. This photograph was taken by Mr. M. P. Skinner, Yellowstone Park Naturalist, who contributed an account of the Whitebar Elk to *Natural History* for November-December, 1920)

five or fifty point heads of twenty years ago are no more. In British Columbia and the mountains of Alaska, three types of great, dark-colored woodland caribou still exist, and there is no reason to fear that they may not do so for a long time. In the recently created Mount McKinley National Park there are thousands of the splendid Stone's caribou. Outside of parks, these mountain caribou may all ultimately vanish.

As to fur-bearing animals in general, zoölogists are inclined to take a gloomy view of the future. Mr. Phillips feels, however, that the fur trade itself will come to its senses in time, at least, to prevent extermination. The present depression in prices is, of course, favorable to the animals themselves, and it is not believed that the price of furs will soon rise to the high level of 1920.

As a program for saving animal species actually threatened, or increasing those that are capable of being increased, Mr. Phillips offers the following suggestions:

First: Provide for the future, even if in small numbers, of the pronghorn antelope by creating an unfenced antelope park of large extent, preferably in the arid portion of Nevada, and save the sage grouse at the same time.

Second: Add to the winter elk-refuge south of the Yellowstone Park and make the future certain for a herd of at least twenty-five thousand elk.

Third: Set aside a series of national game sanctuaries in the national forests of the West, in order to provide breeding grounds where game

may increase and supply surrounding regions, as outlined by Dr. Nelson, chief of the Bureau of Biological Survey. At the same time make the Forest Service, with its forest rangers acting as game guardians, responsible for the game in the national forests. This service will have to co-operate with the States in which the forests are situated and designate the parts of the forests where hunting may be done and the number of animals that may be taken. The number of licenses to take big game will, of course, have to be limited.

Fourth: Institute a federal hunting license which shall be required of everyone who hunts migratory birds. The money which is received from this source, either directly or indirectly, can be used for the better enforcement of laws protecting these birds and for the purchase of permanent wild-life refuges and public shooting grounds, as suggested by the Seventh National Conference of the American Game Protective Association. This last seems to me the most important of all, and, coupled with the present federal law, it is certain to produce lasting beneficial results to our wildfowl.

Fifth: Create a large sanctuary in some of the drowned lands of Florida, prevent their drainage by land-promotion companies, and ensure the continuation of at least a part of the wild life which fifty years ago made Florida famous among lovers of nature. Incidentally such an area would save the sandhill crane, the Florida wild turkey and the Florida deer.

Sixth: Pass a bill to give the United States Commissioners power to hear and determine cases now coming up to the Federal Courts under the Migratory Bird Law, thus relieving those courts from what are merely police court trials, and hastening the hearing.

AN ARGENTINE VIEW OF OUR TARIFF BILL

SOUTH AMERICAN republics view with some alarm the potentialities of the Fordney tariff bill. A typical article from *La Nacion* (Buenos Aires) was considered important enough to be reprinted by *La Rivista de economia y Finanzas*.

If one considers how much the Edge law and the Webb-Pomerene law have aided American exporters, one must realize the great increase of interest shown in the Argentine for North American articles of commerce. Conversely, says *La Nacion*, one must come to the conclusion that the Fordney bill will close the commercial gates. Unless America (the United States) can import Argentine goods in exchange for its exports, one of several things will happen: Argentina's gold and values will go to the United States, or exporters and capitalists will have to establish a credit to avert a business crisis—or a combination of these. Instead of occupying first or second place, the commerce between the two countries will go to fifth or sixth place.

A recent study of conditions shows the value of the trade between the two great republics. During the first six months of 1920 the figures (in gold pesos), according to Argentine statistics, were:

Importation from U. S. to Argentina	129,875,000
Exportation to the U. S. from Argentina	93,435,000
Trade balance against Argentina..	36,440,000

The United States official figures are somewhat different for this period. They are:

Exports from the U. S. to Argentina (dollars)	\$88,096,000
Imports from Argentina to U. S....	117,176,000
Trade balance against the U. S....	\$28,080,000

The apparent difference in these figures lies in the charges for insurance, freight, etc., amounting to approximately 46 per cent. additional to factory costs in the United States for goods landed in the Argentine and an additional cost of about 12 per cent. to Argentine goods landed in the United States. These figures are based on the last five years' business between the two countries.

Figured on the above basis we get the following table covering a period of one year

between July, 1920, and June, 1921 (in pesos oro):

Imported from U. S.....	300,400,000
Exported to U. S.....	109,100,000
Trade balance against Argentina..	191,300,000

During the first four years of the war the trade balance was in favor of the Argentine. Beginning with 1918 it was unfavorable—or 4,355,000, in 1919—43,700,000, in 1920—129,000,000. In the first six months of 1921 the unfavorable balance was 85,700,900 pesos oro.

The following table shows trade conditions between the Argentine and the United States during a period of seven years, figured in pesos oro:

Years	Imports	Exports	Trade Balance
1914	43,507,753	49,468,512	+5,960,759
1915	75,589,885	93,706,075	+18,116,190
1916	106,988,508	119,730,145	+12,741,637
1917	188,084,920	161,270,764	+23,185,844
1918	169,506,948	165,151,620	—4,355,328
1919	232,868,392	189,166,484	—43,701,908
1920	312,042,700	182,880,700	—129,162,000
1921 ¹	114,899,700	29,198,800	—85,700,900

¹ First six months' period.

The unfavorable exchange rate has affected the Argentine greatly. In addition the heavy expenses added to United States prices increase the costs to Argentina. During the period from July, 1920, to June, 1921, the comparative costs were:

U. S. price of imports (in pesos oro) .	200,887,380
Par price landed in Argentina.....	293,322,000
Price due to unfavorable exchange rate	369,913,600

One of the causes of money devalorization is inflation of currency. During the war the gold reserve of the Argentine was kept at a far higher level than in the United States. In sum, it may be stated that the high exchange results exclusively from the momentary inequality of trade balances between the two countries. With normal conditions Argentina can rapidly regain her equilibrium.

Under such conditions the Argentine Republic anxiously awaits the Fordney tariff. It asks whether the United States can safely disregard a possible loss of trade that South American economists deem unavoidable if the new bill retains its projected features?

FIGHTING YELLOW FEVER WITH FISH

SEVERAL striking methods of destroying mosquitoes have been utilized by exponents of the new art of sanitary engineering, and one of the latest developments is the use of fish for this purpose. In the southern United States the top minnow (*Gambusia affinis*) has proved an effective means of keeping in check the mosquitoes that spread malaria. Dr. H. H. Howard, of the International Health Board, obtained excellent results with this fish in Mississippi during the years 1918 to 1920, and its utility has been further established by the joint experiments of the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries and the U. S. Public Health Service. Spanish health authorities have recently imported specimens of *Gambusia* from Georgia for use in their country. Mosquitoes spend their larval period in water, and it is at this stage that they are devoured by fish.

In the last number of *Natural History* (New York), Dr. M. E. Connor tells how members of the finny tribe were utilized in ridding the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador, from the scourge of yellow fever. This city has been known to fame as "the pesthouse of South America." Yellow fever prevailed there continuously from at least as early as 1740 down to May, 1919, when the last case was officially reported.

As Guayaquil is the chief seaport of Ecuador, this disease imposed upon it an economic handicap that affected the whole country. Hence the highest praise is due to Dr. Connor and his associates, who, under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation, carried out their triumphant work at this place. At Panama and elsewhere yellow fever has been abolished by fumigation, oiling, screening and the inspection of mosquito-producing containers. At Guayaquil, we are told, these methods were supplemented by the use of a fish "so indefatigable in the destruction of the larvæ of the dangerous *Stegomyia* mosquito that through its agency the breeding of this insect in small containers has been reduced from 100 per cent. to less than 2 per cent.; a figure not far from complete extermination." The writer says:

The water supply of Guayaquil provides for only forty liters per capita per diem, and this quantity of water is delivered to the people during two hours each day. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to store water in some sort of container if the household expects to have sufficient to meet its daily needs. The containers

used in Guayaquil can be divided into two classes—tanks and other receptacles. Tanks are to be found in the better equipped homes and are permanent fixtures. They have a capacity of from one hundred to five hundred gallons and are provided with valves for the intaking and out-letting of water. They are located against a wall or partition, high up to gain head pressure. There are more than 7000 tanks in service at Guayaquil. Other receptacles comprise barrels, oil tins, large earthenware bowls, etc.; the last census made by sanitary inspectors showed more than 30,000 "other receptacles" in actual use.

The problem at Guayaquil was how to conserve the water for a population of 100,000 and at the same time render the containers mosquito-proof, and to accomplish this within as short a time as possible because speed meant a great saving in human lives. The first thought would be to destroy the mosquito breeding places, by doing away with containers. This could be achieved by installing a modern water system carrying an abundance of water which would be available to the people at any hour of the day or night, but this work could not be consummated under two years from the date of its inception and in the meanwhile yellow fever would be killing hundreds. The Government of Ecuador has contracted for a modern system of potable water, and the work is being rushed to completion. The problem of controlling yellow fever while awaiting the installation of the water system reduced itself to mosquito-proofing all necessary water containers in the city.

Wire-screening the containers could not be carried out on a general scale because of a shortage of the necessary materials, and the process of straining the water through muslin to remove the mosquito larvæ proved too slow. Top minnows were placed in the containers, but found other food in the water more to their taste than the larvæ. They were also too delicate to stand rough handling.

The next fish experiment was with what is known locally as the *huijas*, a variety of perch. This fish is a voracious eater of mosquito larvæ and resists well the rough handling of long trips in pails and cans. With this fish our problem appeared to be solved, but after a few weeks' trial the *huijas* revealed itself as extremely restless and as unwilling to accommodate itself to the small containers. It also exhibited remarkable jumping qualities, rising sometimes three or four feet to free itself from the container. The *huijas* was abandoned for the *chata*, a sardine. This fish possessed all the good qualities of the *huijas* and none of its defects. It had the additional characteristic of spending the greater part of its time on the surface of the water, but when anyone approached the container, it would swim to the bottom and remain there until the cause of its fright was removed. The *chatas* are not plentiful and are, therefore, more expensive to use than the *chalaco*, the next fish tried, which was finally adopted as the most satisfactory for consuming

mosquito larvæ and mosquito eggs in small containers. The net cost per fish to the Yellow Fever Service is one-half cent, and this will be reduced as soon as the hatcheries already established come to production.

The method of using the fish for the purpose of mosquito-proofing water containers is simple in the extreme. Contracts are made with local fishermen to deliver so many thousand *chalcos* in good condition at our *bodegas*, where they are placed in a specially prepared well, the conditions of which approximate those of the stream from which the fish have been taken. After a few days the fish are removed to a second well, the water of which is the same as that used by the city. No food, other than that which the fish find in the water, is given them. Sanitary inspectors notify the *bodegas* a day previous to the distribution as to the approximate number of fish they will require for their districts that day. The fish are then taken from the wells and placed in tins or pails and delivered to the inspectors. Instruc-

tions have been given to each inspector that every fresh-water container in his district is to be supplied with one fish, regardless of the presence or absence of mosquito larvæ in the container at that time. The public is encouraged, personally, by notices in the newspapers, and by the inspectors themselves, to exercise reasonable care in protecting the fish. The public of Guayaquil has responded in a whole-hearted manner to the requests of the Yellow Fever Service, and many families have in their possession at this time the identical fish which was given them to mosquito-proof their water container nearly eighteen months ago.

More than 30,000 water receptacles have in this way been purged of mosquito larvæ in a relatively short time and at a minimum of expense. With the continued use of fish it is believed that the yellow fever mosquito can be reduced to such small numbers that, should a few cases of the disease be introduced into the community, it would not spread.

AIRCRAFT ACCIDENTS

THE public at large entertains an exaggerated idea of the dangers attending aerial navigation, and this idea is a serious impediment to the progress of commercial aeronautics. In order, however, to dispel unwarranted misgivings on this source it is obviously necessary that definite statistics be adduced, showing the frequency of accidents and the conditions under which they occur. An attempt to supply such data has been made by the Information Department of the Manufacturers' Aircraft Association, which has prepared for the Secretary of Commerce an analysis of aircraft accidents in the United States during the first six months of the year 1921. This analysis, which relates only to privately owned craft and therefore excludes craft belonging to the Army, the Navy and the postal service, is presented in a current number of *Aviation and Aircraft Journal* (New York).

Government machinery for gathering statistics of this kind is as conspicuous by its absence as are Federal laws for the regulation of aerial traffic. Hence the association was obliged to depend upon voluntary reports, newspaper clippings, and other somewhat uncertain material.

First of all, we learn that there are about 1200 aircraft engaged in commercial flying in the United States, and that these craft are estimated to have flown a total of 3,250,000 miles during the six months under review. Serious accidents numbered forty. Fourteen lives were lost, and fifty-two persons were more or less seriously injured. Eighteen of

the accidents caused no casualties among the flyers. Of these accidents, says the report,

Seventeen were attributed to the pilot, perhaps through carelessness, perhaps incompetence, perhaps bad judgment combined with other factors. There is no doubt that a good pilot can guide a poor machine to safety with greater chance of success than a poor pilot can operate a first-class craft. Therefore, at the very top of the list of Government needs we place the examination and licensing of pilots. During the war rather more than 17,000 young men were trained to fly. The art of flying cannot be retained perpetually without practice, nor can it be maintained at a high degree of competency without regular examination. The same is true of aerial navigators. Both pilot and navigator (many times they are identical) are of equal importance in safeguarding the lives of travelers by air.

Ten accidents are attributed to inadequate landing fields or to the total lack of landing facilities. Here is a duty directly imposed upon the Federal Government. During the war the Army and the Navy acquired many terminals, most of which have since been abandoned. The fragmentary remainder has been slightly added to by the Air Mail, municipalities and private enterprise, but the United States is to-day woefully lacking in air ports for even the 1200 craft in operation. A survey made by this Association discloses that, in the United States and its possessions, there are only 271 land and water air terminals, many of which are concentrated in certain localities. Of the 271 listed air ports, 145 are controlled by municipalities, 69 are privately owned, and the others are a part of the Army and Navy air services, and the Air Mail.

What a terminal is to a railway and a harbor to a steamship line, an air port is to an aircraft company. Safety in flight cannot be approximated until a central authority specifies air ports of different grades and classifications and then requires that each be maintained accordingly.

Thus there will be land or water ports or terminals of the first class for New York, Chicago, etc.; second class for places of minor importance, third class, etc., and a system of emergency fields, or water locations upon which aircraft can alight in emergency.

Two accidents are attributed to the lack of weather reports. This is a subject on which a great deal more might be said than appears in the report we are here abstracting; the most important fact being that the intensive system of weather reports required by aeronautics means the expenditure of a great deal of money, and the present Weather Bureau appropriations are hopelessly inadequate for such undertakings. Two accidents are attributed to the lack of clearly defined routes or limitations in traveling between or over cities.

Equal in importance with learning the qualifications of pilot and navigator is inspection of aircraft and engines. Out of the forty accidents, eleven may be attributed to faults which proper inspection probably would have revealed—three concerning the plane, six the engine and two an accessory. In many instances it is found that the engine is blamed when really it is an accessory that is at fault. An analysis of the Pulitzer Race last year proved this.

When it is remembered that operators of motor cars are required to qualify and that motor cars are periodically placed under rigid inspection, it is astonishing to learn that *anyone* can take any sort of flying machine into the air at the present time, with the consequent peril not only to himself and his passengers but to many persons below.

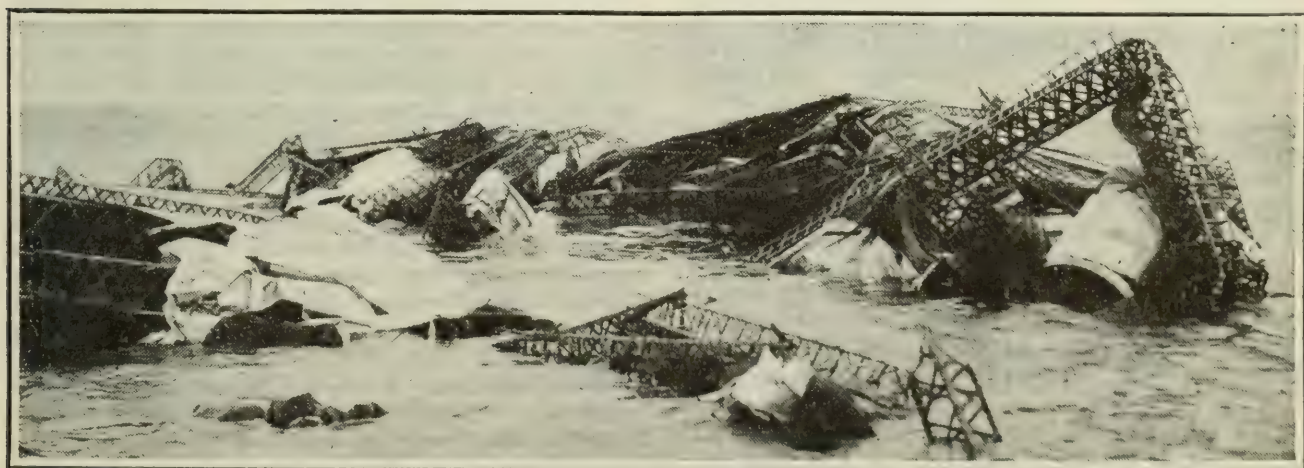
Eight of the forty accidents occurred during stunting. In these eight accidents—seven persons were killed and twenty-six injured—exactly 50 per cent. of the total. In other words, stunt flying in unrestricted areas was responsible for as many casualties as all other elements combined. Now stunt flying is necessary to testing and essential to warfare. It is believed advisable that all

pilots know *how* to stunt so that, in case of an emergency, when *only* a stunt will save their craft, they will be able to act quickly, with understanding and without fear. But the habit of stunting for thrill is dangerous, fatal in many instances, and always harmful to civil flying. A governmental system of control, limiting stunting to certain areas, will meet this unfortunate menace to aeronautics. In this connection, however, there is hope of general improvement.

Tabulation of all accidents shows the following figures:

Accidents Due to	Number
Piloting	17
Poor fields or lack of them.....	10
Lack of weather data.....	2
Lack of route data or flying limitations.....	2
Inspection { faulty craft	3
{ faulty engine	6
{ faulty accessory	2
Stunting	8
Collision	1
Carelessness on field	2
Unknown	5
<hr/>	
Total number of accidents.....	58
Accidents entailing casualties.....	40
Number of fatalities.....	14
Number of injured.....	52
Accidents entailing no casualties.....	18

From the foregoing it would seem to appear that flying is unnecessarily hazardous. As a matter of fact, flying, properly controlled and regulated, is not unsafe. Even the present records show but one fatality for each 232,142 miles flown, and one injury for every 62,500 miles flown. The civil equipment in use consists almost wholly of former war machines, built from two and one-half to three and one-half years ago. With more modern equipment, specially designed and built for commercial use, and with Federal control of operation, the casualty record can be very greatly reduced and civil aerial transport thus placed upon a safe and sound basis, attracting both patrons and investors.



THE REMAINS OF THE AIRSHIP "ZR2," WHICH FELL IN FLAMES IN THE RIVER HUMBER ON AUGUST 24

(The huge air vessel—nearly 700 feet long—was on its last trial flight before delivery to the United States Navy by its builders, the British Air Ministry. The cause of the disaster will probably never be known. The loss of life included sixteen American and twenty-eight British airmen)

THE WAR CRIMINALS' TRIALS

THE public in the Allied countries has never been fully informed by the press as to what actually took place at Leipzig during the trials of war criminals that were held between May 23 and July 16 last. An English writer, Mr. Claud Mullins, who attended all the British trials and was able through his understanding of the German language to follow the proceedings closely throughout, contributes an important article to the *Fortnightly Review* (London) for September.

The presiding judge in all the war trials was Senatspräsident Dr. Schmidt. Mr. Mullins condemns the conduct of the German press and of the German Council in seeking to create an unfavorable atmosphere for the trials. But in regard to the conduct of the judges he says:

Dr. Schmidt and his six colleagues had it in their power to become national heroes in the eyes of Germany's Jingoese, the sections which still sympathize with the old *régime*. These sections are powerful still, and Dr. Schmidt could easily have won their applause by taking sides with his countrymen against their alien prosecutors. On the other hand he could have earned, had he wished, the favor of the revolutionary elements in Germany by giving vent to violent denunciations of Germany's pre-war military system. What, in fact, did he do? *The Times* once described the trials as a "travesty of justice," and even the *Evening Standard* has said that "Leipzig, from the Allies' point of view, has been a farce." For myself I say frankly that Dr. Schmidt and his court were fair. I should be willing to be tried by Dr. Schmidt on any charge, even on one which involved my word against that of a German. It was no cowardice or willingness to please the English that prompted the German judges to convict the men accused of brutal and inhuman conduct. It was merely the fact that the legal mind seeks justice though the heavens fall. As a lawyer myself I felt, and feel proud of the legal mind. The decisions of the court are open to many serious criticisms, and there is little doubt that the trials are a disappointment from the standpoint of jurisprudence. But no serious complaints have been made in this country against the integrity or impartiality of the court. This is as it should be.

It is, I hope, a British characteristic to give honor where honor is due. I say frankly that I learned to respect Dr. Schmidt, and, personally, I am convinced that he performed his difficult task without fear or favor.

Mr. Mullins has only praise for the British witnesses, who, he says, were "plain, blunt men, typical of our race." In many instances their evidence was collaborated by German witnesses, many of whom had also

suffered by the inhumanity of their superiors. The British witnesses were careful not to state more than they had personal knowledge of, and refused to bring definite accusations where they were not absolutely certain. This incident is related by Mr. Mullins:

A witness in the *Llandovery Castle* case told of how he was ordered out of his lifeboat on to the submarine, as the commander wanted to interrogate him. It is not easy, I should imagine, to climb on to a submarine in midocean. The witness told how, while he was clambering up, a young officer took hold of his arm and flung him down on the deck, breaking his leg. Dr. Schmidt asked whether the witness could identify the officer who had done this. It was obviously Boldt, but the witness hesitated and would not speak definitely. I heard Dr. Schmidt say quietly to the next judge: "You see, this man will not say more than he knows." It was because this was the spirit in which the British evidence was given that Dr. Schmidt and his colleagues believed our case. The accused for the most part vehemently denied the stories that were told—the word "*ausgeschlossen*" (impossible) still rings in my ears. Quite early in the Heynen case, and many times later, Dr. Schmidt turned angrily to the accused and told him bluntly that it was useless for him merely to deny the charges, as the court was convinced that the British witnesses were honest men telling the truth.

As to the permanent value of the trials, this writer says:

If the object of these Leipzig trials was revenge and punishment, then undoubtedly the British Mission failed. It secured the conviction of five men, and sentences of in all nine years and ten months. If the object was to convince present-day Germany of its crimes during the war, then, again, there was little success, for, as I have said, the German press showed very little trace of penitence, and the public shelters itself behind the apparent, though non-existent, injustice of only trying German war criminals. But if our object was to establish a principle, to put on record before history that might is not right, and that men, whose sole conception of duty to their country in war-time is to inflict torture upon others, will be in danger of being put on their trial, then, indeed, these trials have not been held in vain. The fact remains now, for all time, that German soldiers and sailors have been put in prison by their own countrymen, who acted through no slavish coercion by a successful enemy, but because their own consciences were outraged by evidence which their own honesty forced them to accept. History will pay far more attention even to sentences of six or ten months' imprisonment passed by a German court than it would to longer sentences passed by "military tribunals" of the "Allied and Associated Powers," to quote Article 229 of the Versailles Treaty.

MEDICAL SPECIALISTS IN COUNCIL

IN communities well supplied with doctors the general practitioner tends more and more to give place to the specialist. It is as impossible for the physician to have an exhaustive knowledge of all branches of medicine as it is for the mathematician to be a master of all branches of mathematics. In order, however, that a case may be placed in the hands of the right specialist an accurate diagnosis is necessary, and to make this often requires the services of several specialists in different fields. That these specialists should collaborate instead of working independently is one of the new ideas in medicine. Having progressed from the age of general practitioners to that of specialists, we are now entering the period in which specialists pool their talents, so to speak. This new development is called Group Medicine.

According to Mary Ethel Jameson, who discusses the subject in the *Scientific American*, group medicine is a storm center of debate in various parts of the country, where clinics have been organized in accordance with the new plan. Apparently its opponents are merely the exponents of conservatism, and, like most new ideas, it must overcome prejudice and mental inertia wherever it meets them.

How the plan operates is thus described:

Groups are generally formed for both the diagnosis and treatment of disease. This is the ideal plan, although some few clinics have been organized for diagnosis alone. The group is made up of a number of physicians who are specialists in different branches of medicine. Through this arrangement each member physician has at his disposal all accessory therapeutic agencies, and the training and experience of all the other members.

The group should comprise at least, an internist, an ophthalmologist, an oto-laryngologist, a roentgenologist, a surgeon, an orthopedist, a urologist and gynecologist, and a laboratory pathologist.

The patient first consults the internist who takes a complete history of the case, making a written record of all previous illnesses and hereditary tendencies. After making a thorough physical examination, the internist sends the patient to those of his associates who can give him light on the perplexing aspects of the case by special examinations and tests, eyes, nose, throat, spine, nerves, etc. Laboratory tests are made of the secretions, excretions, and blood; roentgenograms are made of the teeth, the gastro-intestinal tract, and of the organs of the chest and abdomen.

The history prepared by the internist is studied by each member of the group seeing the patient, and their observations are added to the record

sheet with comments and recommendations. This report is finally returned to the internist who reads the additional information contributed by his confrères and then a consultation is held, a diagnosis is determined, and the patient sent for treatment to the specialist properly qualified to treat the case or for surgical intervention. Hence, as Dr. L. F. Barker concludes, the group becomes a glorified general practitioner. The axiom of group medicine is thoroughness. The development of synchronized work through daily consultation and collaboration is obviously beneficial to medical practice as to other branches of scientific endeavor.

Group medicine is a measure of economy, and the saving it effects through avoiding duplication of attendants and equipment and conserving time is supposed to inure to the benefit of the patient's pocketbook.

As to the spread of the idea the writer tells us:

Probably it is due to the influence of the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minn., that so many of the groups already organized are to be found in the West, and it is only recently that the more conservative East has become the center of the advance.

Clinics are now actively operating in Duluth, Minn.; Minneapolis, Minn.; La Crosse, Wis.; Madison, Wis.; San Diego, Cal.; Little Rock, Ark.; South Bend, Ind.; Rockford, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; Lexington, Ky.; Memphis, Tenn.; New York City; Rochester, N. Y.; Buffalo, N. Y.; and Syracuse, N. Y. There are undoubtedly others which are not so well known, but this list will serve to show how widespread the movement has become, and these clinics are only pioneers in a development which promises to supersede the old-fashioned form of medical practice. Group medicine is one of the outgrowths of our complex life. The same spirit is abroad in other professions and we find the lawyers forming partnerships with regard to criminal and corporation law. The architect now affiliates with the constructional engineer, the heating and ventilating engineer, and the excavating engineer.

The current number of the *American Journal of Clinical Medicine* (Chicago), in an editorial expressing approval of group medicine, says:

We are far from asserting that such special investigation must be undertaken in every single case of illness. Many times, the general practitioner's knowledge of malfunction in the various organs of the body may suffice to recognize and remedy existing irregularities. However, when, after a reasonable time of well-planned and properly administered treatment, recovery does not ensue, it will usually be necessary to resort to the greater knowledge (in certain fields) possessed by specialists.

A NEW CHAMPION OF VIVISECTION

A WRITER who has recently made a careful study of vivisection, first reading the literature for and against the practice, and then visiting the laboratories where it is employed, is Mr. Ernest Harold Baynes, who has for years been a lover and protector of animals. Mr. Baynes had an active part in establishing bird refuges in the United States, and has delivered many lectures on animals.

After visiting especially the Rockefeller Institute and several European laboratories Mr. Baynes became thoroughly convinced (1) that the experiments were not cruel, (2) that the statements and the literature of the anti-vivisectionists were often garbled and utterly misleading, and (3) that the results to animals themselves as well as to human beings were of enormous benefit. He presented his conclusions in the *Woman's Home Companion* for July last. Speaking of the results of certain discoveries made by the medical profession through the use of vivisection, Mr. Baynes says:

Many years ago I had a little brother, not quite three years old, who came down with diphtheria. A doctor was called, and he did all that a doctor of those days could do. But he was almost as helpless as my mother, who watched the child die in all the agony of strangulation. And this was a very common experience in those days. In literally thousands of cases, weeping and often frantic mothers stood by the bedsides, begging, pleading, for little lives, while the surgeon stood by with jaw set and scalpel in hand, ready to take the last dread measure and open the trachea (windpipe) to prevent actual strangulation.

To-day, such scenes, in diphtheria cases at least, are practically unheard of. As soon as it is known a child has diphtheria it is given an injection of diphtheria antitoxin, and if this is given on the first day the child recovers as a matter of course. In cases where the injection is not given until the second day, the death rate is between four and five per cent.; if delayed until the third day, the death rate is about twelve and a half per cent.; if postponed until the fourth day sixteen and a half per cent. These figures are given by the Hospital for Contagious Diseases, New York City, and represent observations on 2849 diphtheria cases.

Every up-to-date hospital for the treatment of diphtheria, all over the world, and practically every physician of standing, uses diphtheria antitoxin. The decline in the death rate of diphtheria patients dates from 1895—the year in which this antitoxin was introduced. Tracheotomy (cutting of the windpipe) became a rarer and rarer operation, and to-day, as far as diphtheria is concerned, is unnecessary.

By a series of most careful and painstaking experiments on mice, guinea pigs, rabbits and a few monkeys, Loeffler discovered this blessed antitoxin which, it has been estimated, saves the lives of a hundred thousand human beings every year. And it will go on saving them in the years to come, at least until some better cure is discovered. I do not know of any finer use to which a couple of hundred guinea pigs and rabbits could be put. Even if it were life for life, would you not vote to sacrifice a guinea pig or a rabbit to save the life of a child?

In the Spanish-American War, of which I am a veteran, nearly 17 per cent. of the soldiers—that is, one in every six—had typhoid fever. It was the cause of six times as many deaths as all other causes put together. I speak with feeling, for I was one of those who had it. In the World War there was practically no typhoid fever, for the very simple reason that a vivisector named Wright had discovered a vaccine which prevented the soldiers from contracting it. It was used by the armies of all the civilized countries engaged, and practically every soldier was treated with it. It is estimated by Col. William H. Arthur, late commandant of the Army Medical School and now medical director of the Georgetown University Hospital, that this vaccine saved the lives of at least thirty thousand boys in the American Army alone, and that it saved at least two hundred and sixty thousand more from three or four months of illness and incapacity. And this is in the American Army alone.

The achievements in surgery have been even more striking. Before the days of Lister, abdominal operations were rarely done, and when done were usually fatal. Now they are performed daily in thousands of hospitals, and thousands of people are saved who in the old days would have died of "inflammation of the bowels" (appendicitis) and other diseases for which surgeons dared not operate. In the Civil War if a man was shot through the bowels, he died. In the World War thousands of cases of this kind made complete recovery. Why? Because the surgeons knew just what to do—how to sew up the holes—how to join the ends of the severed tubes so that they would not leak, and so that they would heal perfectly. The skill required to do this was gained through vivisection. It is safe to say that for every animal used in those experiments, a hundred human lives were saved in the World War alone.

Compound fractures used to kill two out of every three patients—over sixty-six per cent.; to-day the mortality from this cause is well below one per cent. This saving of life was brought about by animal experimentation.

The same may be said of surgery of the chest, surgery of the head; indeed, surgery of every kind.

The whole question is one of proportion. All history will bear me out when I say that no bodily sacrifice, whether of animals or of men, is too great to be made, provided the cause for that sacrifice is proportionately great.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE WORLD OF TO-DAY

The New World. By Isaiah Bowman. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co. 632 pp. Ill.

For the past two years there has been in editorial offices, and possibly elsewhere, a crying need of an up-to-date handbook of political geography. Dr. Isaiah Bowman, of the American Geographical Society, has undertaken to supply that need. No one on this side of the Atlantic, at least, has better equipment for the task. Dr. Bowman has given much time and thought for years to the boundary changes in Europe resulting from the war. His book, besides presenting the more important geographical problems, gives many pages to descriptions of individual countries, the text being accompanied by a series of excellent maps. All in all, there is no volume in English now available which contains so much information on post-war geography.

The Treaty Settlement of Europe. By H. J. Fleure. Oxford University Press. 83 pp. Ill.

A brief survey of the chief territorial changes in Europe resulting from the war. The writer approaches the subject from the standpoint of race, as well as of political geography.

The New World of Islam. By Lothrop Stoddard. Charles Scribner's Sons. 361 pp.

The author of "The Rising Tide of Color" gives in this new book a graphic presentation of the factors that have been at work in the Mohammedan world for more than a century in bringing about a political and social transformation. To people of the West there may have seemed little evidence of change among the 250,000,000 followers of the Prophet. But the seething unrest of to-day among the Mohammedans of India and throughout the old Moslem world cannot be ignored. Mr. Stoddard writes of it not as a passing phenomenon of the moment, but as a logical outcome of deep-seated movements dating back many decades. For most American readers this is a new viewpoint. Mr. Stoddard's treatment of the whole subject is most stimulating. In dealing with the forces at work among modern Mohammedans, he is in a class by himself.

China, Captive or Free? By Gilbert Reid. Dodd, Mead and Company. 332 pp.

Dr. Reid has had an intimate acquaintance with the official and literary classes of China for many years. He had detailed knowledge of most of the diplomacy in which the United States, Japan, and the European Powers had, in his opinion, shared the blame for much unfair treatment of China. In this volume he makes charges of bad faith against all the Allied Powers, and passes severe censure upon their conduct. He appeals to the world for justice to China.

What Japan Wants. By Yoshi S. Kuno. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 154 pp.

Dr. Kuno, who is a member of the faculty of the University of California, offers in this little book a frank and straightforward statement of Japanese aims. His purpose is to inform American readers as to the state of public opinion in Japan regarding Japanese ambitions in America, on the Pacific, in China, in Korea, in Siberia, and at home. President Barrows and former President Wheeler, of the University of California vouch for the accuracy of Professor Kuno's information.

Japan and America. By Yone Noguchi. Orientalia. 109 pp.

Mr. Yone Noguchi, the Japanese poet, who is well known in the United States, is eager to promote closer coöperation between Japan and America, especially in the field of letters. To that end he has lectured in this country and contributed to several American periodicals. The present volume contains an open letter to the Californians and an essay on American democracy.

Zionism and World Politics. By Horace M. Kallen. Doubleday, Page & Company. 345 pp.

One of the ablest leaders of the American Zionist Movement discusses in this volume the whole Jewish problem of to-day. An important part of his book is the author's presentation of those phases of the problem that were in evidence at the Versailles Congress, and in the ensuing conflicts among the small nations. An interesting feature is the author's study of the Gentile attitude toward Zionism, as revealed in the reactions of eminent writers, scientists and statesmen.

A Picture of Modern Spain. By A. J. B. Trend. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 271 pp.

In the first part of his volume this English traveler discusses Spain's attitude toward the war, the present political situation, and the place of Spain in international relationships. The later chapters deal with Spanish art, literature, music, and drama. Present-day conditions in Spain are set forth in this book in a most readable way.

Tropical Holland. By H. A. Van Coenen Torchiana. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 305 pp. Ill.

This book shows how the principle of local self-government has worked in the Dutch East Indies, where it was recognized from the very beginning of the contact of the Hollanders and the natives. The writer speaks with enthusiasm of the colonial administration.

HISTORY, TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York. By Clarence E. Miner. Columbia University Studies in Political Science. Longmans, Green & Co. 135 pp.

September 17 has been chosen as "Constitution Day" because it marks the date in 1787 when our Federal Constitution was signed by the delegates to the Convention at Philadelphia. It is well that we should commemorate that occasion, but we should not make the mistake of assuming that the action of the Convention was at once accepted by the people of the Thirteen Colonies. Many months elapsed before the Constitution was ratified by the requisite nine States. The debates in the New York Convention were among the most important of all, and we are indebted to Dr. Miner for a detailed account of the struggle, which throws much light on the state of public sentiment at a time when the principle of nationality as opposed to loose federation hung in the balance.

Opening a Highway to the Pacific: 1838-1846. By James Christy Bell. Columbia University Studies in Political Science. Longmans, Green & Co. 209 pp. Ill.

The successive attempts made between the close of the Revolution and the period of the Mexican War to cross the Rocky Mountains to the Northwest Coast are here related. Dr. Bell has given special attention to the part played by British and American fur-traders, by missionary colonists of the '30s, and by the great body of farmer immigrants who followed in their train. Unlike most university publications, this volume is illustrated.

Let 'Er Buck. By Charles Wellington Furlong. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 242 pp. Ill.

A racy account of the round-up held each September at Pendleton, Ore. While it may be true

that the old West has passed away, there still remain enough cowboys and cowgirls to give a really thrilling Wild West show each autumn in western Oregon. Mr. Furlong's text and the accompanying photographs prove it.

The Man in the Street. By Meredith Nicholson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 271 pp.

Mr. Nicholson writes with equal zest and acceptability on politics, literature, or social conditions. If there is such a thing as a Middle Western viewpoint, Mr. Nicholson should have it. He belongs to the innumerable company of Indiana authors, and glories in the distinction. In this volume Mr. Nicholson gives us an admirable sketch of James Whitcomb Riley, comments instructively on "The Second-Rate Man in Politics," and warns us with convincing eloquence to "Let Main Street Alone."

On the Trail of the Pigmies. By Dr. Leonard J. Vanden Bergh. The James A. McCann Company. 264 pp. Ill.

This volume gives an account of anthropological explorations made in Africa, under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History and of several American universities. Under the guidance of Dr. George Burbank Shattuck, formerly of Johns Hopkins University and Vassar College, many remarkable photographs were obtained. Reproductions of these accompany Father Vanden Bergh's text descriptions. The book, as a whole, gives a vivid revelation of Central African life.

Topee and Turban. By Lieut.-Col. H. A. Newell. John Lane Company. 292 pp. Ill.

The record of a British officer's motor tours through the various provinces of India. The book contains many entertaining descriptions of scenic and architectural effects. The author is versed in Indian folklore, religion and art.

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHIES

My Brother Theodore Roosevelt. By Corinne Roosevelt Robinson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 365 pp. Ill.

Among the many volumes relating to President Roosevelt that have been published during the past three years there has been nothing like this book by his sister, Mrs. Robinson, in fulness of revelation or intimacy of knowledge. In her preface Mrs. Robinson says: "I feel that in giving to the public these almost confidential, personal recollections I do so because of the attitude of that very public toward Theodore Roosevelt. There is no sacrilege in sharing such memories with the people who have loved him and whom he loved so well." Fully a third of Mrs. Robinson's book is devoted to the boyhood and youth of Roosevelt. She is able to tell, as no one else can, the story of the old Roosevelt home on Twentieth Street, in New York City, which is

just now being restored through the efforts of the Women's Memorial Association. From those early days Mrs. Robinson follows the career of her illustrious brother through his college course at Harvard, his entry into reform politics in New York, his ranching experiences in the West, the Police Commissionership in New York, his service in the Spanish War with the Rough Riders, and his later political record, which is now a part of American history. Mrs. Robinson has not tried to write either a biography or a political history. But one who throughout his life sustained to Theodore Roosevelt so close a relationship could not fail to have much to tell which admirably supplements the more formal and conventional work of the biographer or historian.

In One Man's Life. By Albert Bigelow Paine. Harper & Brothers. 359 pp. Ill.

This book is made up of chapters from the personal and business career of Theodore N. Vail, of whom it has been said that, while Bell created the telephone, Vail created the telephone business. The essential truth of this assertion will hardly be doubted by anyone who reads the remarkable story here related by Mr. Paine. Readers of *Harper's Monthly* and of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS have already had some opportunity to familiarize themselves with the early history of the telephone business, as unfolded in these chapters. Because of his close personal association with Mr. Vail during his latter years, the author has been able to present the human aspects of his subject as had not before been done in print. It has been said of Mr. Vail: "He made neighbors of a hundred million people"; and surely

the business genius exemplified in such an achievement is deserving of all the praise that has been bestowed upon it.

The Book of Jack London. By Charmian London. The Century Company. Volume I. 422 pp. Volume II. 413 pp. Ill.

In these two volumes we have the story of Jack London as we believe he himself would have wished it to be written. Mrs. London, his sympathetic comrade for eleven years, tells the story frankly and without apologies to any whose sensibilities may be affected. Largely, it is a tale of adventure, and it describes the life journey of one of the most brilliant writers of his generation.

BOOKS ON BUSINESS

The Psychology of Industry. By James Drever. E. P. Dutton & Company. 148 pp.

Industrial psychology as we know it here in America has ramified through all the phases from the psychology of salesmanship to intelligence tests for the hiring of workmen; but England has been strangely lax in this field, and has only recently taken it seriously, as Dr. Drever shows. His book, to us, is not valuable so much as a treatise on the subject as because it has scientifically gathered together the best results of American works which were intended to be practical, for the most part, rather than intensely scientific, and restated them tersely in a small volume. But it should prove valuable on the other side alike to students and employers as an introduction to the real work of American authorities on the various phases of the subject in general.

Mind and Work. By Charles S. Myers. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 175 pp.

"Psychological Factors in Industry and Commerce" is the sub-title of this little book by an English psychologist. There are some good illustrations explanatory of the text. The book is much like that on the "Psychology of Industry." It seems, however, less of a summary of previous work and more up to the level of present accomplishments. The book also contains a most valuable bibliography. Both of these volumes recognize thoroughly the *human* side of efficiency study. Verily, the leaven of new ideas is working yeastily in the mind of the English employer of the old school.

The Management of Men. By Edward L. Munson. Henry Holt & Co. 801 pp.

Human Engineering. By Eugene Wera. D. Appleton & Co. 378 pp.

Unfortunately, there has been too much of the German-officer type in command of industry; and Mr. Munson's book will do more good than harm in business life solely because that condition is recognized, and he has gone almost to the opposite extreme. The day for military discipline in industry is past, for in it there is always a tendency to tyranny. The "hard-boiled" officer may be a necessary product of war, but

the two-fisted foreman can be dispensed with in peace. In an army the men are under constant control; in industry, theoretically, only during hours of work. For those who believe in military methods in business, we recommend Mr. Munson's book, especially the chapters on "Human Agents of Morale Control," "Some Elements of Leadership," and so on. Mr. Munson has succeeded in laying down the principles of a scientific study of military psychology for the promotion of fighting efficiency, and, he believes, of productive efficiency in industry. His book ought to be read and studied by every prospective officer before he assumes command. For those who believe that what we really need in industry is a system of democracy comparable in the main with that which we have achieved politically, the Wera book is recommended, chiefly because it is the product of nearly thirty years of industrial life. This book is as practical as the first is scientific, but both volumes are written in the so-called popular style for the general reader.

The Human Side of Retail Selling. By Ruth Leigh. D. Appleton & Co. 228 pp.

The Mind of the Buyer. By Harry Dexter Kitson. The Macmillan Co. 206 pp.

The Salesman's Kindergarten. By Wilbur Hall. Alfred A. Knopf. 195 pp.

Here is a series of business books on "the selling end" which are fresh and timely in days when salesmanship almost seems to have become a lost art. Miss Leigh's book will be appreciated most because it is in an untried field of sales psychology. We have never seen a book on retail *counter* selling which is so well gotten up, or which is so interesting. The scientific aspects of selling from the standpoint of the psychologist engaged in analysis of the underlying principles of action in the buyer's mind are carefully laid down by Professor Kitson of Indiana University. His book is intended for the progressive sales correspondent, advertiser and salesman, who is interested more, now, in underlying laws than in the practical technique peculiar to his own field. We all remember Mr. Hall's good stories in the *Saturday Evening Post*; and this volume of his is the book form of those delightfully instructive narratives.

Acceptances—Trade and Bankers. By Park Mathewson. D. Appleton & Co. 372 pp.

"The trade acceptance," so the author tells us, "is a simple, efficient means for enabling most business men to close a transaction cleanly in one operation," thus saving time and energy heretofore wasted on collections. Just prior to the war, London had \$3,000,000,000 of acceptances in circulation, and it was one of the dominant factors in her banking power that she was able to control so much of this credit. The author has reduced many scattered bits of information from articles in the periodicals to book form, and there are plenty of "forms" to illustrate acceptances and accounting methods. The reader is told the theory and the practice, and how to install and operate this system; and there are sixty-one pages of digested rulings and opinions of counsel of the Federal Reserve Board on forms and procedure down to 1920.

Commercial Law Cases. By Harold L. Perrin and Hugh W. Babb. George H. Doran Co. 2 vols. 536 pp. 414 pp.

These volumes are meant for a thorough study of that branch of law applied particularly to business transactions. The first covers contracts, sales, and agency; the second negotiable instruments, partnership, and corporations. The authors are in charge of the department of law at the College of Business Administration at Boston. The work is eminently practical and seems to have been accurately compiled from leading cases in many States. Each principle of law is first enunciated after the text-book system, and is then followed by illustrations carefully digested from cases of real authority.

Practical Bank Operation. By L. H. Langston. The Ronald Press Co. 2 Vols. 370 pp. 343 pp.

Prepared under the direction of the Educa-

tional Committee of the National City Bank of New York, this work covers, in the first volume, routine banking operations, and, in the second, such special operations as foreign banking and exchange, fiduciary functions, accounting, and auditing, all after the practice of the bank named. This means of insight into the methods of one of the world's largest and most highly organized banks is something which has long been desired by business men and students. It was originally intended as a manual for employees, but has been broadened in scope for general use. It is practically a text-book, and, with its many statistical footnotes, a complete working manual for those engaged in banking and business.

The Guaranty of Bank Deposits. By Thomas Bruce Cobb. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 225 pp.

This volume of the Hart Schaffner and Marx prize essays in economics is a valuable contribution of complete information on the subject, which was presented to the American public by this REVIEW as long ago as 1908 in an article on mutual insurance by grouped banks to guarantee their deposits. The book written by Mr. Cobb aims at, and apparently attains to, a thoroughly authoritative statement on the subject, with the complete history of twelve years of the various bank guaranty laws. The author is associate professor of economics at the University of Missouri, and seems exceptionally well informed on the history and law of the protection of bank deposits.

The Organization of Modern Business. By William R. Basset. Dodd, Mead & Company. 271 pp.

The industrial engineer's outlook on business principles and methods. The book discusses certain fallacies of management, the use of money in business, control of sources of supply, and the essentials of a sound business.

WORKS OF REFERENCE

The New International Year Book: 1920. Editor, Frank Moore Colby. Dodd, Mead and Company. 775 pp. Ill.

The one source of disappointment in this edition of the publication of the International Year Book is the fact that a volume covering the world's progress for a given year does not come off the press until more than half of the following year has elapsed. Considering the demand for accuracy and completeness in such a work as this, such a delay is unavoidable, and must be accepted with as much grace as possible. The excellence of the contents of the year book goes far to compensate those who consult it regularly, for its somewhat belated appearance. From the American standpoint more than usual importance attaches to the volume for 1920, which contains a full account of the Presidential election, and articles dealing with the year's progress in agriculture, industries, engineering, and shipping.

Who's Who in the Nation's Capital: 1921-22. Washington, D. C.: The Consolidated Publishing Company. 617 pp.

During the past half century Washington has grown to the stature of a great city, irrespective of its importance as the seat of national government. In some respects it outranks cities of larger population. Certainly no city of its size includes in its population so large a number of men and women who have achieved real distinction in American life. Nor are these names confined to the circle of Washington officialdom. More and more the city is attracting to itself from year to year our most eminent writers, scientists and men and women of affairs. Washington well deserves to have a "Who's Who" of its own, and this new attempt to supply authentic data about those of its citizens who merit recognition of this sort will be generally welcomed. Trained newspaper men collected and prepared the data.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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PRESIDENT HARDING MAKES HIS ADDRESS ON ARMISTICE DAY

(The ceremonies at the Arlington National Cemetery, which faces Washington from the Potomac hills, formed the opening of the international conference in the moral sense. President Harding's address at the grave of the unknown hero was an appeal to all the nations to meet the demands of civilization for an end of militarism and force and for the establishment of peace among men. The scene as photographed above is of the President speaking in the amphitheater at Arlington. The flag-draped casket of the unknown hero may be seen directly in front of the rostrum. Toward the right is the Secretary of War, John W. Weeks, to whom the President officially addressed his speech)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Hughes
Offers His
Program*

America has entered upon an international conference of its own planning, intended to secure a century of peace and to lead the world toward a coöperative life. This ought to be the most significant occasion in our history as a people among peoples. Elsewhere in this issue we are printing noteworthy extracts from President Harding's address at the opening session of November 12. On the preceding day, at Arlington, he had spoken with all America supporting him, on the evils of war and civilization's demand for peace. The breadth and sincerity of the address in which he welcomed the delegates received immediate acknowledgment on all hands, which was finely expressed by Mr. Balfour, who proceeded to name Secretary Hughes as the permanent presiding officer of the Conference. Then followed an almost stunning surprise. Mr. Hughes made a speech which said, in effect, that the thing needed was action rather than discussion, and which without circumlocution laid down a specific program for the immediate reduction of American, British, and Japanese navies. The proposals in full are presented by us in this number of the REVIEW, on page 646. It is demanded that the three powers stop at once the building of new battleships. They are to dismantle and destroy many that are partly built, and many that are in service. They are asked to establish a ten-year period which for want of a better phrase is called a "naval holiday." They are to limit the size in future of battleships. Gradually, the navies of England and the United States are to attain equality as respects large vessels. The program would allow Japan a naval strength equal to sixty per cent. of the British or the American. This plan, if adopted, would practically end naval competition. It would clear the way for further reductions, as favorable circumstances might justify.

*The Whole
World
Applauds*

The promptness and the definiteness of these proposals filled the world with astonishment, but also with tremendous applause. The Conference adjourned, after Mr. Hughes's speech of Saturday, to meet again on Tuesday, the 15th. This gave time for world journalism to prove its power and its value. It is within bounds to say that people who read and think in every representative city and neighborhood, in countries aggregating more than a thousand million people, were talking about the Hughes proposals by the time the Conference resumed its sessions on Tuesday. The support of the world's public opinion was overwhelming. It did not follow that the precise American program would be adopted unanimously by the Conference without careful consideration of details, and without reference to the dangers and troubles in different parts of the world that lurk in the background of militarism. But it was the accepted verdict of the world, promptly rendered, that Mr. Hughes had blazed a path, which in its main course must be followed without grudging, with hope and with faith, and with friendly good-will substituted for cynicism and distrust.

*America
and the
Conference*

As has often been pointed out in these pages, the Government of the United States does not play the game of international politics and diplomacy after the former fashion of European foreign offices. The United States has no diplomatic secrets of any consequence whatsoever, and no confidential agreements or understandings. The Great War, with all its devastating consequences, was the inevitable result of European statecraft as detached from popular control. The rival diplomatic schemers were forever wanting things that belonged to somebody else. Militarism is not the primary cause of wars, but

the result of selfish and dangerous policies. If Japan has ever been guilty of aggressive aims and militaristic methods, it is chiefly because of her bitter experiences as she had come into contact with the ruthlessness of European foreign offices. The American Government—unlike some others—is not an entity controlled by groups or interests that are non-representative of public opinion. Our Government, in the nature of the case, must stand for what the best sentiment of the country regards as honorable and right.

*Some Steps
not to Be
Retraced*

The American people are devoted to the principles of justice and peace. They had no motive in going into the Great War except to secure peace and order based upon justice. They had no selfish ends whatsoever to gain, and were indeed making profound sacrifice for the sake of principles. But for American intervention, the outcome of the war could hardly have been doubtful. It is probably true that if America had not risen to her unprecedented efforts of 1918, France would have been defeated again as in 1870, and the British Empire would have been crushed. Under these conditions, and with the facts foremost in the minds of all intelligent people, Americans naturally supposed that the members of the Peace Conference at Paris would gladly abandon the kind of imperialistic intriguing and diplomatic scheming that had precipitated the World War. If there could have been a conference of peoples and not of diplomatists, there might have been a better outcome. It is, however, well to consider that the period of peacemaking and of readjustment was merely begun at Paris and Versailles, and that it is to continue, not merely through the conference that began at Washington on November 12, but through successive stages, covering many years perchance, until justice, forbearance, and common sense win the full victories for which hundreds of millions of plain citizens of many countries are clamoring. America means to have some steps taken now that will not have to be retraced. It is gratifying to know that Congress is eager to support the steps that are proposed.

*The Country
Expects
Results*

This Washington Conference had assembled on invitation of President Harding, with the strong support of Secretary Hughes and the Cabinet. The Senate had adopted a resolution introduced by Senator Borah, requesting the President to call a conference to bring about a reduction of naval armaments in the Pacific. Back of the action of President Harding, and of the speeches and votes in Congress, were the demands of the American people and of the American press. These were declaring, with something like unanimity, that the sacrifices of the Great War should have as their result a radical reduction of taxes for armament, based upon agreement and friendly understanding with other nations. The conference at Washington is the result, therefore, of American sentiment finding its response in the action of our Government. The American delegates, namely, Secretary Hughes, Hon. Elihu Root, and Senators Lodge and Underwood, are individually and as a group quite capable of expressing American conviction with respect to questions of international justice and of naval armament. Furthermore, President Harding had selected an Advisory Committee of twenty-one members, with Hon. George Sutherland of Utah as Chairman—a body that is excellently constituted from the national standpoint. The American people demand—and confidently expect—substantial results from a Conference thus initiated. The proposals for reducing navies were broad enough to recognize the interests of others, and could not be opposed as seeking relative advantages for America.



THE FOUR WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ADVISORY COMMITTEE

(From left to right, are: Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, of Massachusetts; Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the National Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Egan, of New York; and Mrs. Katharine Phillips Edson, of California)

*Men and
Women Who
Represent
Our Aims*

Besides a group of officials comprising Secretary Hoover, General Pershing, Admiral Rodgers, Chairman Porter of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, under-secretaries from three departments, and Governor Parker of Louisiana, the Committee includes four representative women, two labor leaders (Gompers and Lewis), one representative of farm organizations (Barrett of Georgia), a prominent business man from New York (William Boyce Thompson), an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia (Walter George Smith), and three former officials, in addition to ex-Senator Sutherland. There are, also, technical advisers, including men of experience in international law and diplomacy, and high officers of the Army and Navy. These appointed groups are not too numerous for usefulness and efficiency; but they are numerous enough to make it reasonably certain that the United States delegation will be most admirably supported, not merely as regards knowledge and experience, but also in what is not less to be desired, namely, the upholding of national ideals and sentiments.

*Assembling of
the Foreign
Groups*

The gathering together here in the United States of the delegates from other countries, with their accompanying retinues, occupied a great deal of space in the newspapers during the first half of November. The visitors were received with a friendliness, both official and popular, that quickly changed the habitual skepticism of diplomatists and of seasoned newspaper correspondents into a comparative optimism about the Conference. There were few glowing predictions, but there was evident in all quarters a sincere desire to have the Conference mark some notable steps of progress toward the establishment of peace upon solid foundations. The spirit of amity that had existed in 1918 was revived in no small measure by the presence of foreign guests.

*British
Realms
Represented*

The British delegation was regarded as of unprecedented interest in its makeup, because four of the seven principal delegates do not come from the British Isles, but from other parts of the realms of His Majesty King George. The three from Great Britain are



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THE BRITISH DELEGATION LEAVING THE CONFERENCE AFTER THE FIRST SESSION

(Ambassador Geddes stands at the left of the picture, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour in the center, and Lord Lee of Fareham at the extreme right)

Premier David Lloyd George, the Right Honorable Arthur J. Balfour, and Lord Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the Admiralty (a Cabinet post corresponding to our Secretary of the Navy). Sir Robert Borden comes from Canada, Hon. George F. Pearce from Australia, Mr. V. S. S. Sastri from India, and Sir J. W. Salmond from New Zealand. Mr. Lloyd George was detained at home for the time being by the negotiations that were pending for a settlement of the Irish question, and Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador at Washington, was empowered to act as a delegate until the Prime Minister should arrive at a later stage of the Conference. Of the British technical advisers, the principal ones are Lord Beatty, who is Admiral of the Fleet, and Lieutenant-General the Earl of Cavan, who heads the military staff. The British delegation is of course amply supplied with assistants and advisers representing special knowledge and experience of many kinds. Lord Beatty had arrived well in advance, and his reception by the heads of the American Navy and by the American public was genuinely cordial. The reports of it did not fail to make a pleasant impression in England. Lord Lee had brought reassuring messages, and Mr. Balfour, who came just in time for the impressive celebration of Armistice Day, felt himself among friends by reason of his former experiences here.



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FRANCE'S DELEGATES AT THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS, AT WASHINGTON
(From left to right, are: Albert Sarraut, Senator and Minister for the Colonies; Aristide Briand, Prime Minister; and René Viviani, former Premier)

Foch, Briand and the French Group

The representatives of France had come with great prestige; and in particular the presence in this country of Marshal Ferdinand Foch was hailed with immense enthusiasm. He had come early in order to attend the meeting of the American Legion at Kansas City, and from the moment of his arrival until the opening of the Conference he had been subjected to a continuous round of ovations which recalled the story of General Lafayette's visit to the United States almost a hundred years ago. Marshal Foch is at the head of the list of French technical advisers at the Conference, the group being most adequately constituted. The arrival of the French Prime Minister, Aristide Briand, as head of the delegation, was impressive by reason of all the difficulties over which this powerful leader had triumphed at home, in order to make the journey and take his part here in helping to strengthen the substructure of world peace. The former Premier, René Viviani, had brought with him agreeable memories of the plaudits he had received on his mission here in war-time. The other two principal delegates are M. Albert Sarraut, of the French Cabinet, and M. Jusserand, the Ambassador at Washington. Next to Lord Bryce, this scholarly and high-minded ambassador-statesman has a firmer hold upon the confidence and esteem

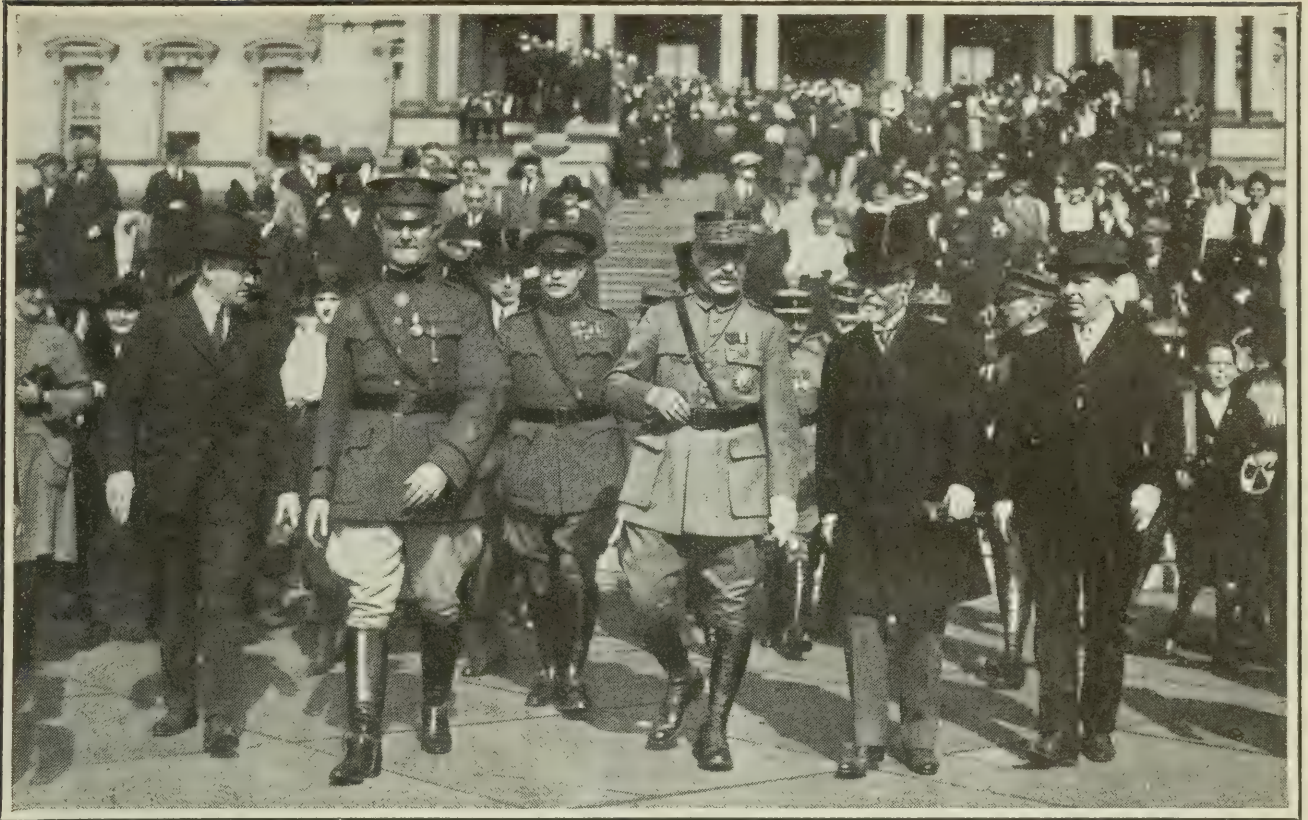
of the American people than any other foreign representative who has served here during the present generation.

Statesmen and Leaders from Japan

Japan is present in the Conference with three principal delegates, namely, Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, President of the House of Peers; Admiral T. Kato, Minister of Marine, and Baron Shidehara, the Ambassador at Washington. These are accompanied by a distinguished group of special advisers, and by representatives of various departments of the Government, including brilliant naval and military leaders. No delegates have come to the Conference with more cordial expressions, or with a finer spirit in view of all that is at stake, than these eminent personages who typify the genius of Japan.

Italians as American Guests

General Diaz, the gallant head of the Italian army, and commander of the forces that defeated Austria, had also attended the meeting of the American Legion at Kansas City. He had been received at New York and in other cities of the United States with official honors and popular demonstrations that Italians everywhere had appreciated to the utmost. The Italians have much less concern with those specific problems of the Pacific and the Far East that are on the program



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MARSHAL FOCH WITH AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND, LEAVING THE STATE DEPARTMENT AFTER PAYING HIS RESPECTS TO SECRETARY HUGHES

of the Conference than have most of the other countries that are represented; but undoubtedly they will have a useful and significant part in the business of a gathering whose influence is to be exerted for general harmony and cannot possibly be restricted to specific subjects. The principal delegates of Italy are (1) the former Minister of the Treasury, Carlo Schanzer; (2) the Italian Ambassador at Washington, Vittorio Rolandi Ricci; (3) Filippo Meda, a former Cabinet officer, and (4) Senator Luigi Albertini. There are, of course, numerous experts and advisers accompanying the Italian delegates.

*Belgium
and
Holland*

Belgium, having comparatively little direct concern in the specific problems of the Conference, has a small delegation, at the head of which is the Ambassador at Washington, Baron de Cartier de Marchienne. The Netherlands Government, on the other hand, has sent a considerable group, foremost of whom is the distinguished Dutch statesman, H. A. van Karnebeek, who is Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is accompanied by F. Beelaerts van Blokland and Dr. E. Mpresco, both being prominent Cabinet officers. These gentlemen from Holland and Belgium bring wisdom and learning to the aid of the Con-

ference. Dr. van Karnebeek is President of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

*China's
Difficult
Position*

The delegates from China will have a part to perform of critical importance to their country, inasmuch as questions affecting China are the central ones of the Conference. The



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JONKHEER H. A. VAN KARNEBEK (LEFT) AND
JONKHEER F. BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND

(The two principal delegates to the Arms Conference from the Netherlands)



ITALY'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION
OF ARMAMENT

(Left to right, are Luigi Albertini, Carlo Schanzer, and Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, Ambassador to the United States)

principal delegates are Dr. S. Alfred Sze, Minister to the United States; Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Minister to Great Britain, and Mr. Wang Chung-hui, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Associated with these three delegates are groups of general advisers and counselors, besides technical and special committees. The official Chinese group represents the Government at Peking. A great part of China is now, at least nominally, under the sway of the Government at Canton, headed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The fact that China does not present a united front in the Conference is not only difficult and embarrassing for the Chinese delegates in the upholding of their views and contentions, but it is also a matter of very serious difficulty for other groups in the Conference, who will find it hard to render help in an effective way to those who are not in a position to help themselves.

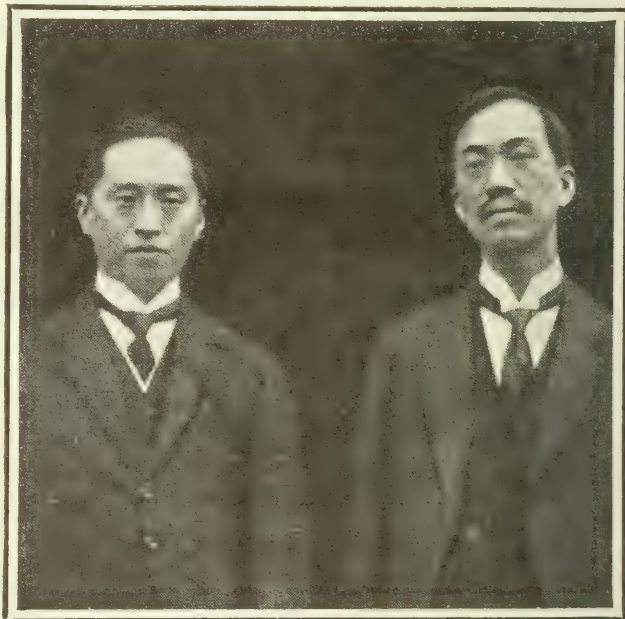
*Asia
in
Transition*

It is palpable that the whole of Asia is undergoing a series of changes more profound than any that have occurred in that vast continent for a number of centuries. The forces that are bringing about the new and modernized Asia cannot be "cribbed, cabined, and confined." This Conference cannot make a set of rulings, and guarantee that Asia will henceforth proceed in conformity therewith. Much is destined to happen within fifty years that cannot be foreseen. Japan has a peculiar position that is due chiefly to the fact that the Japanese now belong at the same time to both worlds—the Occidental and the Oriental. Japan has become so thoroughly westernized in many aspects of its national

life that, if it were cut off from its relationships with America and the European countries, it would suffer almost fatal consequences. On the other hand, Japan is now experiencing such expansion of energy—stimulated by an unprecedented growth of population, and by the new demands resulting from higher standards of living—that it would be a withering and a crushing blow if relationships with the Asiatic continent were unduly restricted. Japan's case deserves consideration.

*Existing
Asiatic
Crises*

Since the arrival here of the Japanese delegation, there has come the tragic news of the assassination of the able and farsighted Premier Hara. Thus Japan in the Conference has to reckon in some measure with political disturbances at home, while China's influence in the Conference is almost nullified by the political prostration of what was once the great Chinese Empire. The British delegation, in which is included a native representative of the East Indian peoples, is confronted by the fact that India also is in the throes of transition, and that decisions made at Washington may have bearings of a more or less favorable kind upon the politi-



TWO OF CHINA'S DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE
AT WASHINGTON

(Dr. Wellington Koo, former Chinese Ambassador at Washington, and now the Ambassador to Great Britain; and Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of China)

cal future of Britain's Asiatic empire. It will not be possible for the Conference to ignore the stupendous, the cataclysmic, changes that have taken place in the Russian Empire within the past five years. These changes in Russia have almost as direct a bearing upon the problems of the Far East as have the dynamic efficiency of Japan on the one hand and the prostration of China on the other hand.

Russia's Status Cannot Be Ignored

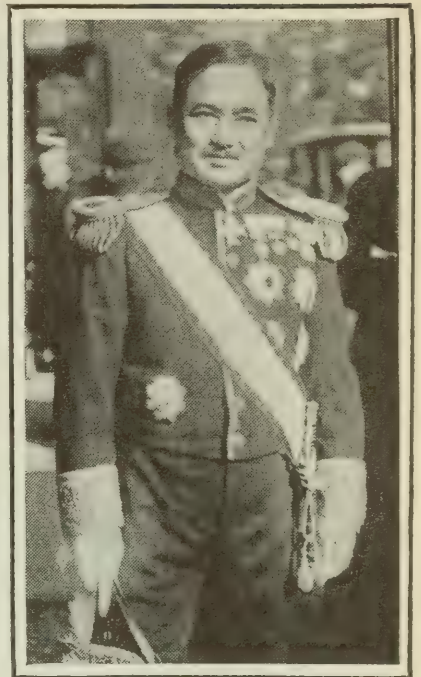
The Far Eastern Republic, with its headquarters at Chita, has not been invited to take official part in the Conference, but its representatives are at Washington. Is Eastern Siberia, with its Pacific outlet at Vladivostok, to become industrially and politically subject to Japan? Is it to be a separate country built upon the human foundation of its Russian farmer pioneers? Or is it destined eventually to be re-absorbed in the great Russian nation and sovereignty that built the Trans-Siberian Railroad, that showed friendship to the United States when this country was in trouble sixty years ago, and that ceded Alaska to us as a mark of neighborly goodwill and as part of a farseeing policy of Russo-American accord in the Pacific? Secretary Hughes and his associates are not thinking alone of immediate crises, or merely of fixing up arrangements to tide us over the next five or ten years. Our American delegates in this Conference aim at nothing less than the kind of statesmanship that will be approved fifty years hence by Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Russians, Australians, and Canadians who are not yet born.

Larger Versus Smaller Programs

It had been said that some of the foreign diplomats, personages of great distinction, would like to divert the attention of the Conference from the problems that are essential and that are difficult, to a mere program for saving a little money for British and Japanese taxpayers by securing an agreement to make competitive armaments smaller without particularly changing the fact that they *are* competitive. If a total naval expense of half a billion dollars a year could be saved for three treasuries, some diplomats who have had this



PREMIER HARA, OF JAPAN,
ASSASSINATED IN NOVEMBER



VISCOUNT UCHIDA, JAPAN'S
FOREIGN MINISTER

limited object in mind supposed that the Conference might be a very short one, and might dissolve, having enough to show to justify its coming together. But American policy aims at something far more vital than this; and American public opinion, if it is well advised, will increase rather than diminish its insistence upon the achievement of large things that are to make for permanent accord. Our public should understand, however, that we Americans must be willing to take a larger share in responsibilities for the world's order, if we are to help confer the blessings of peace upon others while also securing them for ourselves.

Real Issues Plainly Stated

The nature of the real questions for the conference to deal with was plainly set forth in this magazine last month, not only in editorial discussion but particularly in several special articles. These included one by Arthur Wallace Dunn, which stated in reliable terms the broad American standpoint, and a very noteworthy analysis by our regular contributor, Frank H. Simonds, which did not flinch from telling American readers the difference between abstract doctrines and practical policies as respects Japan and the adjacent regions of the Asiatic continent. In the present number, Mr. Simonds returns to this main theme, with further facts and arguments and also with the advantage of having freshly discussed at Washington the work of the conference with many members

of the arriving groups from different countries, as well as with influential Americans. Careful readers will find that Mr. Simonds is decidedly more hopeful of valuable results than his previous articles had seemed to imply. He is one of the few newspaper writers who was quick to appreciate the extraordinary significance of the shift of British naval forces to the Southern Pacific, and the plans for creating what may prove to be Great Britain's strongest naval base at Singapore.

*Japan's
"Vital
Necessities"*

However much the British may have profited by the Japanese Alliance in the past, the conditions have totally changed; and the British Government evidently intends to protect Australia and India by having the strongest and the best situated naval base anywhere in the Asiatic region. Japan, also, is not likely to profit henceforth by an Alliance that is not whole-hearted on both sides. We would invite attention to Mr. Kawakami's article in this number on Japan's necessities. This excellent writer, and respected publicist, who knows America as well as he knows his own country, has more than once in recent years interpreted Japanese points of view for the benefit of readers of this periodical. We are not publishing his statements and arguments because we accept them as unanswerable or conclusive. But it is quite essential that American readers should have Japanese views expressed by Japanese authorities, in order to understand how the best informed public opinion of Japan is considering the nation's external policies. Again we would remind our readers that Japan's position is the more difficult because the statesmen of that country must deal, at the same time, with the claims and arguments of the Western nations and with the uncertainties of Asia's future as illustrated by the possibilities of Russian revival, by the chance that China may establish a real government, and by other variable and as yet indeterminate factors.

*Population
and
Racial Claims*

Mr. Kawakami shows us how remarkably Japan is growing in population. There are indications, however, that some of the influences that tend to retard and control population growth in the more highly civilized nations of Europe are beginning to appear in Japan. The question inevitably arises in the minds of all thoughtful persons, to what extent the inconveniently rapid growth of population,

regardless of the scarcity or the lack of means of subsistence, creates a valid claim upon the lands and resources of other nations which have been growing more slowly and prudently, and with better foresight with regard to their future. Germany had been massing new increments of population even more assiduously than she had been expanding her industrial activities. And, by implication if not by direct assertion, Germany based her claim to dominate the world upon her unrestricted birthrate as compared with a death-rate diminished by sanitary improvements. The Japanese marry at a very early age, and encourage exceedingly large families. This is the real basis of the anxiety that exists in California with regard to what is now a comparatively small population element.

*Japan's
Rapid
Increase*

If a good many thousands of young "picture brides" had not been brought into California within a few years past, in grave disregard of the spirit of the "Gentleman's Agreement," there would have been no such thing as a Japanese problem in California. The most illuminating article that we have ever read on racial conditions and prospects in Hawaii is the one contributed to this number of our REVIEW by Mr. Riley Allen, Editor of the leading Honolulu newspaper. This article shows the rapid growth of Japanese population in Hawaii as due, henceforth, not to the arrival of immigrants but to the natural increase of the large Japanese element that has been in Hawaii for a good many years past. For the present, certainly, the fact that the population of Japan, which had been stable for several centuries, has almost doubled within the past half century under the stimulus of Japan's acceptance of a place in the larger world, must be admitted as constituting a legitimate problem for the leaders of the Japanese people. But as a dominating factor in the affairs of the Far East, Japan's population difficulties may not prove to hold a permanent place. Other factors, originating on the mainland of Asia, may counterbalance the racial advance of the Japanese.

*Japan's
Lead in
Sanitation*

It must be remembered that the Japanese have adopted, and have helped to develop, those ideas and methods of public and private hygiene that are beginning to work such marvelous changes in many parts of the world. Pre-

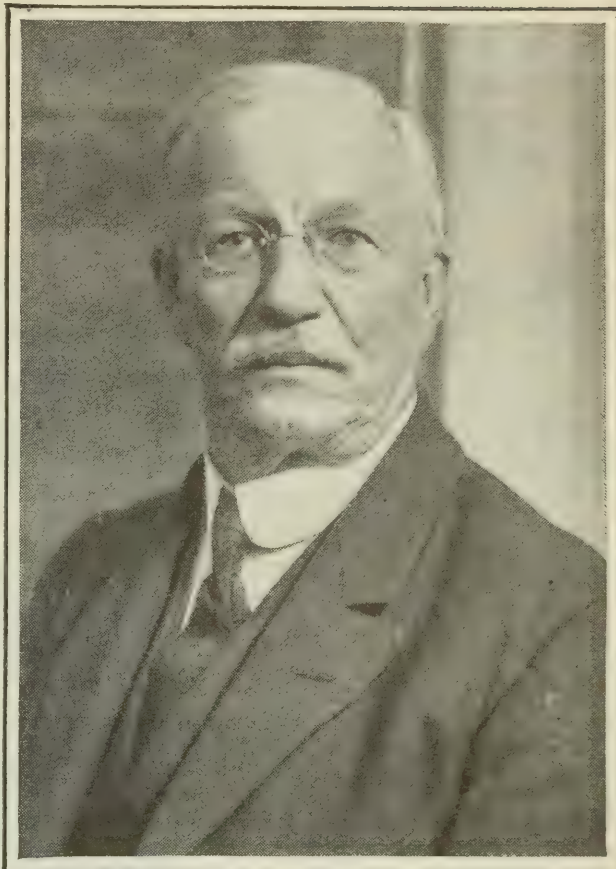
ventive medicine in the Japanese armies during the great campaign against the Russians some fifteen years ago was effective beyond anything that had ever been known before; and it was in marked contrast with the shameful lack of modern health administration in the camps and armies of the United States in our brief war with Spain only a few years before. The lesson that Japan had taught America and Europe saved the lives of more soldiers during the last Great War than were sacrificed by deadly weapons of all sorts. For this, as for many other things, the Japanese deserve credit and have gained the admiration of competent observers. But the Slavs and the Mongolians are also prolific stocks, and they too in the near future will have adopted the life-saving methods of modern sanitary science.

*America
Teaching
the Chinese*

Under American leadership, notably that of the Rocketteller Foundation, China is entering upon an era of training in preventive medicine and public health administration that within half a century may well turn out to have wrought wholly unexpected transformations. Mr. Kawakami states frankly that Japan is more interested in the Asiatic mainland for reasons of commerce than for purposes of colonization. He has in mind a Japan of intense home populations, devoted to manufacture and commerce, and dependent upon obtaining food and raw materials from Siberia, Manchuria and China, while also dependent upon marketing manufactured wares in those countries. Such policies may meet the conditions of the near future; and they may indeed be advantageous to all concerned. But Japan must not forget that modern impulses of the kind that have led to her present condition, with all its successes and its difficulties, will in the near future probably have stirred the peoples on the mainland of Asia to great achievements on their own part.

*Altruism
as a Factor
in Affairs*

When we comment upon American altruism as shown by helpful efforts on behalf of the people of other lands, it must not be supposed that we are sounding any note of American self-righteousness or complacency. It happens that we have been more favorably situated than other countries for rendering certain services at given moments. We have been extending a great deal of material and moral aid to the Chinese people, and we have



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PAUL MILIUKOV, FORMER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN RUSSIA

(Leader of the Constitutional Democratic and Social Revolutionary parties of old Russia, professor of law, and writer. He has come to America to present his views on the Russian situation to the American people)

thereby created interests that are quite as much entitled to recognition as are the political and commercial claims of European countries. We are now doing something of appreciable importance toward relieving the famine sufferers in Russia. That these relief efforts are inspired by commercial or political motives does not seem to be true to any extent. The Russians are a great people, who have contributed in the past to the world's prized store of literary and artistic wealth, while they have also had an essential place in the balanced economic prosperity of Europe. The fact that in losing their old Czaristic mechanism of government the Russian people have not yet substituted any responsible and permanent political institutions, and have therefore fallen victim to a temporary despotism far worse than anything in the past, should not blind us to realities. The Russians suffered and sacrificed more in the war than any of the other great powers that were involved. Their efforts made the ultimate victory of France and England possible. Their restoration is vital to Europe's return to political, social and economic health. Our altruistic aid in

relieving the appalling distress due to their famine, and to the breakdown of their industry and commerce, will have some important even if indirect bearing upon the course by which they will find their way back to a place among the nations.

*Subjects for
New
Conferences*

The present condition of Russia simply emphasizes for us all the necessity of coöperative action on the part of the responsible governments and peoples of the earth. Problems like those presented by the collapse of Russia and by the menace of Bolshevism can be met only by common proceedings. Every day the need of the right kind of an association of peoples becomes more evident. If the present conference meets reasonable expectations, it follows that the friendly and efficient nations of the world must proceed, either by a series of distinct conferences or by some other method, to deal with (1) the problems of the Near East which are crying for stable settlement on reasonable terms; (2) the distinct problems presented by Russia, Bolshevism, and the fragmentary political entities that have been more or less transiently established in districts formerly under Russian jurisdiction; (3) troublesome questions of an international bearing that relate to the former Hapsburg dominions and to the Balkan States; (4) problems that have to do with inflated and irredeemable currencies, fluctuating exchange, and public debts domestic and foreign; (5) problems that embrace all phases of maritime international law, the policing of the seas, the common use of certain waterways, and the

internationalizing of cable stations and various islands of small area but of importance from a general standpoint.

*Blending
of Asiatic
Races*

Mr. Riley Allen's timely article on the questions of race and education in Hawaii, to which we have already referred, shows plainly what is going to happen to race distinctions wherever the circumstances of our modern life create new environments. Old-time conditions tended to separation; and there resulted many languages and dialects, with tribal exclusiveness growing into a sense of radical race difference. Modern conditions on the other hand tend to over-ride these distinctions and to bring people together. Thus European races blend rapidly in the United States. Mr. Allen shows us how, in like manner, the Asiatic races are blending in our American island territory of Hawaii. This writer is not merely conversant with conditions in that group of islands, but has had unusual experience as an observer in Asia and in various other parts of the world. He believes that we are to have in Hawaii a new type of citizen, physically a superior Asiatic; but in education, language, and point of view a competent American. Doubtless we shall also see some marked tendencies toward a blending of peoples in the Philippine Islands. If one is to forecast the movements of mankind during the next century, one must lay aside many preconceptions that had hitherto been regarded as axiomatic. For instance, one must get rid of certain ideas about superior nations or superior races. If one really believes in the desirability of maintaining the leadership of the white European and American peoples, he must show his faith by his works. That is to say, he must help to promote close association of those nations, and to abolish separatism, rivalry, and destructive war. The white peoples can never survive another bloody contest on the scale of that through which they passed in the period from July, 1914, to Armistice Day, 1918.

*Armistice Day
as
Observed*

We had tried to forecast in our comments last month the significance of Armistice Day as the date fixed for the opening of the Conference at Washington. The facts more than justified our anticipation. The memorial services at the Arlington National Cemetery constituted one of the most impressive occasions in our entire history. President Hard-



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INDIA'S DELEGATE TO THE CONFERENCE (AT THE LEFT)

(Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, member of the Vice-Regal Council of the Government of India—accompanied by G. S. Bajpai)

ing's address paid tribute to the men who had served the country in uniform, and it rose to unusual heights of eloquence in its grave and sincere appeal for the ending of war, and the growth of accord and harmony in the world. Throughout the United States, November 11 was universally observed. Fortunately the armistice date is one that belongs to all nations and peoples, even to those who were not actively engaged in the recent contest at arms. President Harding, at the grave of the unknown soldier, among many appropriate expressions, uttered the following sentiment for the nation as a whole:

Standing to-day on hallowed ground, conscious that all America has halted to share in the tribute of heart, and mind, and soul to this fellow-American, and knowing that the world is noting this expression of the Republic's mindfulness, it is fitting to say that his sacrifice, and that of the millions dead, shall not be in vain. There must be, there shall be, the commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare.

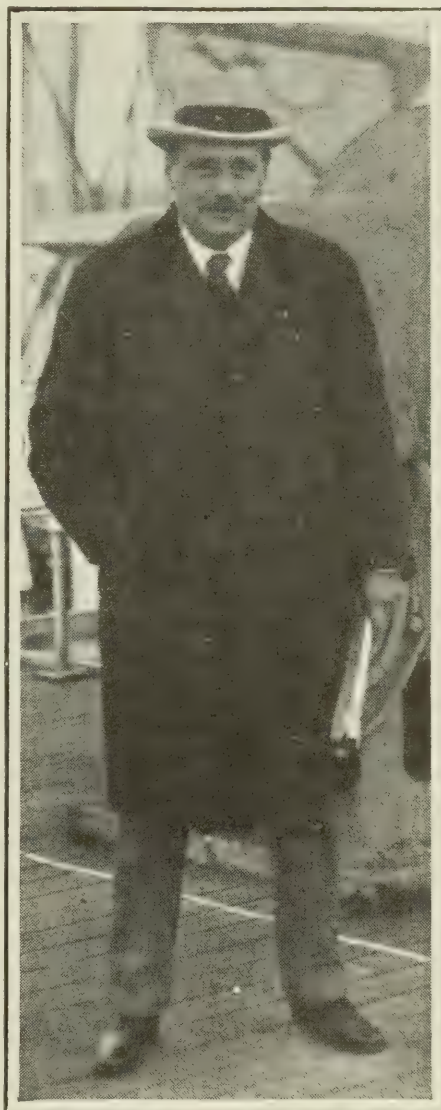
This "commanding voice of a conscious civilization" was the one thing above all others that characterized the observance of Armistice Day. And it was true in a literal as well as a figurative sense. The amplifying telephone had actually carried President Harding's voice to great audiences throughout the United States, where hundreds of thousands of people heard him as distinctly as those who were very near him at Arlington. A gathering of people probably 50,000 in number, within and without Madison Square Garden, in New York, heard the President's speech delivered.

Civilization and the "Commanding Voice"

The "commanding voice" of civilization demanding peace was heard echoing and reechoing throughout the world on Armistice Day. Cables and wireless services brought mes-

sages across oceans from all parts of the world. The British King, the French President, leaders of State and Church everywhere, sent greetings and expressed high hopes for the Conference. The correspondents and the newspapers rose to the occasion with a felicity and a high-mindedness that gave much encouragement regarding

the success of the deliberations. A world that is now so well served by agencies for the spread of intelligence must learn to avoid the disasters of militarism and must avail itself of the positive advantages of coöperation. Armistice Day each year must be observed on the international plane; and there might well be a conference of nations, for one definite purpose or another, beginning each year with the Armistice Day celebration. For it should be clearly understood, in the early days of the present Conference, that the chief gain of the Washington meetings must be in the realm of friendship and confidence; while particular problems that concern the world, and that are changing their aspects through dynamic forces, cannot be settled once and for all, but must be faced from time to time by the representatives of all the peoples whose interests are involved.



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MR. H. G. WELLS, THE NOTED
ENGLISH WRITER

(Now in the United States as an
observer at the Conference at Wash-
ington—see page 594)

*The Press
as a World
Influence*

The Confer-
ence at Wash-
ington is en-

tering upon its work in the bright glare of publicity. Many journalists spent an uncomfortable season in Paris during the peacemaking negotiations of the winter and spring of 1919. They were not very welcome, and they were hedged about by a worse than military censorship and were baffled by the secrecy of the diplomatic methods that prevailed. Washington, on the other hand, at the present moment is treating the press with as much deference as the delegated officials of

Governments. Our American papers are represented by exceptionally able, well-informed, and trustworthy writers at the national capital. As we remarked last month, the journalism of Great Britain, France, and other countries is brilliantly represented at Washington, and is to be given every reasonable opportunity to know what is going on. So far as America is concerned, the public opinion which dominates policy is dependent upon the intelligent service of the newspapers. President Harding, Secretary Hughes, Postmaster-General Hays, and other leaders at Washington fully understand this, and treat the writers with the dignity and justice which help the press to perform its necessary functions with a maximum of usefulness.

*H. G. Wells
at
Washington* Writers of world-wide influence, like Mr. H. G. Wells, are giving to this Conference the very best that lies in them. They seek to help the Conference reach its highest possible levels. Mr. Wells in particular has been championing the ideals of peace through coöperation, with powerful arguments. We are very glad to publish in this number an article about Mr. Wells, based upon a special interview with him for the readers of this magazine. The publishers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS deem it a well-timed thing that they have also become the publishers of a special edition of Mr. Wells' remarkable work, "The Outline of History," which tells the story of mankind as it has never been told by any other writer. This great narrative leads us with irresistible fascination from the obscure ages of prehistoric life, through the ups and downs of civilizations and empires, to the point where we now stand anxiously trying to peer into the mystery of our planet's future. It is this notable volume that furnishes the background for Mr. Wells' current articles, in which he demands international amity, and avows his belief that a working coöperation of peoples is the only hope for our civilization. On page 648 we are quoting from Mr. Wells' comments upon the opening of the Conference.

*The
November
Elections* Election Day this year occurred three days before Armistice Day; and the evidence of national accord was much greater on November 11 than was the evidence of partisanship or discord on November 8. Next Novem-

ber we shall have the Congressional elections, and there will then be some sort of verdict upon the first half of President Harding's term in office. But the notion, as expressed in a few newspapers, that the voting in this year's elections involved any attempt to pass upon the first few months of the Harding Administration, was entirely fantastic. Upon the whole, the country shows in many ways its satisfaction with the work of the Administration. Mr. Harding is stronger than he was on the November day of his election a year ago; and decidedly stronger than on inauguration day last March. The Republican Congress, meanwhile, has had very difficult problems to deal with, and many cross-currents to make plain sailing well-nigh impossible. It is true, therefore, that the Republican Congress is not so generally commended as is the Republican Administration.

*New York's
Campaign* So much for politics in the large sense. This year's contests at the polls were mainly local. The one that seemed to signify most was the municipal election in New York City. The great metropolis—now the foremost city of the world—belongs to the whole country almost as truly as to its actual citizens. The way in which it deals with many of its problems is followed more closely by municipal experts in Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and a hundred other cities than by most of the people who are entitled to vote in its populous boroughs. Municipal elections in New York come once in four years. The Mayor exercises a more important jurisdiction than the king or the president of many a small country. He appoints and organizes a series of great departments. He controls the greatest police service in the world, and indirectly he controls the most important public-school system anywhere existing. Those who represent advanced thought in the work of municipal government do not think that party politics should dominate municipal elections. This year the Republicans, Independent Democrats, and various civic organizations united in presenting an excellent ticket for the chief offices, headed by Major Henry H. Curran for Mayor.

*Tammany
and
Hylanism* Mr. John F. Hylan, who was elected Mayor four years ago (defeating John Purroy Mitchel, who was running for a second term), was once more the candidate of Tam-

many Hall. Tammany is in control of the machinery of the Democratic party, but it is local rather than national in its objects and its point of view, and it has never been an exponent of the principles of efficient government. Many of its members are excellent citizens, and some of its officials are capable, conscientious, and public-spirited. But its tone, generally speaking, is not as high as the average level of intelligence and public spirit of the city itself. An onlooking country, interested in the metropolis, had undoubtedly expected and desired the success of the Curran ticket. When the votes were counted and it was found that Mayor Hylan had been reelected for a second term by a plurality of more than 400,000, there was a great deal of surprise. Many intelligent citizens of New York actually engaged in the campaign were also surprised. Yet in point of fact there had never been much chance to defeat Mayor Hylan under existing circumstances. It was no fault, therefore, of Mr. Curran and his associates, for there was no ill-will against them; and the city would undoubtedly be glad enough to avail itself of the services of men so capable and experienced. Neither was the overwhelming success of the Hylan ticket any evidence of a particularly high regard for Mayor Hylan himself. In no quarter, and particularly among the real leaders of Tammany Hall, is Mr. Hylan regarded as a shining light. He is not a leader, and he has not shown himself expert as an administrator.

*A Victory
of the
Press*

The victory was won by the newspapers. This might at first seem paradoxical, because the *Times*, the *World*, the *Herald*, the *Tribune*, the *Sun*, the *Telegram*, the *Evening World*, the *Globe*, the *Mail*, and the *Evening Post* were all supporters of Curran, and had for a long time been sharp opponents of what they called Hylanism. What many people forget is that voters are influenced by the papers they read, and not by the papers they do not read. The *Tribune* and the *Evening Post* were so convincing that it is hard to believe that any regular reader of those excellent papers could possibly have voted for Hylan. Every day during the campaign the papers supporting Curran kept on with their good work of converting the readers who needed no conversion. This contributed nothing at all to the real situation. Meanwhile, the two Hearst newspapers, the *American* and the *Evening Journal*, had been supporting

Hylan constructively; that is to say, they had been educating their readers along the lines of certain issues that they declared to be fundamental.

*What the
Voters
Read*

Moreover, a little sheet called the *Illustrated Daily News*, a new paper of whose existence many people are not aware, has now attained the largest circulation of any morning newspaper in New York; and it was a Hylan supporter. Certain foreign-language newspapers, and particularly the largest of the Jewish (Yiddish) dailies, were also supporting Hylan. Making a quick and rough estimate, subject to revision, we would guess that the newspapers supporting Mr. Curran had a circulation of a round 1,000,000 copies a day, and that the newspapers supporting Mr. Hylan had a circulation of approximately 1,800,000. The newspapers supporting Hylan are read more carefully in homes, because they are sentimental, and they are edited with special reference to workers and their families, having in mind particularly the women voters, who were for the first time taking part in a city election. These newspapers had made the public believe that there was one overwhelming issue, namely, that of the common people as championed by the Hylan administration, against powerful, monopolistic corporations, and against associated landlords who keep up high rents. The only wonder is that Hylan did not have a much larger majority, instead of a mere 400,000. The people were made to believe that Hylan had secured them against an increase of the 5-cent fare.

*New York
Will not
Go Back*

In our opinion, Mr. Curran and his associates had a much better program than the Tammany candidates, and were far better qualified to manage the affairs of the city. But it must be remembered that municipal progress is mainly a matter of advancing civilization. The second Hylan administration will have to heed the demand for enlarged school facilities. It will be compelled to improve police administration. It will function in the presence of active and alert civic groups and bodies watching the work of every department. The health administration, for example, has been showing a decreasing death rate, and services of this kind will not be wrecked by reason of a municipal election. The average conditions of life in America's greatest city, when one studies the facts

closely, seem to be steadily improving from one decade to another.

*Voting
in Various
Places*

There were elections in various parts of the country that turned mostly upon local issues. In Kentucky, the Democrats elected majorities in both branches of the new legislature; but this, after all, is merely a return to the normal. The interesting campaign for the governorship of Virginia resulted in victory for the Hon. E. Lee Trinkle, the Democratic candidate, while Mr. Anderson's gallant campaign at least gave the Republicans a standing in the State that they had not previously enjoyed. The Democrats elected a legislature in Maryland, carried the city of Baltimore, and elected a State Comptroller. The Republicans of New Jersey elected strong majorities in both houses of the legislature, which will give them a continuing power to check the initiative of Governor Edwards. The municipal elections in Pennsylvania showed disregard of party lines, but in Pittsburgh Hon. William A. Magee (Rep.) was chosen Mayor by a 45,000 majority. In Ohio, there were municipal elections which, in Cleveland, for instance, resulted in a majority for the city manager form of government, and which in Cincinnati gave a plurality of nearly 30,000 for Mr. George Prescott Carrel (Rep.) as Mayor. The Ohio voters also authorized a bonus grant of \$25,000,000 for ex-service men. Michigan voters in Detroit reelected Mayor James Couzens. In Indiana the well-known former Mayor of Indianapolis, S. L. Shank (Rep.), came to the front again and won an easy victory.

*Tendencies
and
Soldier Aid*

While the elections have given the Democratic party some encouragement as they look forward to next year, they have not in any manner discouraged the Republicans. It is very desirable that there should be two strong parties. The Socialists cut a very poor figure in the New York election, and they made no impression anywhere in the country. The State of New York as a whole exhibited no serious reaction from the masterful but sincere and capable administration of Governor Miller, although up-State cities showed a decided Democratic tendency. The most important action in New York was the State-wide vote on a constitutional amendment which proposed to give preference to ex-service men in civil service appointments and

promotions. This amendment was well intended on the part of those who had proposed it, but it was unsound in principle, and it was defeated. In several States some plan or system of soldiers' bonus was approved. Several months ago we gave a summary of bonus enactments up to date, and in the near future we shall recapitulate the more recent State undertakings in this direction.

*English
Language
Officialized*

Next in importance of the referendum votes in the State of New York was that which proposed a literacy test for voting, and a knowledge of the English language. This amendment carried in every one of the Boroughs of New York City in spite of large foreign populations, and of course it prevailed throughout the State, where foreigners are not so numerous. It should be noted, therefore, that in so far as the largest State of the Union is concerned, the adoption of this amendment makes English the official language, requires literacy as a voting test, and records these decisions in the organic law. Those reformers who have been discouraged because of the victory of Hylianism should be cheered by knowing that a very large majority in New York City supported an enlightened plan for broadening the jurisdiction of children's courts, all in the interest of a finer civilization. Altogether, there were eight propositions voted upon by the people of the State of New York; and the *Tribune*, which had deplored the success of Hylianism, declared that "this year's referendum was intelligent and conscientious." Undoubtedly the plan of referring questions of broad interest directly to the voters is on the increase in the United States.

*North
Dakota
Reacts*

Thus, unquestionably, the principle of the referendum has been accepted in the United States, though its application takes different forms in different places. In Western States, the plans for initiating laws and for referring questions to the people for mass decision are more complete than in the conservative States of the East. Of all the recent appeals to the popular verdict, the most striking one has been in the State of North Dakota. It occurred on a special date, namely, October 28, some ten days before the general election day. North Dakota had been under control of the Non-Partisan League. This movement, mainly one of organized farmers, had been developed under the energetic lead-



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POSTMASTER-GENERAL WILL HAYS AT HIS DESK IN THE POSTOFFICE DEPARTMENT.
ON HIS FORTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY

(Although especially occupied last month, he found time to write for the readers of this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS the best account of the relations of the postal service to the American public that has ever appeared in print)

ership of Mr. A. C. Townley. Locally, in North Dakota, the head of the movement was Governor Lynn J. Frazier. Among the political arrangements existing in North Dakota is one which permits the people to initiate a vote for the "recall" of officials. The Non-Partisan League, which has been in full control for five years, has given partial effect to a very radical program, including a great State bank, grain elevators, and flour mills. The attempt has been made in North Dakota to use the State government as a coöperative business agency, with the idea that North Dakota as a farming State was suffering unduly from the methods of railroad companies, grain-buying corporations, the great millers and merchants of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, and in short from organized capital in general. But State Socialism as a working program has not been a convincing success; and so the people of North Dakota have themselves condemned it by a vote which recalls Governor Frazier and other officials, and which places in office Hon. R. A. Nestos as Governor. Five years ago Governor Frazier was elected by a four-to-one majority. He was subsequently reëlected with diminishing support. The reaction in North Dakota will not completely undo the work of the Non-Partisan

League, for undoubtedly North Dakota will be to some extent a gainer in the end by reason of its endeavors to remodel its institutions to meet its own peculiar conditions.

*Will Hays
and the
Postal Service*

A two-day meeting of the New York Academy of Political Science was held last month, its five sessions being devoted to the general subject of industrial relations under present conditions in the United States. The proceedings were of exceptional interest, and will soon be published in a volume. One of the sessions was devoted to the topic of governmental employment, whether national, State, or local. Two speakers, testifying from personal knowledge, paid high tribute to the Hon. Will H. Hays, Postmaster-General, for the efforts he has been making to improve the postal service by considering the welfare of the men and women whom the Government employs. There are about 325,000 of these postal employees. Their efforts bring Uncle Sam closer to the people than any other agency. Mr. Hays himself has given time and careful effort to the presentation for our readers, in this number of the REVIEW, of a word-picture of the postal service, and an explanation of the methods and the policies that are stimulating that

service under his skilful and energetic management. After all, the Post Office is our foremost mechanism for the spread of culture and for the unifying of our citizenship. It comes nearer to performing the kindly offices of a national Santa Claus in the month of December than any or all other agencies. In improving the morale of the postal service, Mr. Hays is also increasing its efficiency. No Postmaster-General has ever more strongly expressed the wish and the purpose to rid the postal service of the bane of political patronage or jobbery. We are fortunate in offering our readers this admirable article written for them by the Postmaster-General in a month of exceptional pressure and difficulty.

*Unrest
and the
Remedy*

Evidently Uncle Sam is at last becoming more self-conscious as an employer, and is proposing to avail himself of the best experience that has been gained in private industry. Much of the discussion in the sessions of the Academy to which we have already referred was highly encouraging, as showing that improved ways are being found for securing a true coöperation between workers on the one side and those who manage and direct employing industries on the other hand. Mr. Rowntree, an eminent English publicist who is also the head of a large industry, made an inspiring address in which he demanded for the workers (1) good wages, (2) good working conditions, (3) security in the retention of employment, and (4) some kind of participation in the conduct and the success of the industry. He laid the greatest stress upon security of employment. At this moment, the danger of losing one's job is in England the thing that causes more fear and unhappiness probably than any other one factor of the present economic unrest. In his own business, Mr. Rowntree has found a way to overcome this evil.

*Unionism
and Its
Critics*

There are aspects of unionism that in recent months here in the United States have not commended themselves to fair-minded onlookers. Strike threats have been too little regardful of public rights and of actual economic circumstances. On the side of employers, however, the best remedy is not indicated by the disposition to put unionism in the wrong in order to crush it with the help of public opinion. Unionism in the past has been contending against some very real evils and

grievances, and it has played no small part in helping to lift the level of our standards of living, and to keep them from falling back. But unionism has its great defects as well as its virtues. It cannot supply that motive for friendly co-working, and for good industrial results, that it belongs chiefly to the employers to furnish, by their own methods of dealing with their wage-earning helpers. In some industries, if not in all, the employers ought to do so much to enlist the cheerful loyalty of employees that there could be no question of strikes, much less of sabotage and criminal assault, of the kind that was charged against striking milk-drivers in New York last month.

*Railroad
Labor*

In later paragraphs we are discussing the abandonment of the great railroad strike that had been ordered. Railroad labor is under the spell of a very ill-advised governmental control, which has unfortunately led the Brotherhoods to think that they are somehow entitled to better wages than are paid to people in other lines of employment. The facts are wholly against this contention. Sooner or later railroad labor must strike the true level. The worst phase of the situation is the attempt at a nation-wise treatment of kinds of labor that ought to be subject to local or regional conditions. Railroad management has been chastened by sad experience; and if each railroad could now have the chance to deal with its own labor problems, free from the meddlesome and wholly useless interference of public commissions, the outcome would be best for all interests. Collective bargaining is subject to great abuses; but these can now be met only by practical proof that employers can do better for their men on the open-shop plan, or the plan of individual contract, than by dealing impersonally with their men through union officials.

*Britain's
Premier
and Ireland*

The absence of Mr. Lloyd George from the opening scenes at Washington last month was keenly regretted. If his endeavors to find a basis of agreement and accord between Great Britain and Ireland should be crowned with success, permitting him to cross the Atlantic and take his seat in the Conference at a later date, he would receive in America an almost unprecedented welcome. Most thoughtful Americans have always believed that the Irish question was due in the main to a series of misunderstandings and deep



A RECENT REUNION OF PREMIER DAVID LLOYD GEORGE'S FAMILY

(Mr. Lloyd George, who has been Prime Minister for the past five years, has been the most energetic figure in British administration for a much longer period. Even his enemies admit that he is a political genius. The critical state of the Irish negotiations detained him in England last month, but he may yet come to head the British delegation at Washington. The above picture shows the family group at the Premier's home in Downing Street. From left to right, are: Miss Megan Lloyd George, Mrs. Lloyd George, with a married daughter, Mrs. Carey Evans, beyond the Premier. The two children are daughters of Mrs. Carey Evans)

seated prejudices. The uncompromising and antagonistic attitude of certain leaders at Belfast, and in three or four neighboring counties, was the chief surviving difficulty last month. The situation had reached a point where Ulster's own interests, as well as those of Ireland at large, of Great Britain, of the British Empire, and of the whole civilized world, were waiting for the birth of a new spirit of generosity at Belfast. The Ulstermen are Irish too; and they have only to accept this fact to win a leading place in

the public affairs of the Island, while also finding their merits recognized at large, quite as are those of Scotchmen today. It is hard to be tolerant of intolerance; and Mr. Lloyd George was dealing with problems of human nature last month, with amazing skill.

The Senate Tax Bill

On November 8 the Senate passed its Revenue bill after a final continuous session of more than fifteen hours. The measure then went to the conferees of the Senate and the House, for reconciliation of the differences between their respective bills. The most important features of the Senate bill were the repeal of the excess-profits tax and of all transportation taxes, beginning January 1, 1922, and the reduction of the surtax rates on individual incomes all along the line, with a maximum rate fixed at 50 per cent. instead of the present maximum of 65 per cent. An unexpected amendment, proposed and passed at the last moment, entered a field of taxation new to this country—a graduated tax on all gifts of money or property in excess of \$20,000. This addition to the bill was obviously not meant primarily for revenue-raising purposes, but to penalize the practice by some persons of large means of distributing their property or portions of it among their immediate relatives, or of making gifts to their wives of a substantial portion of their capital, for the purpose of reducing the total surtaxes to be paid on the aggregate family income.



TWO LEADING SINN FEIN NEGOTIATORS

(Mr. Arthur Griffiths [left] is the head of the Irish committee authorized to negotiate with Mr. Lloyd George for a settlement of the Irish question; and Mr. E. J. Duggan [right] is a member of the group)

*Other Details
of the
Bill*

Active efforts were made during the debate to provide for a soldiers'-bonus program, but without success. Senator Smoot brought up again his plan of taxation, much favored by thoughtful people who are uninfluenced by political considerations, for a 3 per cent. manufacturers' levy, a 10 per cent. corporation tax, a 32 per cent. maximum individual surtax rate, and a capital-stock tax. In rejecting these proposals, it was plainly stated by proponents of the soldiers'-bonus plan that a sales tax would be needed and would come, but that it would come coupled with the bonus legislation, making such legislation financially possible. The Senate bill, as passed, repeals the taxes on parcel-post packages, proprietary medicines, toilet articles, pianos, insurance premiums, moving-picture films, ice-cream, chewing-gum, sporting-goods, and several other articles. Individual incomes of \$5000 or less would pay smaller taxes through increased exemption of \$500 for the head of the family, and an exemption increase of \$200 for each dependent. The corporation income tax was increased from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent., as were the taxes on large estates and medicinal liquors.

*What
it Amounts
To*

So far as concerns the carrying out of pledges to reduce our war taxes, the Senate bill did not make appreciable reductions in the burden. A man with \$6000 income would pay \$160 instead of the present tax of \$170. The \$10,000 income would pay \$520 instead of \$590. The \$25,000 man would pay \$2560 instead of \$2880. An income of \$100,000 would be taxed \$30,140 instead of \$31,190. A man receiving \$1,000,000 is taxed \$550,640 as against \$663,190. It is plain from these figures that the Senate's handling of the higher surtaxes would have practically no effect at all in preventing wealthy citizens from taking refuge in tax-exempt securities—which was a chief consideration in the matter of making reductions in these higher surtax rates. The plain fact is that with the exception of the repeal of excess-profits taxes and transportation taxes, there is no change in the old revenue law made here that was particularly worth making.

*Money
Becoming
Cheaper Again*

The extraordinary depression in business throughout 1921 will make the tax returns for this year look meager as compared with those of the past three or four years, especially in the

matter of corporation returns of excess profits, and also that of individual incomes. This stagnation in trade and industry, by releasing large volumes of money and credit, itself prepares the way for a future resumption of activity, as is seen in the course of the Federal Reserve Bank's ratio of reserves and in the cutting of money rates. By the first week in November, the ratio of reserve had climbed to 71 per cent. In the uncertain months of the climax of the boom and after, the reserve had been hovering around 40 per cent., dangerously near the level of the legal requirement. On November 2 the Federal Reserve Board announced that further cuts were to be made in the discount rate of the banks of the Reserve districts. The rate for the New York and Philadelphia districts was cut to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the lowest known for years. With so much less doing in business, less money is needed; and with the increased supply driving down interest rates, the Government is able to market its certificates at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., pointing the way clearly to a much lower bank rate than has been seen for many months.

*Our Gold
Store Still
Mounting*

Although the United States has had for months more than 46 per cent. of all the gold in the world, and very much more than any other three countries combined, the steady flow to this country of the precious metal shows no sign of abatement. During October, imports of gold were coming in at the rate of more than \$40,000,000 per month; and by October 20 the total imports received since January 1 of this year were \$593,000,000. During the same period, our total exports of gold were only \$15,800,000. Thus, although our gold holdings had already by January 1 last mounted to figures never before known for any time or country, the mere net addition to this aggregate gold supply of the United States, during this year, amounts to more than twice Germany's present entire gold store. By October 15, Germany's gold had decreased to practically one billion marks, or less than a quarter of a billion dollars. In the meantime, the value of Germany's paper mark has been fading away with increasing rapidity and seems to be following the course of Austrian kronen. In the first half of November the German mark had declined to about one sixty-sixth of its par value. Nearly three hundred marks could be purchased for one American dollar, as compared with four before the war.

*Plan for a
World
Bank*

The frightful chaos in international exchange resulting from such currency depreciation as the year has seen in Germany and other countries of Europe has made the problem of renewing normal international trade seem veritably hopeless. Our own exports are scarcely half what they were. The more gold that we draw from distracted and inflated Europe, the worse becomes the situation. It has become so bad in recent months that many thoughtful observers are expecting a cataclysm of one sort or another—social or financial, or both—unless there is some vigorous and concerted international action to stabilize exchange and start trade anew with some medium other than the depreciated currencies of Europe. Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip has advocated a world bank with a capital of \$1,000,000,000. In line with this suggestion Senator Hitchcock has introduced a bill in Congress providing for such an international bank on an even more ambitious scale—one with \$2,400,000,000 capital, \$1,300,000,000 of this to be subscribed by the United States Government (which would have thirteen out of the twenty-four directors), \$200,000,000 to be offered to private bankers, and the remaining \$900,000,000 to be offered for subscription to any solvent European countries that “enter into an arrangement with the United States for armament reduction for the purpose of assuring solvency.”

*What Such
a Bank
Could Do*

Senator Hitchcock would call this gigantic conception the Bank of Nations. It would buy and sell exchange, lend money to exporters and importers, and would issue currency to be known as the International Dollar, such issues to be limited only by provision for a 35 per cent. reserve. These notes would be redeemable in gold or in the currency of any country at its gold value. The two to three billions of International Dollars thus created would become the medium of international exchange, instead of gold. Senator Hitchcock points out that of all business transacted, more than nine-tenths is done on credit, and that every nation has its institutions to supply the necessary credit; but that in the present upheaval and confusion, international credit has vanished and would be restored by the Bank of Nations. This plan would give the United States the chance to use its present vast store of gold, which is not now at

work; it would prevent the rapid fluctuations in exchange which now make it dangerous to undertake international ventures, and credits could be granted to individuals engaged in foreign trade of sufficient duration to allow them to “turn around.”

*National
Debts of
1921*

If Germany could pay all of her national debts in paper currency, she would be marvelously well off as compared with other important nations. But of course she has to settle the Reparation claims in gold marks and not the paper ones that are being frantically turned out by Government printing presses. Mr. Austin, the statistician of the National City Bank, places Germany's present national debt, with the mark figured at par, at \$71,000,000,000. If this huge sum were calculated on the basis of the present depreciated value of the mark, it would reach the fantastic result of some sixty or seventy times \$71,000,000,000.

*The World's
New Debt
Habit*

This statistician finds that the national debts of the world are in the aggregate ten times as much now as at the beginning of the World War, having increased from \$43,000,000,000 in 1913 to \$205,000,000,000 in 1918, and to something like \$400,000,000,000 at the present time. The interest charges on these national debts came to something like \$1,500,000,000 per year in the war period and are now about \$15,000,000,000 per year. Mr. Austin finds that the governments of the world contracted a fatal habit, when debt-making was forced on them during the war period. Most of the important countries of the world have become so accustomed to showing a deficit at the end of the year, and have become so hardened to using the simple device of printing vast volumes of additional paper currency to make things come out even (on paper), that there is as yet no let-up whatever in the increase of debts and deficits. Of the more important countries—forty-two of which show a total debt of \$382,000,000,000—one finds France with \$51,000,000,000, Great Britain with \$38,000,000,000, the United States with \$24,000,000,000, Italy with \$18,600,000,000, Czechoslovakia with \$9,000,000,000, and Rumania with \$5,000,000,000. The star performer however, when the meagerness of her resources are considered, is undoubtedly the new Poland, which shows a total debt of \$69,000,000,000, more than that of either France or Great Britain.

*Disarming
at
Last*

When, on November 12, Secretary Hughes took the breath away from the civilized world by his forthright and specific naval disarmament proposals, the first step was made toward some conceivable future settlement of these astounding national debts. The time of despairing talk seemed about to end, giving place to a fair fight for solvency and order in the world. The American proposals, briefly, are for the scrapping of 66 great battleships and the limitation of our own fleet to 500,000 tons, Great Britain's to 600,000 and Japan's to 300,000. Experts have hastily figured that the United States alone will save from such a program about \$200,000,000 a year, or the interest on more than four billion dollars. But it is clear that these figures, based on present and past performances, do not by any means measure the lightening of the financial burden over the next ten years. For, earlier in our generation, first-class battleships have cost only four or five million dollars. A little later they were costing ten or fifteen millions; then twenty-five or thirty millions, and the newest monsters projected would probably have cost fifty to seventy-five million dollars for each ship. Such a wild acceleration of cost means that in limiting replacement ships to a tonnage of 35,000, Secretary Hughes' proposals provide for savings of which the minimum may be two hundred millions a year, with the maximum a larger and entirely indefinite figure.

*The Railroad
Strike Called
Off*

On October 27 the heads of the railway labor unions canceled the strike orders that had been issued some two weeks before, and the threatened tie-up of the country's transportation lines was averted. The dramatic reversal of the unions' program followed the conference in Chicago between the labor leaders and the Railway Labor Board. The case for the people was put before the Brotherhoods by Commissioner Ben W. Hooper of the Public Group of the Labor Board. The wage reduction of 12½ per cent. put into effect on July 1 last was, of course, accepted by the unions. The Labor Board promised that it would not consider future wage reductions until it had finished its work in dealing with the question of rules and working conditions, and there were intimations that these problems would occupy the board for a considerable time, perhaps until next July. The union leaders were ob-

viously glad to have an opportunity of canceling the strike orders with any kind of "satisfactory" settlement. Public opinion was strongly against the strike. The employees were in the position of striking against the Government, rather than against their railroad employers. The Administration had already taken extraordinary and efficient steps toward protecting the interests of the public in the event of a railway tie-up.

*No
Final
Settlement*

The result was, of course, a definite triumph for the Labor Board, which had been regarded more or less openly by many on both sides of the controversy as a body without authority to give effective force to its decisions. The whole country is to be congratulated on escaping for the time the confusion and waste of a general railway strike. It cannot, however, be said by anyone willing to face the facts that the so-called "settlement" of the strike has done more than postpone a final decision of the exceedingly important questions involved. The country is clamoring for lower freight rates; even with the present higher freight rates the railroads will earn this year only about half as much as Congress, in the Esch-Cummins Act, decided they should earn as the minimum that would allow them to give adequate service and obtain the new capital absolutely necessary to make the improvements and additions required by the growth of industry and population. The recent controversy aroused by the strike threats has more than ever convinced observers that it will be necessary for the community at large, and for the best interests of the whole body of railway workers themselves, to make further reductions in wages and to translate such reductions immediately into lower freight rates. The railroad executives are already at work on applications to be made to the Labor Board for a wage reduction of 10 per cent. from the present level.

*Why Wages
Must
Come Down*

No one would say or wish to say of any railroad employee or any class of railroad employees that the wage now paid is, absolutely speaking, too high. In a more perfect world, such a wage ought to be even larger than it is now or ever has been. But the present question is peculiarly one of *relative* wages and relative costs, because the one great obstacle to a return to prosperity and to the getting of jobs by millions of the unemployed is the

fact that costs and wages in some industries are so much out of line with costs and wages in other industries. Until this unevenness in the processes of production is ironed out, there can be no activity of industry that will give jobs to all who need them.

*The Farmer
and
Freight Rates*

The chief topic of Americans and their keenest concern is the ending of the present business depression, which is bound to cause real trouble to the army of unemployed during the coming winter. No one has done more to put the problem and its solution clearly and simply than Mr. George E. Roberts, of the National City Bank of New York. In a recent bulletin of that institution, Mr. Roberts quotes portions of correspondence between a Nebraska farmer and a great implement manufacturer which are very illuminating. The farmer writes to the manufacturer that he needs a wagon, but that he finds he must pay for it the price of 650 bushels of corn, although he could buy it for 200 bushels before the war—which means that he cannot get the wagon. The manufacturer replies at length, showing that the freight charges on the corn sent to Chicago and on the wagon sent to the farmer together amount to \$89.40; that the reason for this is that the railroad shops have to pay 43 cents an hour for an eight-hour day and time-and-a-half overtime, and that if more than one hour's overtime is worked, five hours' additional compensation is charged—this in face of the fact that the going rate of labor is 30 cents an hour. It is added that locomotive engineers are getting from \$3500 to \$5000 a year, and that much the same conditions are present in the coal mines. The manufacturer shows that even at the higher price now charged he is losing 20 per cent. on his wagon, and that his total loss this year will be more than his profit in any year of the war boom.

*What Farm
Products
Will Buy*

Thus the farmer and the manufacturer are working for very much smaller wages than they were getting before the war. The railroad employee still receives about 100 per cent. more than he was paid before the war, and the result is that the farmer cannot buy his wagon and the manufacturer cannot make it for him—with the resulting increase of overhead on the relatively few wagons that can be made at that plant. Professor Warren, of the Department of Agriculture, has

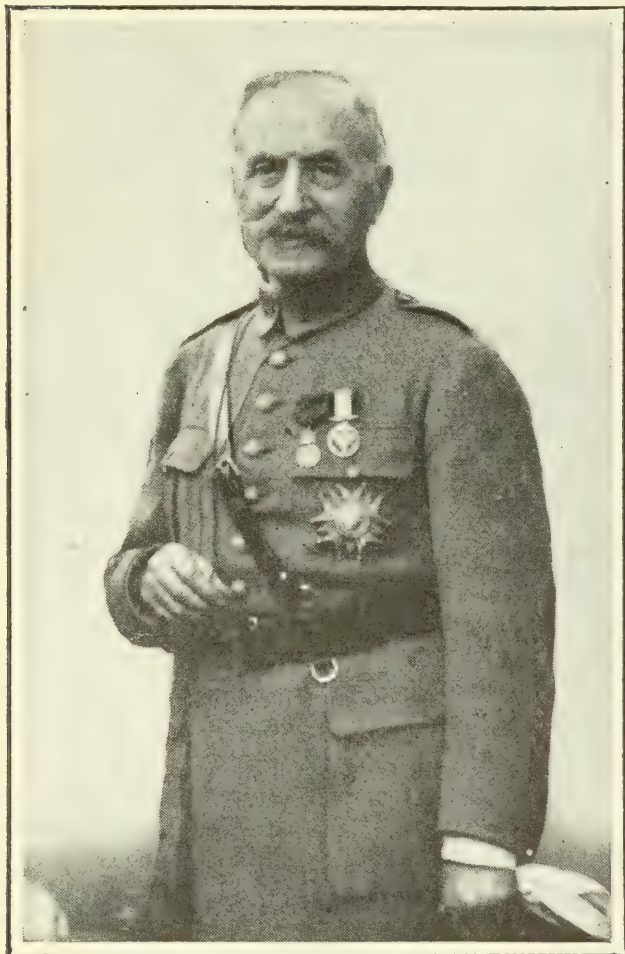
recently published a table showing the purchasing value of a number of farm products measured in other staple products as compared with their purchasing value before the war. He puts a five-year average before the war as 100, and finds that in June, 1921, the farmer's corn was worth only 61, oats 60, barley 53, wheat 93, corn 56, cotton 51, potatoes 64, sheep 66, hogs 67, and horses 45. "Practically nothing that the farmer sells can be exchanged for the usual quantity of other things. It is physically impossible for farmers to absorb the products of the factories."

*Bearing on
Railway
Wages*

It is simply not practicable for any one or more well-organized groups of workers to maintain permanently earnings much higher than those of many other large or larger groups. The argument of the head of one of the Railroad Brotherhoods against wage reductions that there are thousands of men out of work, while thousands of others are living on a few days' work a month, is really an argument for a reduction of wages and costs. When wages and costs are high enough to force unemployment, because other groups cannot buy the product, there is but one remedy, and that is realignment. It is literally true that in the present situation a proper readjustment of the railway wage rate would work to the advantage of the whole body of railroad employees. What is a proper readjustment is, of course, a highly technical and delicate question. So far as the ability of the railroad industry to pay wages at the present rate, and at the same time reduce freight rates to anything like the point they should soon reach, we have entirely convincing figures. For every dollar that came to the railroads last year, 59.9 cents went to labor, 17.3 cents went for materials and supplies, 10.9 cents for locomotive fuel, 4.5 cents for taxes, 2.4 cents for depreciation, 2 cents for losses, 1 cent for hire of equipment, and 1 cent for injuries to persons and insurance. This figures up 99 cents, leaving exactly 1 cent out of the dollar for hire of capital, extensions and improvements, retirement of bonds, and profits for stockholders. Two conclusions seem to be unescapable: For business to regain its tone, in order to give work to everyone, we must have lower freight rates; to have lower freight rates, the only possible way is to arrange some orderly reduction of wages.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From October 15 to November 15, 1921)



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MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH

(In America to return the visit of the "doughboys," as guest of the American Legion. He participated in the convention at Kansas City, received a degree at Yale, and was royally entertained by many cities as the outstanding figure of the war)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

October 18.—The Senate ratifies the peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary—voting 66 to 20, with 14 Democrats aiding the majority.

The House extends the Emergency Tariff law to February 1, voting 197 to 74; the bill goes to the Senate.

October 22.—The Senate, voting 54 to 13, adopts a 50 per cent. maximum surtax on all incomes over \$200,000. (the former rate was 65 per cent.); the reduction to 32 per cent., proposed by the House, is rejected 51 to 15.

October 24.—The House passes, 199 to 177, a bill creating a commission on foreign debts, including the Secretary of the Treasury, with power to arrange terms for refunding of the \$10,000,000,000 due from the Allies.

October 26.—The Senate repeals the excess-profits taxes January 1, 1922, without record vote;

the Democrats had fought the repeal bitterly.

October 27.—The House unanimously censures Thomas L. Blanton (Dem., Texas), for inserting obscene and indecent language in the *Congressional Record*.

The Senate committee investigating the West Virginia mine strike is informed by the coal operators that they will have nothing to do with the United Mine Workers or their plan of mediation through Judge Taft.

October 28.—In the Senate, the Revenue bill is amended, 36 to 26, to place a flat 15 per cent. levy on incomes of corporations.

October 31.—The Senate votes 47 to 16 for a capital-stock tax of a dollar per thousand up to \$3,000,000, and two dollars per thousand above that.

November 1.—The Senate appoints a committee to hear evidence bearing out statements of Mr. Watson (Dem., Ga.) that American soldiers were hanged in France without proper trial.

November 2.—The Senate completes adoption by Congress of a resolution declaring November 11, 1921, Armistice Day, a national holiday.

In the House, 198 to 76, a bill is passed authorizing \$4,000,000 to complete the construction of the Alaskan railroad.

November 3.—The Senate defeats the sales-tax proposal of Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) by vote of 43 to 25; 17 Republicans join 26 Democrats in defeating the measure; all committee amendments are now disposed of.

The Senate concurs with the House in approving a conference report on the Good Roads Bill; \$75,000,000 is appropriated by the Government to aid State highway construction.

November 5.—In the Senate, the proposal of Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) to retain the excess-profits tax and use the proceeds for a soldier bonus is defeated, 38 to 28; five Republicans favor it.

November 7.—The House Interstate Commerce Committee reports favorably the Sheppard-Towner Bill for protection of maternity and infancy, with an initial appropriation of \$450,000 and a million dollars a year for five years in State aid (the Senate has passed the bill).

November 8.—The Senate passes the amended tax-revision bill, 38 to 24, three Republicans voting against it; its estimated yield is \$3,250,000,000 by June 30, 1922, less by \$200,000,000 than the present law.

The Senate adopts a resolution offered by Mr. Harrison (Dem., Miss.), requesting American representatives to procure full publicity of the proceedings of the Washington Conference, and to keep a permanent record.

November 10.—The House accepts the Senate's amendment extending the Emergency Tariff until a permanent schedule is adopted, rather than for sixty days only.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 18.—Secretary Weeks announces that thirty licenses have been issued since March 1 for 1,269,000 hp. in water-power developments, and that twenty-four preliminary permits aggregating 1,280,000 hp. have been granted.

October 19.—Charles H. Nauts is confirmed as Internal Revenue Collector in Ohio's Tenth District, Senator Willis having agreed with the President on patronage in Ohio.

October 21.—The American Railway Labor Board assumes jurisdiction in the threatened strike, and orders leaders of both sides to appear before it in a hearing concerning wages, rules, and working conditions.

October 22.—The Interstate Commerce Commission orders a 20 per cent. rate reduction in railroad freight tariffs on Western hay and grain, enunciating the principle of reasonableness and fairness rather than the basis of operating costs in determining future rates.

Robert E. Tod becomes United States Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York.

October 23.—Railroad clerks, freight handlers, express and station employees numbering 350,000 veto the "Big Five's" proposed strike, making 1,400,000 men opposed to the move.

October 24.—The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, releases the beer-prescription ruling of former Attorney-General Palmer; it permits physicians to prescribe two and one-half gallons of beer or two quarts of wine as often as necessary for medicinal purposes; but only one pint of alcohol is allowed per patient within ten days.

October 25.—The Railway Labor Board asks railroads to announce abandonment of further wage cuts for the present, informing them it will be seven months, perhaps, before they can dispose of rules and working conditions, first to be settled; the roads refuse (see p. 582).

October 26.—President Harding, speaking at Birmingham, Ala., on its fiftieth anniversary, tells an audience of blacks and whites there must be equality in political and economic life, though strong divergence socially.

October 27.—The railroad strike called for November 1 is declared off by the labor-union leaders, who realize that public opinion is against them after an open hearing by the Board.

October 28.—The voters of North Dakota, in a special election, "recall" Governor Lynn J. Frazier (Non-Partisan League) and elect R. A. Nestos (Independent) by 4000 majority.

October 29.—The Railway Labor Board decides that no change may be made in rules, working conditions, or wages without its authority.

October 31.—Judge A. B. Anderson, of the Federal District Court at Indianapolis, enjoins the United Mine Workers from unionizing, even by peaceful means, the Williamson coal field in West Virginia, and also enjoins the "check off" system.

New York City's Board of Estimate adopts a 1922 budget of \$350,516,524—more than a hundred millions higher than four years ago.

November 1.—Cordell Hull, of Tennessee, is elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee, succeeding George White.

November 2.—A federal judge at New York decides that 8 per cent. is a fair rental profit based on the total value of the fee as of April 1,

1920; a State court had ruled for 10 per cent. on present total value; organized tenants fight for a ruling on the basis of landlord's equity.

November 4.—The Federal Court of Appeals decides that the "check off" system shall continue in the mining industries; the Court suspends the temporary injunction and miners return to work.

November 8.—The War Finance Corporation announces loans amounting to \$22,663,000 to farmers and stockmen.

John F. Hylan is reelected Mayor of New York City, with complete control of the Board of Estimate; the State Legislature remains Republican; the New Jersey Assembly gains fifteen "wet" Democrats; Virginia gains a Democratic Congressman in the Fifth District; Maryland goes Democratic (see p. 576).

The Missouri Senate passes a soldier-bonus bill of \$15,000,000 by vote of 31 to 9; Ohio voters ratify a soldier bonus of \$25,000,000; New York voters reject the proposed soldier-preference amendment to the Civil Service law.

November 9.—The Post-Office Department suspends three officials at New York for negligence in connection with a \$2,000,000 mail robbery and Marines are placed on mail trucks and railroad cars to guard the mails.

The Census Bureau announces there were 13,920,692 foreign-born here on January 1, 1920; 6,493,088 were naturalized, and 1,223,490 had taken first papers.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 18.—Dr. Estaban Gil Borges resigns as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Venezuela and goes to the United States to practise law.

Lloyd George announces the British delegation to the Washington Conference as consisting of himself, A. J. Balfour, Lord Lee of Fareham (First Lord of the Admiralty), and Sir Auckland Geddes as alternate; the colonies are to be represented by Sir Robert L. Borden (Canada), George Foster Pearce (Australia), Sir John Salmond (New Zealand), and Srinavasa Sastri (India).



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THREE ALLIED WAR HEROES

(These notable personages of the Allied High Command came as the guests of the American Legion to the convention at Kansas City. Our photograph was taken while they were attending the Conference at Washington. They are, from left to right: General Armando Vittorio Diaz, Admiral Earl Beatty, and General Baron Jacques, of the Belgian Army)



R. A. NESTOS, GOVERNOR OF NORTH DAKOTA

(Who carried the special election of October 28 which recalled Governor Frazier, Non-Partisan League incumbent for six years past. Mr. Nestos will take office about December 1. He is of Norwegian birth, and resides at Minot in the northwestern part of the State)

October 19.—Premier Lloyd George asks the House of Commons for an additional £300,000 to help ex-service men to go to the colonies; to guarantee interest on £25,000,000 of manufacturers' loans; and give £10,000,000 for public works.

October 20.—Revolutionists assassinate Portuguese Premier Antonio Granjo and Machado dos Santos, founder of the republic.

October 21.—Russian Soviet Premier Lenine tells Communist party workers: "We must face the fact that we are reestablishing capitalism. . . . Our problem is to make the future capitalism subject to the state and serve it."

At Paris, in a "Red" demonstration, twenty persons are hurt by a bomb, following a bomb outrage in Ambassador Herrick's home in protest against the execution of alleged anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, for murder, in Massachusetts.

Montenegro dissolves as a state, Queen Milena declining to recognize the *de jure* government left by her deceased husband, King Nicholas I; annexation by Serbia of November 26, 1918, finally takes full effect, Italy consenting.

October 22.—Ex-Emperor Charles enters Hungary by airplane from Switzerland with ex-Empress Zita; about 12,000 troops are engaged in this second *coup d'état*; and the Legitimist cabinet is headed by Messrs. Stephen Rakosvky, Count Apponyi, and Gustav Gratz.

October 24.—The attempt of former Emperor Charles to regain the Hungarian throne ends in complete failure, due to energetic action of Admiral Horthy, Regent.

October 26.—Chancellor Wirth forms a new cabinet in Germany and the Reichstag votes confidence (the Cabinet had resigned on the 22nd over the Silesian decision).

The Prince of Wales leaves for an eight months' tour of India and Japan.

October 27.—The French Senate follows the Chamber in voting confidence in Premier Briand, 301 to 9, on the eve of his departure for America.

October 31.—The British House of Commons votes confidence in Lloyd George's Irish policy of further peace negotiations, voting 439 to 43.

November 1.—A bomb is exploded in the American Consulate at Lisbon, Portugal, without serious damage, in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

November 4.—Premier Takashi Hara, of Japan, is assassinated at the Tokio railroad station by a malcontent of the Samurai, or feudal soldier class.

Senhor Pinto forms a new cabinet in Portugal under President Almeida.

Italy's "unknown soldier" is buried in state in the Victor Emmanuel monument at Rome.

The All-India Congress Committee of 200 decides to continue Mahatma K. Gandhi's non-violent plan of revolt against Britain.

King Alexander of Jugo-Slavia, long ill at Paris, returns and assumes the throne.

The Hungarian National Assembly passes a bill dethroning the Hapsburg family and deports Charles and Zita to Madeira—both actions at the request of the Allies.

November 8.—Eusebio Ayala becomes Provisional President of Paraguay (President Gondra resigned because of a revolution).

November 9.—In Rome there is a general strike against the Fascisti, who hold a convention.

Sir Robert Horne, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, announces to the House of Commons that interest of £50,000,000 a year will be paid on the American debt, starting in 1922.

November 10.—The British Parliament is prorogued until January.

November 11.—The Ulster Cabinet rejects the proposed Irish solution; a new arrangement is suggested.

November 12.—Gen. Jorge Holguin becomes provisional president of Colombia, succeeding President Fidel Suarez, resigned.

Nicaraguan Government troops defeat armed forces attacking the border town of Somotillo.

November 13.—Baron Korekiyo Takahashi is installed as Premier of Japan; he retains the Ministry of Finance and of the Navy; the cabinet remains the same.

The British Government rejects the Ulster proposals as obstructive.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 18.—Cuban Secretary of Finance Sebastian Gelabert proposes, in a memorandum to the American State Department, to raise the preferential tariff from 20 to 50 per cent. to float a \$50,000,000 loan.

October 20.—The chief Allied powers notify Germany and Poland of their adoption of the League boundary decision in Upper Silesia.

October 22.—The League announces signature of a ten-power agreement neutralizing the Aland Islands, awarded to Finland with autonomy.

President Harding entertains Italian General Diaz, British Lord Beatty, and Belgian General Baron Jacques at luncheon in the White House.

October 27.—It is announced that both Poland and Germany have accepted the Upper Silesian boundary decision of the League Council.

October 29.—Soviet Russia agrees under certain conditions to recognize the foreign debts of the Imperial Russian Government up to 1914.

Rabbi Joseph Saul Kornfeld, of Columbus, Ohio, is appointed Minister to Persia.

October 30.—France announces ratification of a treaty with the Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora for peace and economic coöperation.

October 31.—Germany is given fifteen days' grace for payment of 500,000,000 gold marks due November 15.

November 1.—The Republic of China defaults payment on a \$5,500,000 loan and the American State Department notifies China it must be met.

November 2.—The British Government asks that Moscow be more specific regarding payment of debts, stating precisely what obligations Russia will recognize.

November 3.—Ambassador Harvey tells the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce he expects commercial coöperation to arise between the United States and Great Britain from "closer political relationship" after the Washington Conference; he discourages, however, hope that the United States will enter "any permanent alliance."

November 4.—The Chinese reply to the Japanese Shantung note of October 19 declares that "the Japanese Government has given no sign of concessions"; China refuses to allow Japan to take the Kiauchau-Tsinanfu Railway.

November 6.—The Reparations Commission decides to go to Berlin to survey the prospects of indemnity payment by Germany of \$120,000,000 due January 15 as second instalment.

November 7.—A treaty is reported signed at Prague between Poland and Czechoslovakia, by which each agrees to neutrality on questions affecting the other and to coöperation on questions affecting both.

November 8.—Great Britain protests Serbia's invasion of Albania to the League of Nations, as threatening the peace of the world.

November 9.—John W. Riddle, of Connecticut, is appointed Ambassador to Argentina; he was Ambassador to Russia from 1906 to 1909.

November 11.—Germany and the United States exchange formal ratifications of their peace treaty.

November 12.—The Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments and on Far Eastern and Pacific Questions is opened by President Harding and Secretary Hughes, who becomes chairman and proposes a ten-year cessation of naval building and the scrapping of sixty-six capital ships of 1,878,043 tons by England, Japan, and the United States, estimated to save the United States alone \$200,000,000 annually (see page 645).

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 23.—Steel rails are reduced in price \$7 per ton to a level of \$40.

Cornell University Medical College in New York City opens a "pay clinic" for persons of moderate means with specialists available at a dollar a visit.

October 25.—Tampa, Fla., is flooded by a Gulf storm; the business section is under three feet of water.

October 29.—At New York City, a pageant entitled "America's Making" shows the part played by immigrants in building up the country.

November 1.—The American Legion honors Marshal Foch, Generals Pershing, Diaz, and Jaques, and Admiral Beatty, at Kansas City, where 25,000 men dedicate a \$2,500,000 memorial.

The milk supply of nearly 10,000,000 persons in and about New York City is cut off by a strike.

At Cape May, N. J., eleven fishermen are lost on the Anglesea Bar while taking up their nets for the winter; Coast Guards search for boats and bodies while the villagers watch and pray, hoping in vain on the beach.

At Cleveland, O., the first coöperative National Bank in America, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, distributes an extra dividend to celebrate its first anniversary; it began with \$650,971.77 and now has resources of \$10,250,000.

November 2.—The American Legion elects Hanford MacNider, of Mason City, Ia., as its Commander and adjourns to meet next year at New Orleans.

November 3.—Weehawken, N. J., is the scene of a terrific fire, which destroys four piers and railroad freight worth \$6,000,000.

November 4.—The German mark drops to a point where 243 can be purchased for \$1.

November 5.—The greatest wireless station in the world is opened at Rocky Point, L. I.; it has twelve units; is six times as powerful as the Arlington Station; and can send to the Far East.

November 11.—At Arlington Cemetery, an American unknown soldier is buried with impressive honors; tributes from all the world are laid on the bier; Armistice Day is observed as a national holiday in solemn prelude to the Conference on Disarmament.

November 14.—Union workers on women's garments strike in New York against the resumption of the piece-work system.

OBITUARY

October 18.—Miss Grace L. Coppock, head of Chinese Y. W. C. A., 40. . . . Julius Kranberg, Danish artist. . . . Ludwig III, ex-king of Bavaria.

October 19.—Dr. Henry Prentiss Armsby, noted animal nutrition expert of Pennsylvania State College, 68. . . . Ira Anson Abbott, former Justice of the Supreme Court in New Mexico Territory, 76.

October 21.—Major-Gen. William Wallace Wotherspoon, U. S. A., retired, former Chief of the General Staff, president of the Army War College, and New York State Commissioner of Public Works, 71.

October 23.—Col. Edward Elms Britton, writer on military tactics and National Guard reorganization, 62.

October 24.—Rev. Ursula Newell Gestefeld, founder of the "Science and Being" movement, 76. . . . Dr. William Fletcher King, president emeritus of Cornell College, Iowa, 90.

October 25.—William Barclay ("Bat") Master-son, former sheriff of Dodge City, Kans., notable frontier character, 67.

November 5.—Rev. Dr. Antoinette Louisa Brown Blackwell, first woman ordained a minister in the United States, 96.

November 11.—Father John Augustine Zahm, C. S. C., widely known Catholic explorer, author, and lecturer, 70.

THE CONFERENCE OPENS

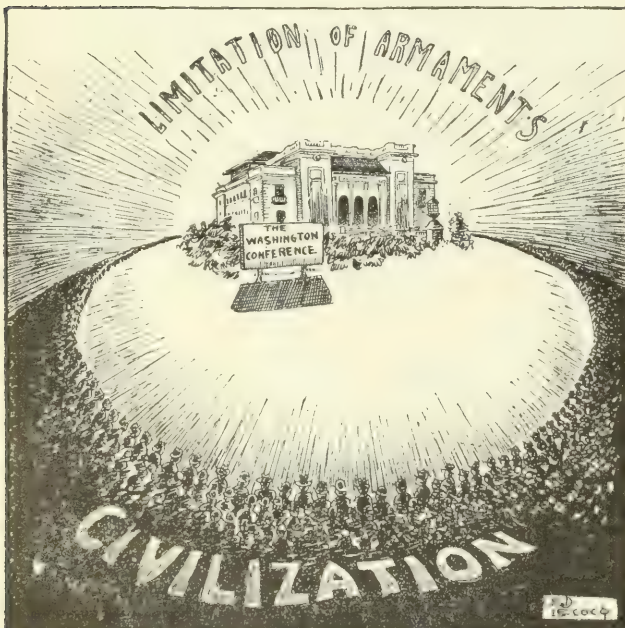
AND OTHER TOPICS, IN CARTOONS



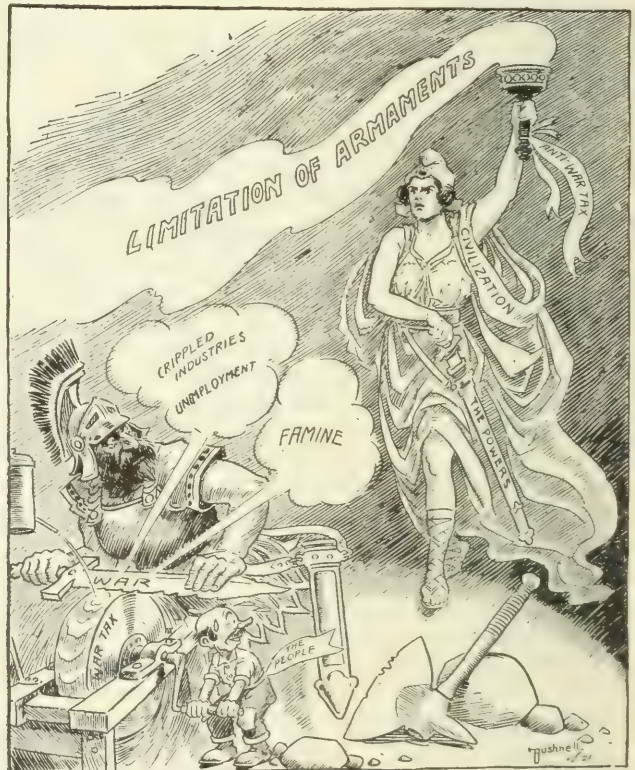
THE PRAYER OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)



AN AUSPICIOUS BEGINNING
From the *World* (New York)



THE LIGHT THAT MUST NOT FAIL
From the *Telegram* (Portland, Ore.)



A NEW GODDESS HAS COME TO ENLIGHTEN AND
SAVE THE WORLD
From the *Central Press Assn.* (Cleveland, Ohio)



TWO EXTREMES AND THE HOPEFUL MEDIUM
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



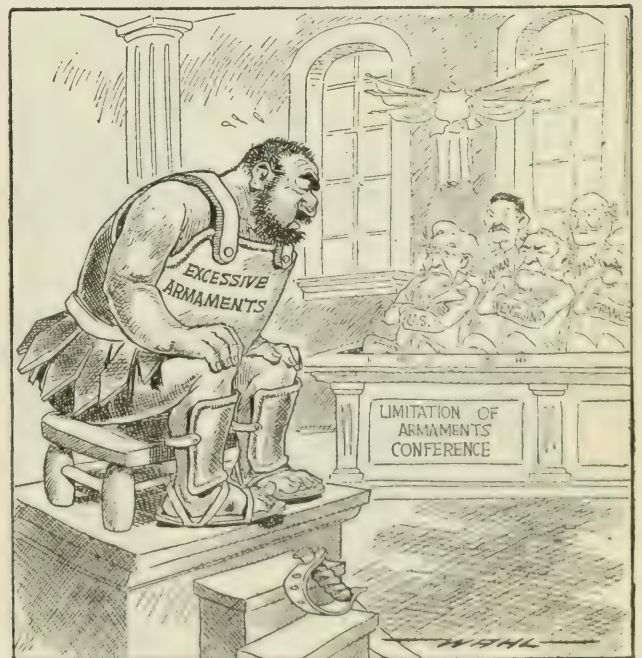
A BETTER JOB
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



A NEW IDEA
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Ia.)



"NOW, THEN, ALL TOGETHER!"
From the *Times* (New York)



TRIED BY A JURY OF HIS VICTIMS!
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)

THE Conference on Limitation of Armament and on Far Eastern and Pacific Questions met in Washington on November 12. The opening address of the American Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, with its definite and far-reaching proposals for naval reduction, met with general acceptance.

The widespread feeling that this Conference will have noteworthy results is reflected in these cartoons.



THE COLOSSUS OF THE EAST MUST HAVE
STANDING ROOM

By Knott, in the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



WILL HE CROWD "ARMAMENT" OFF THE BENCH?
By Hanny, in the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



WHY NOT DISPOSE OF HIM NOW, BEFORE HE
GROWS BIGGER?

By Perry, in the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



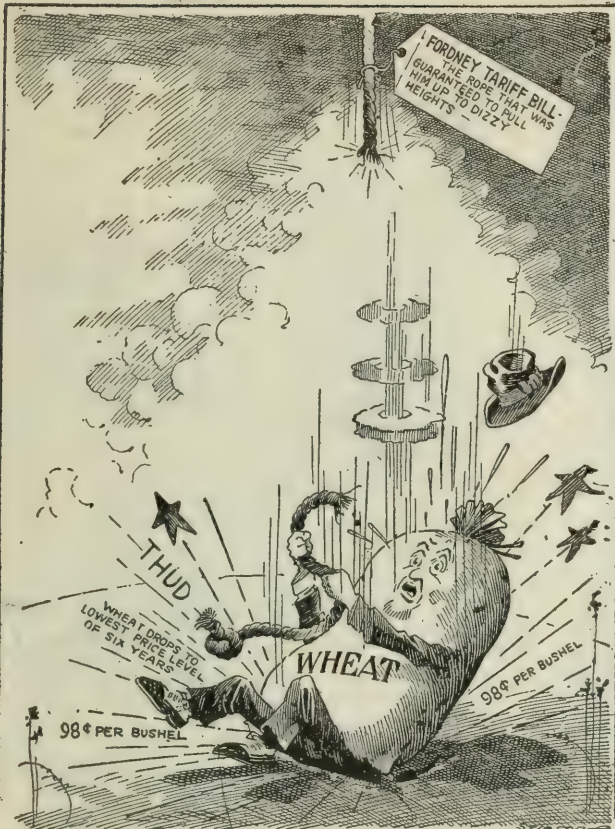
THE GENII WHICH COMES FROM THE JAPANESE
ALADDIN'S LAMP

From the *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)



A SPANISH VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE AT
WASHINGTON

JAPAN: "Should I disarm? Should I not disarm?"
From *Hojas Selectas* (Barcelona, Spain)



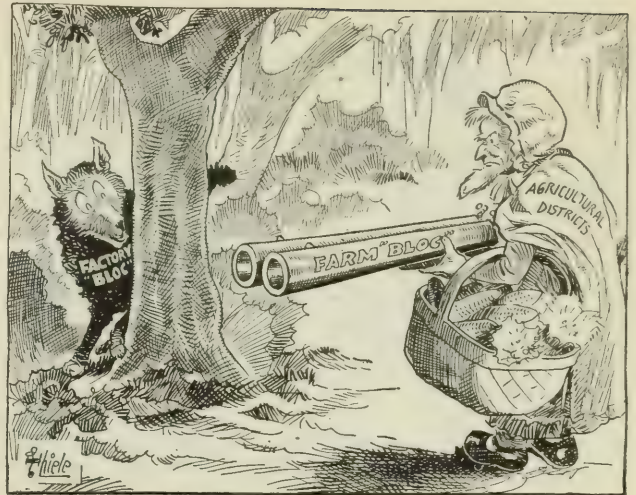
ROTTEN ROPE

From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

It had been argued in Congress, a few months ago, that the Emergency Tariff law would save the wheat farmer from selling at less than cost of production. But the cartoon above shows what has happened since then, with wheat at a dollar a bushel.



"NOT CHARITY, BUT A JOB"
From Better Times (New York)



"LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD" HAS LEARNED SOMETHING, AND NOW CARRIES A GUN
From the Tribune (Sioux City, Ia.)

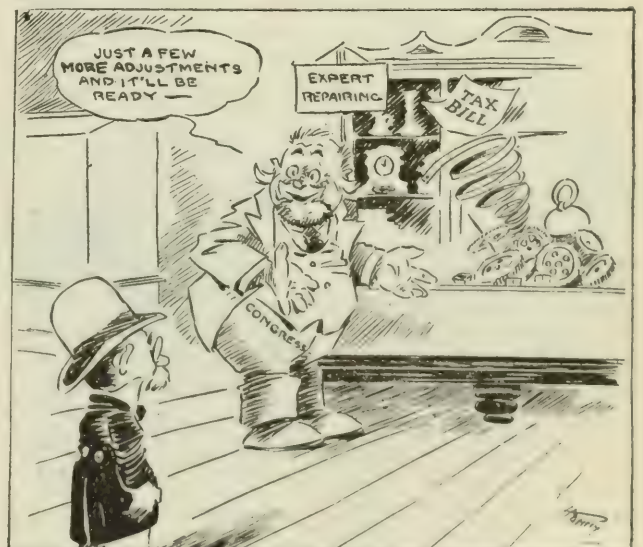
It is suggested by the Sioux City Tribune that the farmers' "bloc" in Congress—Representatives and Senators from agricultural States—can meet unfavorable situations.



ONE GOOD TURN DESERVES ANOTHER

From the Eagle (Wichita, Kan.)

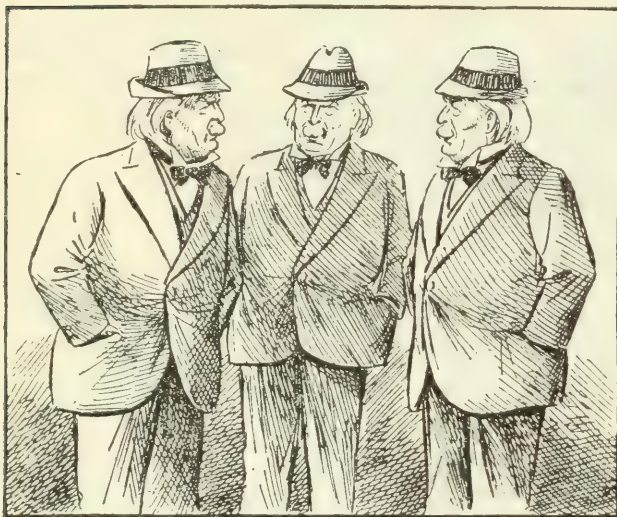
["Public Opinion" turns attention now to "Excessive Freight Rates," having disposed of the threatened labor strike]



YES, THE TAX BILL WILL BE READY SOON!
From the News-Press (St. Joseph, Mo.)



THE PIED PIPER!
From the *Passing Show* (London, England)



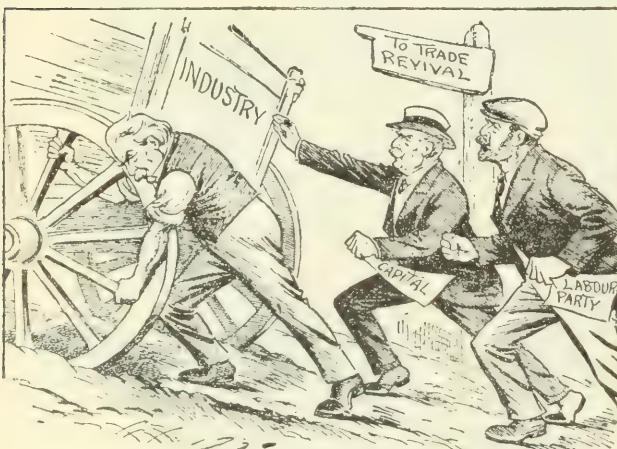
DAVID, LLOYD, AND GEORGE

MR. GEORGE: "Look here, Lloyd, I must go to Washington and you'll have to stay at home for the Irish Conference."

DAVID: "Where do I come in?"

MR. LLOYD: "You must look after the Unemployment business."

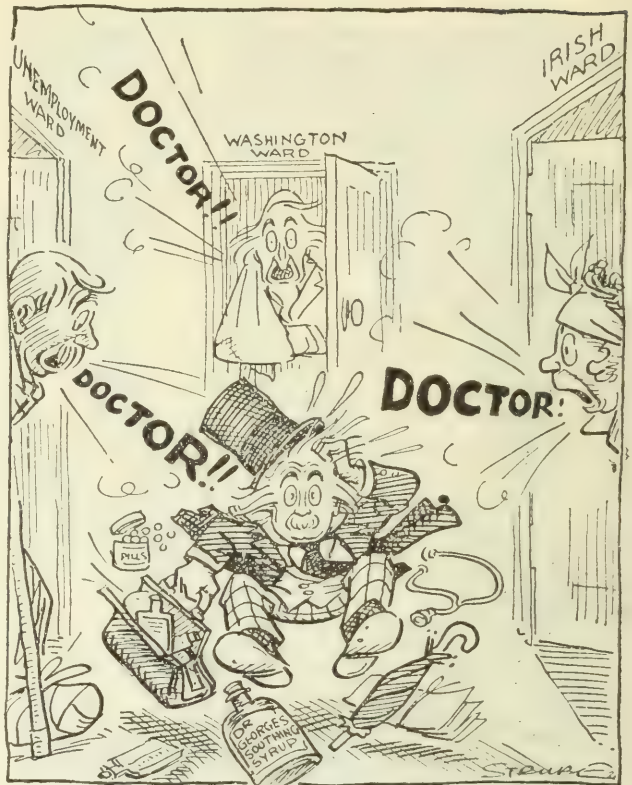
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



HELP WANTED

LLOYD GEORGE: "Come along, men. We shall want every shoulder to the wheel if we're to get this cart out of the ruts."

From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London, England)



THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA
From the *Daily Express* (London, England)

THE British Premier, Mr. David Lloyd George, found himself so occupied with domestic problems last month that he was compelled to postpone his visit to Washington and his personal participation in the Con-



SINBAD LLOYD GEORGE AND THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA
THE SEA

From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

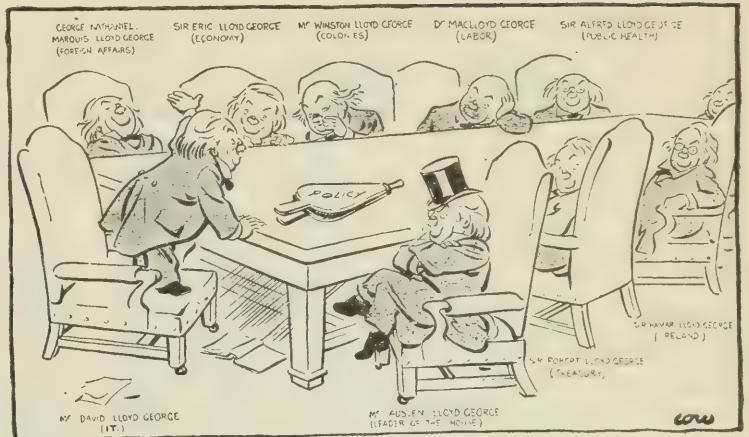


NURSIE IS HARD PUT

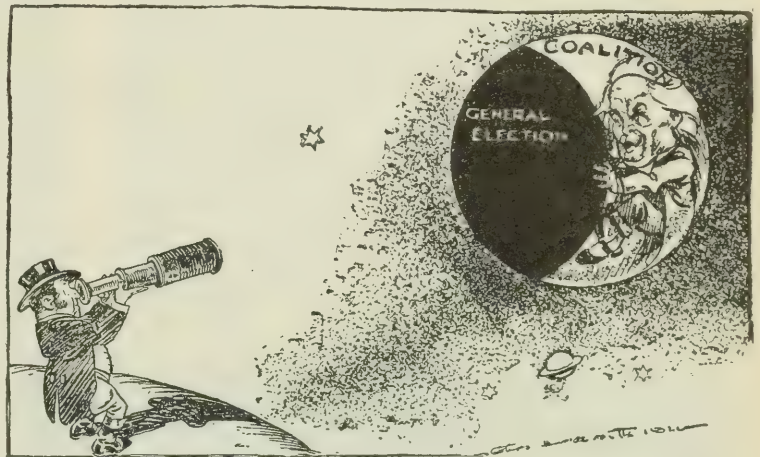
[Trying to satisfy Ireland's spokesman]
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

ference there. Those domestic problems included mainly a sincere attempt to satisfy Ireland's political aspirations and the necessity for relieving an unemployment crisis much more acute in Great Britain than in the United States.

It should be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George has been at the head of his Government longer than has the president or prime minister of any other important nation—



THE IDEAL GOVERNMENT, WITH LLOYD GEORGE OCCUPYING
EVERY CABINET SEAT
From the *Star* (London, England)



A WEARY WATCHER'S VISION

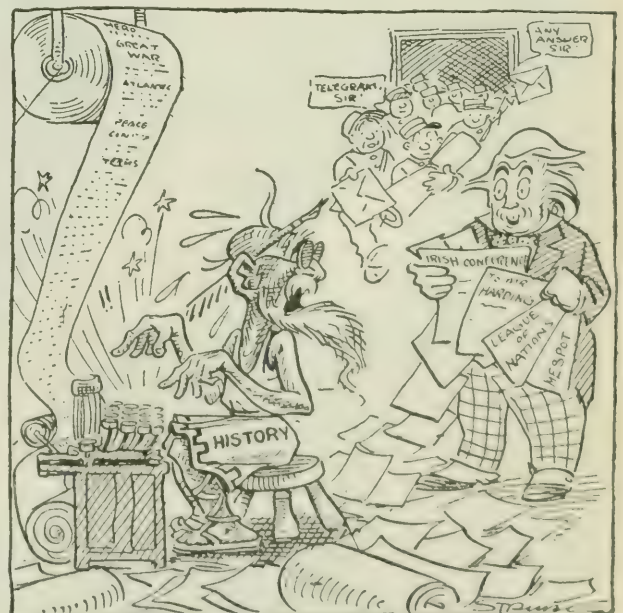
From the *Sunday News and Mercury* (Birmingham, England)

even though his own Liberal party does not constitute a majority in the House of Commons and his "coalition" ministry has often been declared to be about to fall apart.



THE WELSH WONDER

LLOYD GEORGE (to DeValera): "As you say, these things cannot be decided by correspondence."
From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



FAST AND FURIOUS

HISTORY (at the typewriter): "Oh, for goodness sake, man, go slower!"
From the *Daily Express* (London, England)

MR. WELLS IN AMERICA

BY CHARLES W. WOOD

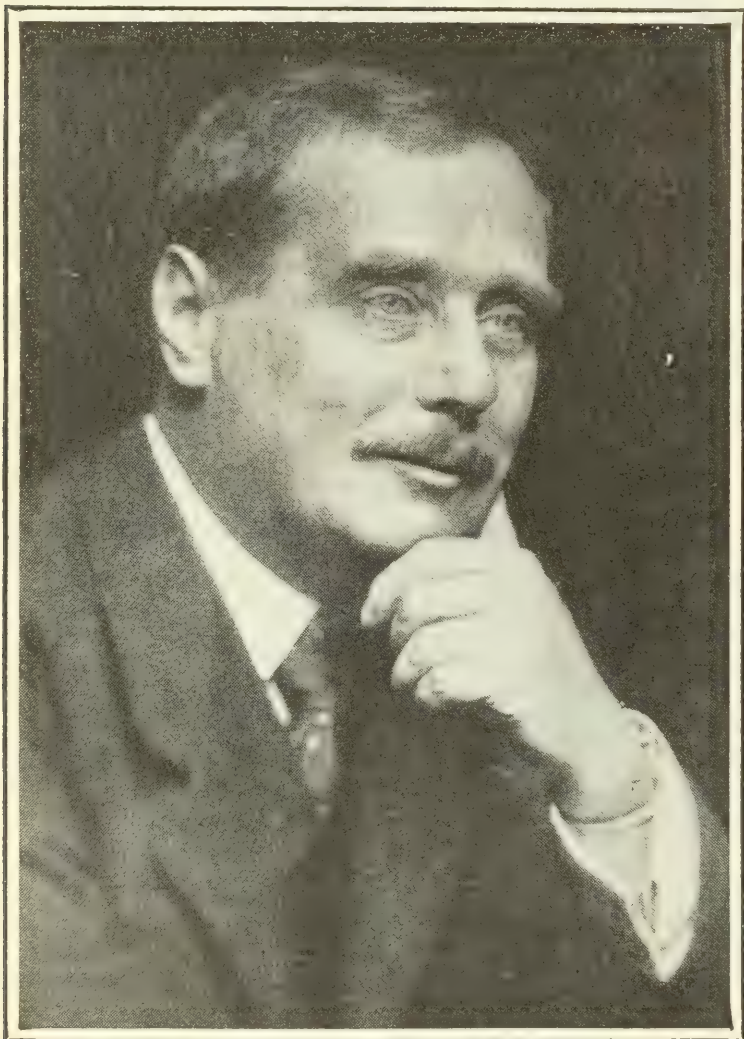
H. G. WELLS does not look like his pictures. His pictures, however, do resemble him. I nearly missed him at the pier, when he arrived on the *Adriatic*, although I had closely studied a number of his photographs. After I had talked with him, I looked at those photographs again: I had to admit that they were excellent likenesses. Mr. Wells is elusive. I want my readers to bear that in mind, for he is the hardest man to interview I ever met.

He does not lack personality, force, distinction. No super-dreadnought does. But he has another quality of the super-dreadnought which few of us ever see. He can "sink into the scenery." He can be a mere Englishman—to all appearances just like every other Englishman—at the very time that he is annihilating all nationalistic con-

cepts and making the art of being an Englishman impossible. Changing the figure a bit, he manages somehow to muffle his guns just when he is taking the most deadly aim. A super-dreadnought on holiday parade is one thing; a super-dreadnought in action is another. One is a thing of color and sound and an emotional something generally called impressiveness; the other is a thing of science—of an exact understanding of the forces at hand—a thing which cannot be paraded but without which parades are farcical.

Mr. Wells never goes on holiday parade. He has holidays, but the camera men are not invited. There is no reason why they should be. As a wholesale dealer in big ideas, his personality of course is interesting; but he isn't running for anything and his golf score is not an issue. I lied a little in order to obtain my interview. I told him I was an ignoramus, that I was almost illiterate and not at all acquainted with his work. The exaggeration was slight and it was justified. It established a sort of equality between us, as he had never heard of me. To interviewers generally he has an aversion. Not only is he quite capable of handling his own publicity, but he works fifteen hours a day, sleeps some, and has a sort of repressed desire for an occasional hour to himself. If the interviewers are stupid, they bore him. If they are not, they bore him somewhat more. Serious thought is sacred to Mr. Wells. He worships it. He loves it. But the most worshipful lover on earth does not want his sweetheart's arms around his neck all the time. Eventually they get on his vaso-motor nerves.

But while the everlasting discussion of his own ideas, even on the part of Wellsian enthusiasts and devotees, sometimes overwhelms him to a point where he wants to run away and does, he couldn't very well run from a mere human being. As a matter of fact, I didn't lie very much.



MR. HERBERT GEORGE WELLS

I had read the Bible and Bernard Shaw, but I hadn't got around as yet to Wells. I had wanted to for several years, but he writes so much faster than I can read that I had sort of given it up. I was ignorant. I was, from the historian's standpoint, almost illiterate; for the human race has not evolved into coherent expression of its ideas yet. Come to think of it, I was just the man whose history Mr. Wells had been outlining. What excuse could he have not to talk to me?

"How come?" was my first question. I believe that this is the first question that the first man asked and Mr. Wells pondered it carefully before replying.

"I was *invited* to America by the New York *World*," he said. "I was *drawn* here by the Washington Conference."

The Reporter's Responsibility

I need not repeat the rest of his answer now. In his first terrific articles before the Conference opened, Mr. Wells made plain to America the reason of his coming. His statements were modest in the extreme and no one could accuse him of coming with a cargo of advice. He came as an observer, a reporter; but when he explained to me just what a true reporter is, the Washington Conference took on another light.

"The main thing always," he said, "is to know. If we have the facts assembled correctly, decisions will follow as a matter of course. He who sees a situation clearly will act intelligently. If he doesn't see the past, present, and future sequentially, he has to guess between right and wrong; and there are so many ways of being wrong that the chances are all against him. When the facts are obscured by ignorance, or our vision of them distorted by irrelevant passions, our conduct cannot be intelligent. It is upon the reporter, then, that the great responsibility rests. It is the historian who makes or unmakes history."

I strongly suspect that those words are not the ones used by Mr. Wells: but the concept, I am sure, is his. When I came away from the interview I looked for my notes and discovered that I hadn't taken any. But I had taken away a new concept of my job and an entirely new view of the Washington Conference.

I had looked upon the Conference as a conference of the Powers; that is, a conference of certain groups who controlled power and were guessing what to do with

it. But a conference of powers which included H. G. Wells—not as one of the guessers but as a reporter who could see—that was something else. With all of his shyness and his disinclination to parade, I am morally certain that Mr. Wells shared this view. He is the first man on earth to write a history of all of us, and here was a conference in which all of us were vitally concerned. Intelligence dawned when the first man first took accurate account of what was going on. Mankind's first historian was now coming to note what was happening to mankind. That something will result from such an accounting, I cannot doubt.

Let me digress a moment to explain my point. A couple of years ago I met Frazier Hunt in Peking. He had just come from Siberia, I had come out of Western China; I was headed for Korea and Japan, and he for India, Australia, Egypt, Europe and home. Daily for almost a month we compared notes on the mess which the world was in. We had our theories and our solutions, but it seemed to be headed nowhere just the same. A year later I met Hunt in New York. I was eager to meet him, for, in the midst of world chaos, I found that my countrymen were generally discussing such issues as tire mileage and the length of bathing suits, and that it was very difficult to attract attention to anything beyond prohibition and the open shop. What had Hunt seen, I wondered. Hunt, I felt, was a genuine reporter. He had perspective. He could discover the big issue underneath the trivialities. I was somewhat set back, then, at his words of greeting, and only lately have I learned that my first estimate of him was right.

"Wood," he said, as he first extended his hand, "have you read 'The Outline of History'?"

"The Outline of History"

I had not. I had read reviews and I had supposed that "The Outline of History" was a book. It took a reporter with a world perspective to show me that it was an *event*. I told Mr. Wells about it—expecting, I suppose, that he would be mightily impressed. Perhaps he was. But, as I remarked before, the man you are talking to when you are talking to H. G. Wells is just an Englishman, and Englishmen do not emote their impressions so that you would notice it. What he said, in fact, seemed to change the subject.

Only after I had come away did I realize that it didn't.

"I began thinking out the 'Outline of History,'" he said, "when I was a boy in school. I did not appreciate this fully at the time, but I sensed a considerable disparity between the evolution of man as science explained it and the evolution of Me as it was written in the history books. According to one, I was a unit of the human race which had climbed out of the mire in a million years of struggle, until eventually there had arrived on earth a conscious, articulate, intelligent, and creative being. According to the other, I was an Englishman and my enlightenment was principally due to that. From the one point of view, my problems were human. From the other they were dominantly national. But from which point of view was our world-thinking done—from that of biological science or from that of nationalistic emotions?"

Wells, the Realist

It was this idea in the back of young Herbert Wells' head which eventually produced this epoch-making book. Incidentally, it was this same scientific slant at things which produced the epoch-making novelist. The artist, the historian, and the pamphleteer all live in Mr. Wells and he is often referred to as a sort of multiplex personality. He is not. All three are united in H. G. Wells, the realist. In college Wells studied under Professor Huxley, and Huxley is largely responsible for the revolution in English literature which subsequently occurred.

Wells was a poor boy with a thirst for knowledge. He worked in a draper's shop, he told me; that is, he was a dry-goods clerk. A mere college education, apparently, did not appeal to him. What he wanted was to *know things*, and Professor Huxley at that time was committed openly to the near-crime of finding things out. In the minds of most people, Darwinism was akin to blasphemy. It was morally necessary, it was thought, to retain our romantic attitude toward biology. That man had legs was perfectly legitimate knowledge and physiology of a sort was perfectly permissible. But how came he to have legs instead of fins? All inquiry in that direction was taboo as likely to upset some very necessary assumptions. From the standpoint of the preservation of the *status quo*, "How

come?" has always been a dangerous question.

But Wells asked "How come?" and he went to Huxley to find out. And the more he studied with Huxley, the more he threw himself into the fight for the right to report things as they are. The chapter on "Changes in Climate" in "The Outline of History," he told me, is taken almost bodily from notes he made in conjunction with Sir Richard Gregory while they were classmates in the Royal College of Science.

Mr. Wells is not a radical, excepting as a radical is defined as one who goes to the root of things. He is not temperamentally an antagonist or a revolutionist. He doesn't want change for the change's sake. He simply wants to know what must occur if certain changes are or are not made. He is a thorn in the flesh, then, to all partisans. He is a damper on patriotism but a severe disappointment to those who look upon patriotism as a crime. He thinks our whole social scheme to-day is quite absurd, but he does not enthuse over any scheme which aims merely at its overthrow. Love of one's country, to him, is a perfectly normal passion—one that is properly called into play in the settlement of any national problem. It is only when we appeal to patriotism as a basis for the settlement of world problems that common sense balks.

Need of a World View

About the year 1916, he told me, this thought became dominant in his mind. The whole world was in the horrors of war and it was apparent that there was no national way out. The fighting might lapse but war would go on until the world as a world did something about it. But how could the world do anything about it? The world had never yet thought of itself as a world and each nation was in the habit of making whatever alliances seemed temporarily expedient. Thus each nation hoped to save its own skin and the poor world was being flayed alive.

It was then that the thought in the back of the biology student's head came to the fore. The world could not think of itself as a world, for the history of the world had never been outlined. Each nation had its history, its traditions, its folklore, and its romance. So long as nations didn't have visitors very often, such bedtime stories seemed to work. But world commerce, world communication, and world competi-

tion had now become a fact; yet there was no world story. No one seemed to have the slightest idea what a world does under such circumstances. No one could have, for no one had taken any world observations. Some sort of league of nations, some sort of world government, just had to come; either that or world extinction.

So Mr. Wells wrote his "Outline of History." To some it may seem like propaganda, but it is not propaganda any more than the measurements made by an engineer constitute propaganda for the bridge which it is necessary to build. A world structure must be erected now, and before we can erect it we must have a world view. You simply cannot take sides, says Mr. Wells, in a matter like this. A bridge on any particular side of a river is no bridge at all.

On the Washington Conference

When it was announced that Mr. Wells would "cover" the Washington Conference for the New York *World*, it of course created a stir with the reading public everywhere. But the event itself proved much more of a sensation than the announcement. In his introductory article, November 6, it became apparent that the historian had not turned reporter but that the reporter was writing history. Sweeping aside all reference to the personnel of the conferees, or even to the issues and interests that were supposed to divide them, Wells began with a straight statement of world conditions which it would be difficult to challenge.

In August, 1914, an age of insecure progress and accumulation came to an end. When at last, on the most momentous summer night in history, the long preparations of militarism burst their bounds and the little Belgian village Visé went up in flames, men said: "This is a catastrophe." But they found it hard to anticipate the nature of the catastrophe. They thought for the most part of the wounds and killing and burning of war and imagined that when at last the war was over we should count our losses and go on again much as we did before 1914. . . .

The catastrophe of 1914 is still going on. It does not end; it increases and spreads. This winter more people will suffer dreadful things and more people will die untimely through the clash of 1914 than suffered and died in the first year of the war. It is true that the social collapse of Russia in 1917 and the exhaustion of food and munitions in Central Europe in 1918 produced a sort of degradation and enfeeblement of the combatant efforts of our race and that a futile conference at Versailles settled nothing, with an air of settling everything, but that was no more an end to disaster than it would be if a man who

was standing up and receiving horrible wounds were to fall down and writhe and bleed in the dust. It would be merely a new phase of disaster.

Emphasizing that nothing but a world effort could possibly restore the world, Mr. Wells went on:

But such a world effort to restore business and prosperity is only possible between Governments sincerely at peace, and because of the failure of Versailles there is no such sincere peace. Everywhere the Governments, and notably Japan and France, arm. Amidst the steady disintegration of the present system of things, they prepare for fresh wars—wars that can have only one end—an extension of the famine and social collapse that have already engulfed Russia to the rest of the world.

In Russia, in Austria, in many parts of Germany, this social decay is visible in actual ruins, in broken down railways and suchlike machinery falling out of use. But even in Western Europe, in France and England, there is a shabbiness; there is a decline visible to anyone with a keen memory.

The other day my friend, Mr. Charlie Chaplin, brought his keen, observant eyes back to London, after an absence of ten years.

"People are not laughing and careless here as they used to be," he told me. "It isn't the London I remember. Something hangs over them."

And then, bringing the situation straight to his American audience, Mr. Wells added:

Coming as I do from Europe to America, I am amazed at the apparent buoyancy and abundance of New York. The place seems to possess an inexhaustible vitality. But this towering, thundering, congested city, with such a torrent of traffic and such a concourse of people as I have never seen before, is, after all, the European door of America; it draws this superabundant and astounding life from trade; from a trade whose roots are dying.

When one looks at New York its assurance is amazing; when one reflects we realize its tremendous peril. It is going on—as London is going on—by accumulated inertia. With the possible exception of London, the position of New York seems to me the most perilous of that of any city in the world. What is to happen to this immense crowd of people if the trade that feeds it ebbs? As assuredly it will ebb unless the decline of European money and business can be arrested; unless, that is, the world problem of trade and credit can be grappled with as a world affair.

It had been distinctly pointed out from many official sources that the Washington Conference was not to be a "disarmament" conference at all. It was to be a "Conference for the Limitation of Armaments." Mr. Wells, gifted with words as few men are, does not quibble about them, and he went right on with his reports. In his second

article, Wells let loose his sarcasm on those who intended to let war go on but hoped to limit the force which a warring nation might employ. "In the event of either combatant," he said, "winning the war by illegitimate means, it might further be provided that such combatant should submit to a humiliating peace, just as if the war had been lost."

War is an ultimate and illimitable thing; a war that can be controlled is a war that could have been stopped or prevented. If our race can really bar the use of poison gas it can bar the use of any kind of weapon. It is indeed easier to enforce peace altogether than any lesser limitation of war.

As for "disarmament," those who have read "The Outline of History" know that the Wells vision goes much farther than that. It seems to be unthinkable to him that world progress shall consist merely of refraining from doing things. Most of the harnessed energy of the world has been lately subverted to achieve destruction. Wells does not visualize a state in which that energy shall simply be let alone. But he does visualize a World Order ahead—a world in which we shall not only be free from the blight of war, but one in which all this war energy shall be harnessed by an articulate and intelligent human family for human service.

The old order, he insists, did pass away in 1914. That a group of gentlemen calling themselves a Peace Conference decided not to initiate a new order is not the important fact just now. The important fact is that the job is still undone and that it must be done if the race is not to meet extinction at the hands of its own inventions. Just as the jealous, suspicious, proud, and patriotic American colonies achieved peace through achieving unity, so may the jealous, suspicious, proud, and patriotic nations of to-day free themselves from the infinite stupidity of war by initiating a World Union. The Washington Conference, Mr. Wells intimates, *may* initiate this movement. But somebody *must*.

I have met other men with ideas somewhat akin to this. But they were, for the most part, futile; and futility is a word which no one will connect with H. G. Wells. He is the most widely read writer on earth. Generally he is reckoned as the most important. Yet personally he is a nondescript Englishman; a man who passes unnoticed in almost any crowd; a man who is always correctly conservative in his dress

and would not for the world do an unconventional thing. The futile characters I have mentioned are never like that. Always they seem to have an idea bigger than they can carry, and their frantic efforts to yank it around frighten people most to death. But Mr. Wells, the super-dreadnought, "sinks into the scenery"; and he is shooting that idea of his all around the world.

I made an appointment with him at one of his hiding-places in New York. It was on the day that Marshal Foch arrived. The whole town, it seemed, was out. I could scarcely worm my way through City Hall Park. No one in America excepting a favorite candidate for office could have received a greater ovation. But the crowd went home eventually, and the millions in America who did not see the Marshal's train also went home. As to what they did when they got there, I have no data. But a lot of them read books and magazines—articles and stories—and history.

One of the authors, the most widely read of all, was at that moment wrestling with a mighty problem. He didn't want to be discourteous. He didn't want to seem uncongenial. But he was simply compelled to refuse all sorts of invitations to become the lion of social gatherings; and as for being interviewed, why, there was nothing to say. He could simply repeat that, in his opinion, his best novels are "Tono Bungay," "Kipps," and "The History of Mr. Polly." "Joan and Peter" has received too little attention and "Mr. Britling Sees It Through" too much. No, he doesn't have a very wide circle of intimate friends, and never goes slumming in order to get copy. He lives a very ordinary and comfortable life and after his day's work is done he is so tired that he would rather look at funny pictures than to discuss anything with anybody. All very uninteresting and stupid, don't you know, but you will pardon him because, really, he hasn't the time.

A friend of mine who had attended the Foch celebration philosophized about it rather gloomily. "There was, of course, the deserved tribute to the man," he said, "but underneath that was our instinctive recognition of power. Say all we please—logic, justice, right—these are not the things that count. What the world bows to, and the only thing the world bows to, is force."

"Yes," I answered, for I had just come from seeing Mr. Wells, "but what kind of force?"

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE BEGINNING—MR. HUGHES MAKES CONCRETE PROPOSALS

TWENTY-FOUR hours after the opening of the Washington Conference I asked one of the members of the American Commission to make peace in Paris to give me his comparison of the opening days at Paris with that in Washington. "Beyond all else," he said, "the point of contrast was the vigor and force with which a concrete proposal was presented yesterday. Had Mr. Wilson done the same thing at Paris, the results might have been different."

I think this recognition of the vigor and definiteness of Mr. Hughes' presentation of the American proposal in the matter of the limitation of naval armaments goes to the root of the impression here. Until Mr. Hughes spoke there was an unmistakable likeness between the atmosphere in Washington in 1921 and that in Paris nearly three years ago. In part due to the comments of foreign journalists, in part due to a certain emotional state of mind the world over, we were beginning to have in Washington something of that vague, unreal, idealistic mood which marked the first days of Paris.

Mr. Hughes' concrete proposal changed all this. Its very definiteness was so unexpected that it produced almost a revolution in the local state of mind. It gave Mr. Hughes instantly the position in Washington which Mr. Wilson occupied at Paris, and it gave the Conference itself a totally different aspect.

Mr. Hughes' failure to deal with the Far Eastern question definitely was almost as great a surprise as was his pronouncement on disarmament. Washington believes that the decision to relegate the Far East to a relatively minor place was somewhat induced by the Japanese gesture of two days before. But aside from all such speculation, Washington believed in the days immediately following the opening session that the main business of the Conference would be limitation of armament. Optimism, enthusiasm, American approval, and foreign speculation—these were all discoverable. Nevertheless,

one is bound to say that here as in Paris it would be easy to go too far in accepting spoken comment as indicative of reasoned judgment. Mr. Hughes' speech makes certain large naval reductions. It gives promise of a specific and definite achievement. But the problem of the Far East, little considered by the public, still remains the real cause of apprehension in experienced minds.

As a consequence of Mr. Hughes' impulsion, the Washington Conference opens its work with its feet on the pavement. The publicity with which Mr. Hughes' gigantic proposal was proclaimed unmistakably took foreign statesmen unaware and left them somewhat aghast. But, however colored by diplomatic utterances were the outspoken endorsements of all delegates, including the Japanese, Washington the day after had every reason to believe that as a Conference for the Limitation of Armament the Washington Assembly would be a great success.

II. FAR EASTERN POLICY

A month ago I discussed the relation of Japan and the United States to that Far Eastern question which has become the dominant international problem of the world. In the present article I mean to deal with the practical side of the questions which will be raised at the Conference. At the outset I desire to emphasize once more the fact that we are dealing primarily not with the arrangement of peace, but with the prevention of war. The United States is undertaking an Asiatic policy which must inevitably lead to war, unless in the process of the development of the policy there shall be a mutual understanding between the three Great Powers—Great Britain, Japan and ourselves.

But it is essential to perceive that there is a common agreement among the statesmen who are attending the Conference that before any substantial or precise program for the limitation of armaments can be satisfactorily disposed of there must be some adjustment of rival policies which clash in

the Pacific and which might, under certain circumstances, precipitate a new war. For despite all that the American people have been told in the past and in the present, the causes of war are not found in the expansion of armaments. This very expansion of armaments is itself only one manifestation of a condition of which war is the ultimate consequence.

Whether we limit the naval armaments in the Pacific or not, we shall still be under the shadow of an impending conflict unless we and the Japanese can in good faith and in mutual confidence live beside each other in reasonable conformity to certain principles and practices. That knowledge is desirable for both.

Once more I would say to my readers, the issue of war or peace does not hang upon the number of ships we have or the number more or less that the Japanese retain. It is entirely a question of the attitude of mind which the Japanese people possess toward us and that we Americans hold toward Japan.

The universal calamity, which was the World War, was not the outgrowth of the race in armaments. It was the result of a development of international feuds and bitternesses between the Slav and the German; between the Frenchman and the German; and, beyond all else, between the German and the Englishman. The foundation of international amity lies in the elimination of national feuds, and the greatest peril at the present hour in the Pacific arises from the fact that unmistakably there has been developing a sinister mistrust, and worse, between the Japanese and the Americans.

III. DEFINITION

At the outset of a discussion of the issues of the Washington Conference we are condemned to seek definitions. Of the three points which Mr. Hughes has selected as the basis for his case only one is precise. The dissolution of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance requires no definition. It is profoundly different, however, when one undertakes to define the meaning of the "Open Door," or the precise significance of the "Integrity of China." We are confronted immediately with the interrogation: What is China? Until China is defined all else remains futile. Nor is this definition easy. For China to-day on the map is one thing and China in fact is another. And it is to

the fact of China that the Conference must address itself.

Therefore, in all the days immediately preceding the Conference there was in Washington a growing consideration of the question of what fact was to be accepted as China. On the map the Chinese empire extends from Siberia to Siam, but in fact not alone have British and French establishments acquired a color of legality by long-standing existence, but Japan, as a result of several successful wars, has taken root on the mainland of Asia in many places. Thus, if China is to be defined as a geographic unit, a discussion of the integrity of China would raise the question of the withdrawal of the British from Hongkong, of the Portuguese from Macao, and of the French from their naval base at Kwangchau-wan. But obviously the United States in advocating the doctrine of the integrity of China has no purpose to question these acquisitions of a past already distant.

Turning now to the question of Japan, we perceive that in this case also there are Japanese possessions, the title to which is as well established by continued occupation as British or French claims. It lies outside the realms of possibility that we should remain silent in the matter of Hongkong and become vocal over the questions of Korea or Formosa.

In practice, then, we are thrown back upon the questions of whether China means the eighteen provinces within the Great Wall, diminished by the foreign enclaves which I have cited, or includes Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet, to which must be added the other questions raised by Shantung.

Now, careful examination of the situation has convinced the majority of Washington observers that, whatever may be the question of principle involved, unless the United States is prepared by armed intervention to assert that China includes not only the eighteen provinces, but everything from Siberia to Siam, with the exception of the European holdings plus Formosa and Korea, there will have to be a frank recognition on our part of Japan's claims in Manchuria and at least a long and difficult debate over the question of Shantung. The fact as to Manchuria is this; that Japan is there, that year after year, by patient, persistent effort, she has pushed her penetration westward, and that we are in the presence of an accomplished fact.

Further than this we are confronted by the national conviction of Japan that her existence, not merely as a great power but as an economic and industrial unit, depends upon her assured possession of access to and control of raw materials in Manchuria.

I have talked with many Japanese who have come here to the Conference. I have found no single one, no matter how conciliatory in spirit, no matter how frank in affirming that Japan has made mistakes and gone too far, who has not quite frankly conceded that the question of Manchuria lies outside the realms of practical discussion; that Japan cannot and will not retire from there.

More than this, if there has been a difference of opinion in the matter of Shantung, at the moment when I write this article, I am satisfied that the Japanese delegation is still unprepared to resign the control of the railway, which in itself constitutes mastery of the Shantung Peninsula.

In sum, then, facing a condition and not a theory, it is clear, first, that China must be defined, and, second, unless China is defined as comprising the eighteen provinces, with possible limitation in Shantung, no possible agreement can be reached.

IV. THE INTEGRITY OF CHINA

Assuming that China for purposes of the Conference and for international agreement shall be recognized as the space within the Great Wall, we pass now to the question of defining the doctrine of the integrity of China. But this, too, is not simple. One of the men who will play a commanding part in the Conference said to me recently: "For myself, although I have labored long and hard, I have not yet succeeded in arriving at a definition of the integrity of China, or for that matter of the principle of the Open Door." The difficulty lies here. China is itself torn by political disorder. There is not one government, but two. To political chaos there is added necessarily financial anarchy. Conceding to all three Great Powers complete good faith, accepting as possible a self-denying ordinance signed by all three to seek no territorial aggrandizement within the China of our definition, we shall still get nowhere with our present policy unless something is done to restore China itself.

To take the case of Japan alone, facing frankly the fact that the Japanese policy has been one of selfish aggression, although no

more than a too faithful imitation of the Great Powers of Europe, it is no less true that Japan has legitimate grievances and considerable financial claims. Nothing is more certain than that if anarchy continues in China there will be afforded to Japan unmistakably just reasons for interference. We who have lived in recent years with Mexico as a neighbor must appreciate what must be the temptations, what the domestic pressure must be upon a government whose citizens are being slaughtered, whose loans are being repudiated, whose property is being destroyed in a neighboring state.

It will not do merely to define China. If China is to be preserved the United States, Japan and Great Britain will have to undertake definite responsibilities and obligations, financial at the outset, but not impossibly political in the end, to restore China.

Between the Far Eastern question of to-day and the Near Eastern question which plunged Europe into chaos for a century, a chaos culminating in the World War, there are many sinister analogies. The root trouble in the Near East was the decay of Turkey. The slow but sure disintegration of the Turkish Empire inevitably led the great powers to pursue a selfish policy, to seek to profit by the decay, and mutual rivalry in the sharing of the spoils of the prospective corpse prevented any useful coöperation in restoring or preserving the "Sick Man of Europe." Therefore, to define a policy embodying the principle of the integrity of China involves the adopting of a policy which leads straight to an association of nations and to the undertaking of various commitments.

V. THE "OPEN DOOR" DOCTRINE

I shall not linger long over a discussion or a definition of the doctrine of the Open Door. Obviously the Open Door, like the integrity of China, is a principle contingent upon a fact. If a house is flat the Open Door is an unimportant detail, and the fact of China to-day is that the house is flat and the doctrine itself can have no vitality until the structure itself is restored.

Everyone understands what Mr. Hughes means when he talks about the Open Door. Everyone understands that it means equal opportunity; that it means no special privileges assured by political blackmail, special privileges of the sort which have been the unbroken rule hitherto in China.

It means that the railways shall not be allocated to various nations, constructed from materials drawn alone from the country possessed of the special privilege and operated to advance the selfish interest of that nation. But, to arrive at such a situation as this principle requires, one must necessarily achieve a general liquidation. There are special privileges. Even before the Chinese house tumbled, the Open Door was a memory, not a living principle.

I am not undertaking to say here that it is the duty of the United States in association with Great Britain and Japan and France to undertake the gigantic task of rebuilding China. It is a policy as remote from our traditions as that which Mr. Wilson advocated in portions of the League of Nations covenant.

But it must be apparent that in Asia, as in Europe, the United States cannot advocate a policy involving the acceptance of its views by other countries without undertaking specific obligations and running unmistakable risks. Two policies are possible, but they are mutually exclusive. We can limit our activities in the Far East to the protection of the lives and the property of our nationals. We can pursue the policy of isolation which has been our traditional policy in the matter of Europe. But this precludes us from undertaking to establish the integrity of China or to maintain the Open Door.

On the other hand, we may enter an association of the interested nations under conditions, many of which we can lay down, and the first of which is mutual self-denial of all political advantages. The purpose of this association will be the regeneration of China, with the obvious consequence that if once China can be restored, even to a degree of unity and health, most of the present dangers in the Far Eastern question will be limited if not removed. But here in Washington, as yesterday in Paris, our policy calls either for isolation or participation. Isolation means the renunciation of any claim to impose principles or to regulate conditions. Participation means exactly what it means in the ordinary business world, where men who take stock in an enterprise assume liabilities in the hope of sharing in profits.

Led on by an idealistic vision of the moral mission of his country, Mr. Wilson committed the United States to European entanglements as a necessary condition to the

fulfilment of the mission. If Mr. Hughes, in the pursuit of materialistic interests which are not lacking in their own color of idealism, desires to reach any useful end, he too must incur obligations and responsibilities.

VI. THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

We come now to the question of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It requires no definition, as I have said, but it is far from being simple, as many believe. The fact is that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been a partnership in which the British profits have been enormous. I do not think it is too much to say that on the whole the great gain up to date has been British.

Originally constructed to meet the Russian menace, which was then the dominant factor in the Far East, it was continued when Germany became the threat to British security. As a consequence of this Alliance Great Britain was able to remove her first-line units from the Pacific to the North Sea and confront Germany. In the course of the World War Japanese fleets swept the Pacific of German raiders, patrolled the sea lanes vital to British trade, and even contributed useful naval assistance in the Mediterranean.

To-day the British have no interest which would be advantaged by the continuance of the Alliance. There is political pressure in many parts of the Empire insisting upon the dissolution of the Alliance as an obstacle to Anglo-American friendship. British interests unmistakably would be best served to-day by the denunciation of the Treaty of Alliance, provided there were only an honorable method of accomplishing this result.

Unhappily, the honorable method is not discoverable. British prestige and British self-respect would suffer incalculable injury if at the behest of a third power, and in pursuit of selfish interests alone, Great Britain should now divorce a partner who on the whole has served her well, even if Japanese policy in recent years has done violence to the spirit of the compact, with infinite profit to Japan.

In this situation the British policy is clear. Lloyd George has frankly suggested that there should be substituted for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance an Anglo-American-Japanese Association in the Pacific. Even in Japan there is no longer any illusion as

to the real value of the British Alliance. Tokio perceives as clearly as London or Washington that in a conflict between Japan and the United States, Great Britain would be at the least neutral, and in all human probability an ally of the United States before the conflict had continued long. To be thrown off violently and publicly by Britain would be an injury to Japanese prestige and pride which would be resented forever. On the other hand, there is little reason to believe that there would be any considerable Japanese hostility to a translation of the Dual Alliance into a Tripartite Association.

So far as I have been able to find in discussion with many Englishmen, this is the limit of present possibility. Ninety-nine Englishmen out of a hundred would prefer an American to a Japanese Alliance. Most Englishmen I meet are profoundly disturbed that an Alliance, which for them has no longer any material interest, but represents only a moral obligation, should stand in the way of Anglo-American friendship. But these same Englishmen, with few exceptions, feel that an immediate and forcible denunciation of the Japanese Treaty lies outside the realms of possibility.

VII. ISOLATION OR PARTICIPATION

Turning now to the general subject of the Conference at the moment when it opens, it seems to me that there is one fact which must be recognized beyond all others, and it is this: The United States has now to choose between some form of association of nations in the Pacific, not for the preservation of the *status quo*, but for the creation of conditions which will prove viable henceforth, and a renunciation of so much of its policy as undertakes to impose its principles upon the other interested nations.

Mr. Hughes is to-day much in the position in which Mr. Wilson found himself at Paris. He has proposed certain abstract principles. He has presented certain "points" which are analogous to those of Mr. Wilson at Paris. He finds himself now in the position of Canning a hundred years ago, when that British statesman proposed certain abstract principles with respect to Greece, then struggling for independence, and encountered from the Russian statesman, Nesselrode, this answer: "Our attention is directed at certain principles. We invite attention to the consequences of these principles."

Three years ago the United States in Paris advocated certain principles. Confronted by the consequences of these principles Mr. Wilson made certain foreign commitments and the United States rejected the Treaty of Versailles. To-day, Mr. Hughes has again proposed certain principles. He is confronted with obvious consequences. The first of these is war with Japan if he undertakes to maintain the assumption that China extends from Siberia to Siam and thus excludes the Japanese accomplished fact in Manchuria. He is confronted with the fact that the doctrine of the Open Door and the principle of the integrity of China are meaningless until such time as the United States, in association with Japan and Great Britain, and with obvious risks and responsibilities, is prepared to associate in the restoration of the Chinese fact. Finally, he is faced with the British declaration, reluctant, unwilling, but unmistakable, that the only way to eliminate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is not and cannot be through an insistence that it be denounced by Great Britain, but by the substitution for this Alliance of some form of association of the Pacific powers.

VIII. THE HOPE

Shall one be pessimistic as to the outcome of the Washington Conference? No! There are many reasons for optimism, although there is no excuse for blinking the obstacles and the dangers.

If the people of the United States, and in a measure the people of the world, are blind to the difficulties in the pathway of their representatives; if they are looking for quick issues and idealistic solutions where only practical adjustments are possible; if they are hoping for far-reaching results when the best possible must necessarily be restricted, they are at least supremely right in their instinct.

And this instinct is that the statesmanship of the world is on trial and that what may emerge from this trial is a new contribution to the cause of international amity; a little reduction in the feuds, jealousies and aspirations which separate the peoples of this planet.

Looking at the international situation at the present hour, it is clear that we have escaped political and financial bankruptcy as a consequence of the World War by only the narrowest margin. It is plain that the

work of reconstruction has hardly begun; that what little has been accomplished can be overturned in a night, and that beyond all else what is needed is that enormous gain for universal confidence, which would result from the spectacle of most of the great powers of the world meeting in friendly conversation and parting over an agreement which evidences an improvement in their mutual relations. I have told my readers over and over again that viewed at close range this Conference is a conference to deal primarily with the Asiatic problem and only secondarily with the question of the limitation of armaments. And this is true. But in the larger view the Washington Conference is a peace conference before all else. The commissions of the statesmen who come here, the commissions of the American statesmen who receive them, so far as these commissions flow from the peoples of these countries, were issued not as licenses to pursue abstract principles, or even concrete policies, but to procure for the millions still suffering as a consequence of the last war some relief from the immediate burdens due to military expenditures, and some assurance of a diminution of the dangers of new expenditures and new sufferings in the future.

To achieve this, after all, must be the object of the Washington Conference. To reach this end there must be an expansion of international confidence and a tremendous reduction in international suspicion. Every indication that I have seen at Washington leads me to believe that the British and the Japanese have come here prepared to make concessions and prepared to work loyally in the cause of international appeasement. The same is true of the French and the Italians, although both are less vitally affected. I do not believe that British policy, even if it were conducted by the most cynical of statesmen—and it is not—would dream of incurring all the risks that would have to be incurred to deceive or delude the United States or advantage Great Britain at our expense.

I am satisfied that whatever determination the Japanese may have to defend certain rights which the world may regard as wrongs, certain interests which to Japan seem a matter of life or death, in the larger view all thoughtful Japanese look upon the possibility of conflict with the United States with undisguised horror and have come here prepared to make many, many sacrifices in the hope of avoiding a clash.

Moreover—and I think my American readers should appreciate this fact—the dominant hope in the minds of the Europeans who come here is that they may carry back to shaken and stricken Europe some promise of a new period, some confidence that we are rounding the corner and a nightmare of more than seven years of war, and a peace which has been in so many respects so much of a mockery, is coming to an end.

IX. JAPAN, BRITAIN AND FRANCE

I have devoted so much attention to the broader aspects of the questions before the Conference that I can deal only very briefly with three late and important news developments: First, the Japanese naval policy as outlined by Baron Kato; second, the British decision to establish a sea base at Singapore; and third, the French policy with respect to the Conference as indicated by M. Briand on his arrival.

Taking up first the question of Japanese policy, readers of the daily newspapers will recall that very soon after the arrival of the Japanese delegation, and in denial of a news story asserting that Japan's attitude toward naval limitation was obscure, Baron Kato made a sensational public statement. This statement, in fact, not only outlined Japan's purpose on this point, but took even the informed by surprise.

In substance, the Baron declared that, so far from being unwilling to agree to a modification of the so-called "8 and 8 program," Japan was prepared not alone to limit future construction, but to reduce this program already in process of building, provided, of course, that similar concessions were made by Britain and the United States.

Now, I venture to suggest that in all probability we see here the first authentic sign of Japanese purpose. The Washington Conference, in the minds of the mass of the American people, was called for the purpose of achieving a measure of disarmament in the world. The Far Eastern question remains obscure, puzzling and unattractive. My judgment is that the Japanese have revealed a purpose to meet these American expectations, which are most general, to make their concessions in the matter of naval armament, and so far as possible to postpone and even to prevent any large effort to settle Pacific questions by drastic regulations.

In a word, it seems to me that the Japanese are undertaking to counter the effort

on the part of the British and Americans to transform what was originally regarded as a Conference for the limitation of armaments into a Far Eastern debate, by playing up the popular conception and by bringing the armament issue to the fore. To sum up very briefly, I should guess Japanese policy in the Conference will be directed to the limitation of armaments, not to a regulation of the Pacific, and that Baron Kato's first gesture was a shrewd appeal to popular sentiment.

Turning, now, to the British proposal to establish a naval base at Singapore, I think it is interesting to recall first of all the comment of a very well-informed Japanese journalist, who told me that the news of this British decision was received by wireless when the Japanese delegation was crossing the Pacific and with the message in his hand he went to one of the Japanese naval authorities and said, "Is this a threat to us?" and the answer was, "It may be interpreted as such."

My British friends, when asked about this movement, say pleasantly that the climate of Singapore is so attractive that it is natural to send a fleet there now that the German menace in the North Sea is laid. Since the climate of Singapore is notorious, the British comment is significant.

My judgment is that there will come forth from this Conference a declaration of British policy which will recall in substance the words of Sir Edward Grey at the moment when France appealed to him in the last days of July, 1914, for some guarantee in case of naval attack by Germany. His historic utterance in the House thereafter will be recalled. It was in substance that if a German fleet came through the Channel intending to attack French ports or commerce, the British fleet would intervene. My conviction is that when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance becomes a subject of discussion there will come from the British a frank declaration that notwithstanding any Anglo-Japanese Alliance that may exist, any attack upon the American establishments in the Philippines or in Guam will be viewed as a *casus belli* by the British.

The thing that Americans must remember is that the Philippines are indefensible until

such time as the United States constructs some great sea base at Guam at enormous expense. Further than this, the construction of such a base would inevitably be regarded by Japan as a threat. On the other hand, such an undertaking by Britain might tend to calm naval apprehensions and reconcile American naval men to a policy which looks to renouncing a great naval base at Guam as the only means of making the Philippines secure. And this obviously would be a step toward the removal of mutual distrust between American and Japanese naval authorities.

Last of all, I come to the question of the French attitude at Washington as expressed by the Prime Minister, M. Briand, and by the distinguished French statesmen and journalists who have come with him.

Despite all that has been said to the contrary, I am satisfied that French policy will not go beyond the explanation to the American people of the French military situation as it is adjusted to the political conditions of Europe, and a demonstration of the fact that France has gone, or is ready to go, as far as she can safely go in the matter of limitation of land armaments, having regard to her own security, unless Great Britain and the United States are prepared to undertake that guarantee which was the Anglo-French-American treaty of assurance negotiated at Paris but never ratified by the United States Senate.

On the other hand, I do not believe that M. Briand will make any serious effort to obtain the ratification of this treaty, provided pressure is not exerted upon France to reduce her own military establishment. Nor do I think that there is any large intention on the part of the American representatives further to complicate the already tangled situation by any effort to deal at large with the question of military forces.

If I may say a final word to my readers, it is this: that the most hopeful thing I see in the Washington Conference is that it may easily prove the first of a long series of international gatherings, each beginning at the point where the other left off, and each gaining by the accession of mutual confidence and good-will created by the previous international gathering.

JAPAN AND HER VITAL NECESSITIES

BY K. K. KAWAKAMI

[The author of the following article is one of the ablest of Japanese publicists, and we are glad to afford opportunity for a fresh statement, coming directly from a Japanese pen, of the economic problems with which our neighbor across the Pacific is confronted.—THE EDITOR]

ONCE every little while philanthropic, but more or less self-styled, authorities on the Far East come out with the comforting statement that Japan is not overcrowded, that she has much land at home which can be developed for productive purposes, that she is holding up the population problem before the world merely or mainly to keep alive an issue to be utilized as a trump card in the game of diplomacy.

In a widely circulated "Report on California and the Oriental," the California Board of Control, for instance, tells us that Hokkaido, the northern island of Japan, is "hardly populated." Yet Hokkaido supports 2,379,097 people on an area of 30,502 square miles. This makes a density of 77.9 per square mile. California, on the other hand, has only 22 persons to the square mile, 55 less than the density of Hokkaido, which the Board of Control describes as "hardly populated"!

Area, Population, and Agriculture

This is but one example of numerous fantastic statements made by so-called authorities on Japan. To such gentlemen I would submit the following table, showing the area and population of four main islands which constitute Japan proper:

	Area	Population (1920)	Population per Square Mile
Mainland	87,426	42,822,773	489.7
Shikoku	7,083	3,065,925	432.9
Kiushiu.....	15,703	7,593,345	483.5
Hokkaido	30,502	2,379,097	77.9

The average density of population in Japan is 396.2 per square mile. If we leave Hokkaido out of consideration, the density increases to 485.2. Compare this with corresponding figures for other countries. Belgium, with its 659 inhabitants to the square mile, is the most thickly populated country.

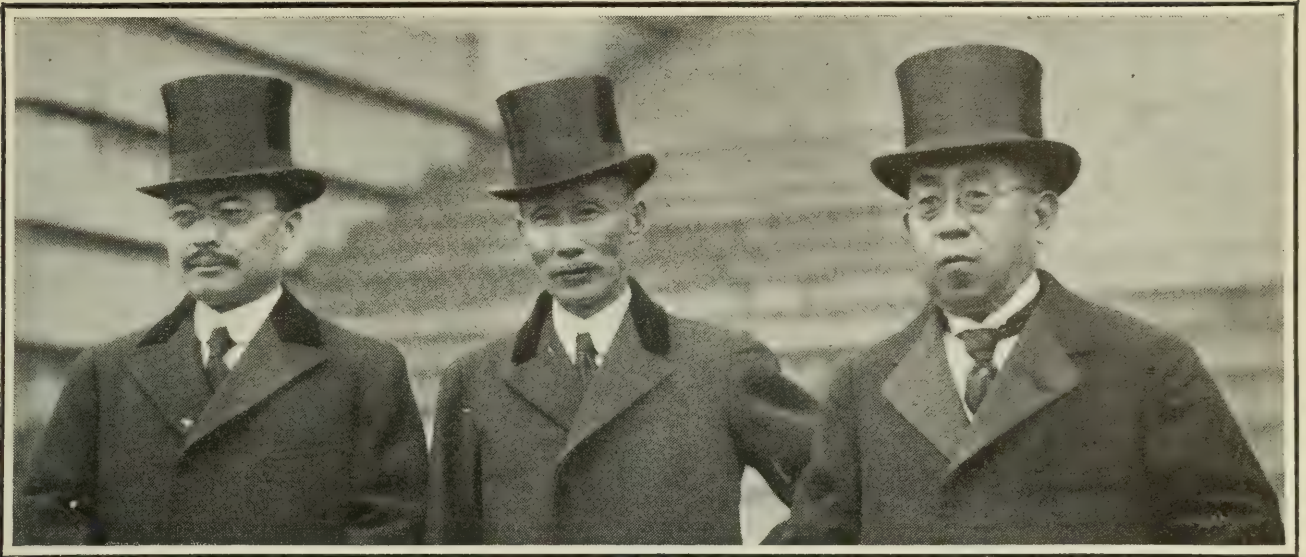
Holland, with 474 per square mile, and England, with 370, come next, followed by Italy's 316 and France's 193. But the European countries, whose density at home is greater than that of Japan, have each acquired extensive colonies, which either afford room for immigration or store abundant resources. Germany, which clamored for a "place in the sun," in spite of her absolute freedom of emigration, had in 1915 a density of some 310 per square mile. China, including her outlying territories, has only 70 people to the square mile.

Figures for Japanese population and area, though significant in themselves, do not tell the real story of Japan's predicament. A true appraisal of this phase of the Japanese question must of necessity take into consideration these three factors: (1) Japan has no colony where she may send her surplus population or where she can find sufficient raw material for her industries; (2) the Japanese are, by the united efforts of the Western nations, forbidden to migrate to any of the countries where the best opportunities await honest workers; (3) the topography of Japan is such that only a very small percentage of her area is adapted to farming.

The first two factors need not be discussed here. But the third calls for elucidation.

Japan consists of volcanic ranges and is torn by high mountains. The consequence is that the major part of the country is neither tillable nor habitable. Because of this condition, actual density of population is much greater than average density. According to the Japanese Government, the land area of Japan is classified as follows:

	Per Cent.
Agricultural land.....	35.00
Residential land	2.58
Meadows and pastures.....	8.79
Mountains	52.86
Others77



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THE JAPANESE DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

(At the left of the group is Baron Kijuro Shidehara, Japan's ambassador at Washington. In the center is Admiral Tomosaburo Kato, Minister of Marine. At the right is the head of the delegation, Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, president of the Japanese House of Peers)

Driven by necessity, the Japanese have been cultivating their lands so intensively that the law of diminishing return has long since begun to assert itself. Even the most painstaking application of fertilizing process cannot stay the operation of this natural law. To-day the soil of Japan is no longer capable of feeding its own population. Alarmed by this condition, the Japanese Government a few years ago conducted an investigation into the possibility or impossibility of extending the area of farming land. The result of this investigation was disappointing. In a word, the country offers no new land that can be opened for farming purposes.

We have seen that Japan's agricultural land amounts to 25 per cent. of total area. Compare this with the percentage of farming lands in other countries. Great Britain has 77.20 per cent.; Italy, 75.25; France, 69.35; Germany, 64.84; and the United States, 46. In Japan average agricultural land per capita is less than a quarter of an acre. In the United States it is five and one-half acres. Japan's per capita acreage must proportionately decrease with the increase of her population, because she has practically no land that can be reclaimed or developed.

When Commodore Perry knocked at Japan's door half a century ago, he did not know that he was disturbing a nest of hornets. Before Japan opened her doors to foreign intercourse, her population had remained almost stationary. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Japanese population neither increased nor decreased to any appreciable extent. In 1621 it numbered

some 25,621,000. In 1850 this increased to 27,000,000; that is, an increase of only 1,379,000 in 230 years. But in 1854 the American commodore persuaded Japan to open her doors to foreign intercourse, and subsequent increase of the Japanese population has been phenomenal. The foreign pressure and competition which followed the opening of the country awakened the virility which had been dormant under a stagnating influence of a rigid feudal system, and infused new vigor into the life of a nation which had remained a hermit.

From 1870 to 1920 the decennial increase of the Japanese population is as follows:

Year	Number	Decennial Increase
1870	33,110,796	3,012,954
1880	36,358,955	3,248,159
1890	40,718,677	3,359,722
1900	45,446,369	4,727,692
1910	51,753,934	6,307,565
1920	55,961,140	4,207,206

It is interesting to note that the increase in the decade just past is smaller by 2,100,000 than the increase in the preceding decade. Modern civilization, with its high cost of living, its industrialism, its higher education, seems to be operating, even in Japan, to check the growth of population. It is quite likely that the succeeding decade will witness even a greater fall in the rate of increase. Accepting this soothing theory, the fact nevertheless remains that Japan is already overcrowded, and that her soil has long been contending with the stern law of diminishing return.



THE JAPANESE EMPIRE, IN ITS RELATION TO THE MAINLAND OF ASIA

(Until the treaty of peace with China, in 1895, the Japanese Empire comprised only the four principal islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Shikoku, and Kyushu, together with a hundred-odd small islands. Formosa was ceded by China in 1895; Port Arthur and the southern half of Sakhalin Island were ceded by Russia in 1905; Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910; and Kiau-chau was seized from German occupation in 1914)

To the uninformed, Korea, Formosa, and South Manchuria may seem to offer a solution to the population question of Japan. But the Japanese cannot emigrate to those territories in large numbers—not because they are too fastidious about climate and food, but because there is not much room for them there. Korea, with an area of 84,738 square miles, has 17,284,000 people, making a density of 203.9 per square mile. Formosa, 13,944 square miles in area, has a population of 5,654,398, or 405.5 to the square mile. South Manchuria has an area of some 91,000 square miles, but it is almost as thickly populated as Korea. Moreover, except for the leased territory of Kwantung, South Manchuria is not under Japanese control.

Expansion in Asia

Outside the very narrow strip of land along the South Manchuria railway, the

Japanese are not allowed to own Manchurian land. Up to 1915, even leasehold was denied them. Under the present status of China's foreign relations, foreigners are not allowed the freedom of residence and trade in the interior.

Furthermore, in Korea, Formosa, and China the Japanese must compete with peoples whose standard of living and wages is much lower than their own. This competition is perhaps the greatest obstacle to Japanese emigration to those countries. The same obstacle will be encountered in Shantung and in all parts of China.

Is it any wonder that, in spite of the late Marquis Komura's policy to divert Japanese emigration from America to the continent of Asia, only a small number of Japanese have emigrated in that direction? It is just as well that the Japanese have not and will not go to China or Korea in large numbers, for large Japanese immigration in the already crowded countries will not fail to create friction and disturbance worse than in California.

When the Japanese speak of the necessity of Japanese expansion in the eastern section of the Asian continent, they do not necessarily mean mass emigration of their compatriots in that direction. Rather they mean that they must have free access to the resources which are in store in Siberia, Manchuria, and China. They mean that they must have the privilege to obtain raw materials to feed their mills and factories. They mean that Japan must be allowed to exploit mineral resources slumbering beneath the plains and hills of the yet sparsely populated and undeveloped countries of Eastern Asia. They mean that Japanese capital, rather than Japanese labor, should be permitted to develop agricultural and other resources in those countries. If Japan goes to those countries it will be not with labor, but with capital, developing their resources and giving employment to native laborers.

The reason for this Japanese desire is obvious. Japan is suffering as much from the dearth of raw material as from overpopulation and shortage of land. She has accepted the inevitable, and is reconciled to the fact that neither America nor Australia, neither Korea nor China, is available as an outlet for her population. But she cannot, as no nation can, reconcile herself to the fate of self-extinction.

Japan sees the only alternative of self-extinction in the attainment of her aspiration to be a great industrial and trading nation. But here again Japan faces a great difficulty in the lack of raw materials, and especially three essentials of modern industry—iron, coal, and oil. In the matter of the supply of raw materials Japan is perhaps the poorest of the industrial nations of today. Unless she finds unhindered access to such materials in countries not too far from home, she will ultimately decline, or even perish, from stagnation and inanition.

Herein lies the *raison d'être* for Japan's impelling desire for economic advance in Siberia or Mongolia, in Manchuria or Shantung. In those countries she sees iron and coal, though she has not yet found oil anywhere.

The Situation in Shantung

With this point in view, let us turn our attention to Shantung. It is not political domination that Japan is trying to attain in Shantung. Her only desire is to enjoy the privilege of utilizing some of the natural resources of Shantung, which under Chinese control, will remain unexploited or may be given over to some other money-lender. But is Japan grabbing so vast concessions in Shantung as to justify the hue and cry raised in some quarters against her? Let us see.

Outstanding facts concerning Japan's position in Shantung are simple and clear.

First, the leased territory of Kiauchau, 200 square miles in area, will be returned to China.

Secondly, Japan does not seek to establish an exclusive, or even international, settlement in Tsingtao, the capital of the leased territory, but will place the whole territory under Chinese administration, though for the present the usual extraterritorial rights will have to be recognized for all foreigners residing there. In return Japan asks China to open the whole leased territory to foreign trade.

Thirdly, Japan wants the Shantung railway (Kiauchau-Tsinan), only 245 miles long, together with mines appurtenant thereto, to be worked as a joint enterprise in which Japanese and Chinese capital will be equally or equitably represented.

Fourthly, Japan gives up, in favor of the International Financial Consortium (in which America figures most prominently), privileges she had obtained for the construction of three new lines, namely, the Tsinan-Shunteh line, 160 miles; the Kaomi-Shuchou line, 220 miles; and the Weichien-Yentai (or Chefoo) line, 150 miles.

Fifthly, Japan renounces all preferential rights, formerly enjoyed by Germany and transferred to Japan by the Versailles Treaty, with regard to the employment of foreigners and foreign capital and material.

Sixthly, Japan will withdraw her troops, now only 4000, guarding the Kiauchau-Tsinan railway, the moment China is ready to place her own guards along the line.



THE PROVINCE OF SHANTUNG, CHINA

(According to Japan's proposal, the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway and the two mines marked on the map are to be operated by a Chino-Japanese joint corporation. The projected Weihien-Chefoo, Tsinan-Shunteh, and Kaomi-Suchoufu railways, for which Japan has a financing contract, will be turned over to the international consortium)

Seventhly, the Tsingtao Customs House will become an integral part of the Maritime Customs system of China.

Eighthly, Japan will hand over to China all public property used for administrative purposes within the leased territory.

These eight propositions, presented to China by Japan on September 7, 1921, reveal Japan's true intention in Shantung, which is essentially economic. She is ready to give up many, almost all, of the rights formerly enjoyed by Germany. She has renounced much of the advantage that was given her in the Versailles Treaty. If China decides to accept these proposals made by Japan, the Shantung question will be settled at once.

True, according to these Japanese proposals, China does not get everything she wants. But none of the property and rights Japan proposes to restore to China was taken from China. All were taken from Germany. Japan expelled Germany from Shantung at a cost of 2000 killed and wounded, as well as \$15,000,000, when China, torn by internal discord, had neither the will nor ability to dislodge the Germans. The total expenditure of the Japanese army and navy in the Great War was \$462,000,000.

Had any European power instead of Japan taken Kiau-chau and the Shantung railway at such a considerable sacrifice, would it have offered to China even half of what Japan has offered? Japan retains nothing but a half share in the Kiauchau-Tsinan railway and the three mines belonging to the railway. Nothing else is left in her hands. She keeps no jurisdiction over Tsingtao or Kiau-chau. She gives up the preferential commercial rights which Germany enjoyed in Shantung, and to which Japan succeeded by virtue of the Versailles Treaty. This means that Shantung is no more a Japanese "sphere of influence" than Mexico is an American sphere of influence.

Remember that Shantung has an area of 55,970 square miles. In such a large province, a railway, only 245 miles in length, and two coal mines and an iron mine, all held jointly by China and Japan, cannot possibly be regarded as a "menace." Even under the present Japanese management, these railroads

and mines employ 7315 Chinese officials and laborers as against 2126 Japanese. The native population of Shantung numbers 25,810,000, against which only 22,000 are Japanese. This Japanese population, small as it is, will become considerably smaller when the Japanese troops along the railway are replaced by Chinese soldiers, because many of the Japanese civilians now living in Tsingtao, Tsinan, and other cities on the railway are tradesmen of small means who have followed in the train of the soldiers. When the soldiers withdraw these traders will also return home.

Japan's Motives Economic, Not Militaristic

We have shown that Japan's motive for expansion on the Asian continent is economic. No one denies that Japan has her military faction, and that the militarists have committed blunders in Siberia, in Korea, in Manchuria. But I do not believe that the impelling force behind Japanese desire for expansion is militarism. That force is economic in nature, and finds its source in the fear of starvation which stares the sixty millions of Nippon in the face.

In his historic war message of April 2, 1917, President Wilson said:

Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. . . . Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights.

With Mr. Wilson, Japan recognizes the impossibility, at least under the present order of the world, of establishing "equality of territory or of resources" among the various nations. She asks for no other kind of equality than that which can be gained "in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves."

At the same time Japan would do well to mend some of her ways in dealing with her neighbors on the Asian continent. For Japan's claim for "equality of rights" implies obligation to observe the same principle on her own part.



YOUNG JAPAN AT SCHOOL

BY WELTHY HONSINGER

[The author of this attractive sketch of certain phases of school life in Japan has had world-wide educational experience. For more than ten years she was at the head of an important school in China, and she has made careful investigations of school life and work in Japan, the Philippines, India, and elsewhere in the Orient.—THE EDITOR]

IN less than two generations the Island Empire of Japan, with fifty million people, has provided schools and teachers enough for practically all its children—and the children are *in* the schools. It is true that there are not nearly enough high schools or intermediate schools for all who are now so eager for education. Especially is there a great lack of girls' higher schools, for the founders of the system did not dream that the modest and speechless Japanese girls would want to penetrate the realm of higher learning. However, for the children of Japan of compulsory school age, there is ample provision for a primary education of six years' duration.

The whole system has been perfectly worked out. The leaders of thought of to-morrow may be expected to come from the Imperial University, the goal of every ambitious student throughout the Empire. This university has just opened its doors to women students; to be sure, the door is open only a crack; for although she may try the examinations of the university and pass them, she may not yet receive a degree.

A glimpse into the faces of a thousand of those young men students, such as I had only a few months ago, gives much hope for the leaders of the new democratic Japan toward which her greatest patriots and deepest thinkers are working. The great thing is that in Japan they are actually doing away with a class of illiterates, and the fact that

ninety-eight out of every hundred children of school age are in school is a triumph to their system, no matter what its faults.

Japan and her lovers may boast of her Imperial University, her many and efficient normal schools, her huge intermediate schools, so well equipped for serious work in every

imaginable course; but to one who knows the Orient and who knows that the only hope for Oriental peoples lies in the education of the masses, the greatest joy is to be found in the thousands of primary schools of Japan. In the city, in the country, on out-of-the-way roads, and in tiny hamlets, always one finds a school full of children.

Just outside of almost every school I saw was a large courtyard, and every morning at the sound of the bugle there came running into it from the classrooms hundreds of the happiest-looking boys and girls I have seen in any country. With trained teachers they had an invigorating half-hour of drills and romping games. The girls were on their

side of the court and the boys on theirs. The girls' cheeks were a deeper red than their skirts, which is the trademark of the Japanese schoolgirl. Other classes of girls were seated on the floor learning to make Japanese clothes for all members of the family. From another building came the sound of boys' voices chanting Buddhist prayers, preparing for some fête day at the temple near by.

In all my visits to temples great and small



A TYPICAL SCHOOLBOY OF JAPAN



SCHOOL CHILDREN FROM THE COUNTRY ARRIVING IN THE CITY, ON A YEARLY VISIT TO INVESTIGATE AT FIRST HAND THE WONDERS OF A METROPOLIS

on this last trip through Japan, I noted that I did not go into one without finding a class of boys or girls—sometimes an entire school—brought by their teachers; and once there, they listened to a lecture by a priest, on the temple, its history, and the significance of the teachings of the Buddhas represented there in wood or stone.

Japan is making every effort to have all children of the Empire fare alike educationally. I was fortunate to be in Japan to see how she tries to equalize opportunities between the city child and the country child. I saw trains filled with children and tramways spilling over with eager, alert boys with their school bags, their little caps, and their military bearing. Stations seemed to be owned by the school children and their teacher chaperones. All over Japan it seemed to be "moving day" for schools; it was just that. For a whole week, the city child is taken into the country to study it, to see how rice is planted, to put his hand on a silkworm, to become acquainted with the

trees, to walk and work one day with the farmer.

The country child is taken to the bewildering city. He sees the central telephone switchboards, perhaps in Tokio where four thousand girls are employed. He sees the electric signs, the modern buildings, the huge factories, and the movies! There is nothing that escapes the eager eyes of the country lad, and after that week is over his reading and study are living realities to him. Little by little, after each year's visit, the city boy begins to understand the problems and the joys of the country boy. The country boy understands better the city, and it soon loses the fascination with which distance and second-hand information had surrounded it.

Japan's boys and girls are in school, all of them. Her young men and her young women are reading and are coming to know not only the world of the Japanese Empire but all the countries of the world, preparing for entrance into world citizenship which we all hope may some day be more than a name.





A PATRIOTIC CEREMONY AT LILIUOKALANI SCHOOL—NAMED FOR HAWAII'S LAST QUEEN

EDUCATION AND RACE PROBLEMS IN HAWAII

BY RILEY H. ALLEN

(Editor of the Honolulu "Star-Bulletin")

[The present article follows similar contributions on educational and racial problems in Porto Rico and the Philippines, published in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for September and October respectively. But this article has added interest and timeliness, for it deals mainly with Hawaii's race problem at the moment when the attention of the whole world is directed to the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions, at Washington.—THE EDITOR]

SIX out of every ten children born in the Territory of Hawaii are of Oriental parentage.

Five out of every ten are of Japanese parentage.

Of the 259,300 civilian population of the Hawaiian Islands, 114,879 (or 44 per cent.) are Japanese.

Chinese number 22,378, Filipinos 23,971, and Koreans 5327, a total of 166,555, or approximately 64 per cent.

The population of American¹, British, German, and Russian blood numbers 37,409, or only 14.4 per cent., out of a total population (including 16,500 military and naval) of 275,884.

There, in five sentences, is the story of Hawaii's greatest problem. It is a problem

that affects every phase of life in this American territory nearly midway between the Occident and the Orient. It is a problem social and economic, religious and educational, cultural and political.

This article aims to give to the readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS a summary of educational facts and problems in Hawaii; but because these facts and problems are chiefly an outgrowth of the racial situation, some further reference must be made to race immigration, amalgamation, and development. I shall first outline phases of the racial situation which complicate immensely the course of all life as well as popular education in this outlying American territory, and then show to what an extraordinary extent education is making a broad highway to peaceful progress and an American citizenship which is unique under the American flag.

Up to 1852, the population of Hawaii was relatively homogeneous, with the Ha-

¹In this article, the terminology followed is that of the bureau of vital statistics, Territorial Board of Health, which in the use of the word "American" means white Americans or those of Anglo-Saxon ancestry.

waiian people in the great majority. A series of enterprises in "assisted immigration," extending from that date to the present time, brought about the remarkable change now evident. These enterprises cannot be detailed here. Sufficient to say that Americans, Scandinavians, Portuguese, Spanish, Russians, Galicians, and other Europeans; Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos, Porto Ricans and several sorts of South Sea Islanders or Polynesians, have been taken to Hawaii in groups of varying size, for agricultural labor.

Outside of the assisted immigration through government and the efforts of private industry, the most notable influx has been of Japanese laborers, who came in large numbers before the negotiation of the "gentlemen's agreement," attracted by high wages and assured living accommodations. News of the good living to be found in Hawaii had spread rapidly in Japan after the earlier "assisted immigrants" had begun to prosper on the Hawaiian plantations.

Latest estimates of Hawaii's population (Territorial Board of Health Figures up to June 30, 1921) are as follows:

American, British, German, Russian....	37,409
Chinese	22,378
Filipino	23,971
Hawaiian	21,907
Japanese	114,879
Korean	5,327
Asiatic-Hawaiian	6,499
Caucasian-Hawaiian	11,348
Portuguese	25,257
Porto Rican	5,491
Spanish	848
Others	570

The figures above indicate a larger proportion of non-citizens than is really the case. Children of aliens born in Hawaii are American citizens. The Board of Health figures quoted show *race-origin*, not *citizenship*. Many of those listed as Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans are citizen-born children. Hawaiians of course are full-fledged American citizens, since Hawaii was annexed to the United States by its own volition, and its native population at once assumed complete citizenship. Immigrants of Latin blood are eligible to citizenship and have assimilated readily.

There remains, however, a serious and to some minds an appalling proportion of Orientals, especially Japanese, ineligible to citizenship. This ineligibility to citizenship is a factor in the problem which there is not space here to discuss, except to say that it

inevitably adds to the difficulties of Hawaii, since it retards assimilation and must not infrequently cause the Oriental to look on his residence in Hawaii as temporary, expecting some day to betake himself with his children back to his home country.

It should be emphasized here that the preponderance of non-American and non-Hawaiian blood in Hawaii's population does not represent the result of Oriental or any other "invasion" in the true sense of that word. Even a casual study of Hawaii's history shows that the present situation has been brought about by two main causes—first, the needs of industrial Hawaii for manual labor; secondly, the development in Hawaii of a race tolerance perhaps nowhere else equaled. Not only were thousands of laborers imported from far lands, but, once here, they found such industrial and social opportunity for themselves and such citizenship opportunity for their children that they soon began rooting themselves deep into the life of the territory.

Orientals Will Continue to Predominate

Although Japanese immigration has been stopped (except for limited privileged classes) under the "gentlemen's agreement" effective in 1908, and although departures of Japanese from Hawaii now exceed arrivals, no conceivable immigration of other races to Hawaii is likely to end the numerical preponderance of the Japanese. And it is wholly improbable that there will be any immigration from continental United States sufficient to offset the immense disproportion in Hawaii between alien and American bloods.

We may assume that the racial-educational problems with which Hawaii is struggling will not be changed in general character by fresh blood from other countries. They are problems which must be solved by forces at work within the Territory.

To add to the situation created by the great immigration of Orientals are their high birth-rate and low death-rate. For instance, Japanese births during the fiscal year 1920-21 constituted about one-half the total births in the islands. Per thousand of Japanese, the birth-rate was 42.74, while the American-British-German-Russian group had a birth-rate of only 15.88—less, by the way, than that of any other group. And Asiatic-Hawaiians led all groups in birth-rate with 78.63 per thousand. It takes little figuring to show that with more than six births out



ELEVEN NATIONALITIES ARE HERE REPRESENTED, AT A PAGEANT ARRANGED LAST AUGUST FOR THE FIRST PAN-PACIFIC EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, BY THE PUPILS OF KAIULANI SCHOOL IN HONOLULU

of every ten, Orientals are gaining in their degree of race preponderance; and, indeed, analysis of statistics collected by a federal school survey board two years ago shows how race preponderance could, if directed toward certain ends, be translated into political control. It has already been pointed out that the children born in Hawaii of Japanese parents are citizens. By 1930 these citizen-born will comprise about 28 per cent. of the electorate and by 1940 about 47 per cent. Thenceforward, their numbers will double every 21 years. Between 1940 and 1950 the voters of Japanese blood will reach the point of numerical majority.

Racial and Language Difficulties

It is recognized everywhere in Hawaii that the greatest and gravest problem of the school systems, public and private, are those arising from the immense racial and language differences between the Caucasians and the Orientals, and the numerical superiority of the latter.

The federal school survey of Hawaii completed in 1920 showed that of the children entering school at six or seven years of age, *not more than 2 or 3 per cent. can speak the English language.* Of those who are able to make themselves understood by the teacher, the majority use a jargon peculiar to Hawaii—a combination of Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, and debased English, as meaningless to the American just come from New York or San Francisco as would be the strange Chinook dialect of the

Pacific Northwest, or the "pidgin" of the China coast.

This is only one of many illustrations which could be used to show what tasks confront popular education in Hawaii, from the standpoint of the teacher and the pupils.

From the standpoint of the respective "white" and Oriental fathers and mothers, this difference in language, background, ideals, traditions, and social customs presents serious problems also.

For many years past the territorial public schools have been steadily filling with children of Oriental blood. As the proportion of Orientals in the islands rose higher and higher over that of Occidentals, the schools showed the effect. The federal school survey gave enrollment in the public and private schools as of June 30, 1919, as follows:

<i>Oriental and Asiatic</i>	Per Cent.
Japanese	40.6
Chinese	10.3
Korean	1.5
Filipino	2.1
Total Asiatic	54.5
<i>Polynesians</i>	
Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians.....	18.5
<i>Latins</i>	
Portuguese	14.7
Spanish	1.2
Porto Rican	2.6
Total Latins	18.5
Americans, British, Russians, Germans, etc.	5.5
Other nationalities4



JAPANESE FIJIAN PORTUGUESE-HAWAIIAN

FOUR-TENTHS OF HAWAII'S SCHOOL CHILDREN ARE JAPANESE. ONE-SEVENTH ARE PORTUGUESE

Enrollment for the current school year shows the following racial representation, in round numbers:

Hawaiian	3,400
Part-Hawaiian	4,500
Anglo-Saxon	1,200
Spanish	150
Portuguese	5,200
Porto Rican	1,100
Chinese	3,800
Japanese	20,000
Korean	700
Filipino	1,200
Others	500

Private Schools for American Children

The extent to which Americans are resorting to private schools is shown by the federal survey figures. American pupils in public schools were 2.08 per cent. of the total enrollment in all schools, public and private. American pupils in private schools were 2.44 per cent. of this total public and private enrollment. The percentage this year is about the same.

When it is considered that there are 42,500 public-school pupils, and only 7500 private-school pupils, the fact that there are more Americans enrolled in the few private schools than in the many public schools is significant. American parents are unwilling to place their children in schools overwhelmingly attended by the Asiatics. They will, if it is at all possible, send their children to private schools, paying the high tuition and other fees, rather than place them in institutions where they will be submerged in the mass of children of aliens.

Race prejudice is not the deciding factor in bringing parents to what is in many cases a reluctant conclusion.

It is not because there are little Chinese or Japanese or Korean boys and girls in the public schools. It is because *there are so many of them*—such great numbers that inevitably their jargon-English, their inherited and often not exactly agreeable customs, and their manners, influence American children as their fathers and mothers do not wish them influenced.

“The problem is not qualitative but quantitative,” says one of the school authorities of Hawaii. “Americans know that their impressionable children, literally surrounded throughout the school-day and at playtime by these swarms of Orientals, will unconsciously pick up and adopt Oriental manners and mannerisms. They know also that the Oriental children start with such a handicap in lack of the English language, as makes the progress of a whole school-class slow and labored, and the American child will be held back to the pace of the Oriental, who is studious indeed but toiling under a terrific weight of lack of English words and word-images to respond to the efforts of the teacher.”

So it is that Americans are frankly letting the public schools “look after the Orientals” and are sending their children to the private schools—which have the right to restrict attendance as they wish.

It must not be supposed that this is a surrender to Orientalism without struggle or protest. The struggle and the protest are, in fact, beginning to increase in volume and vigor. Americans and other Caucasians who pay the great bulk of taxes used for school support are objecting more and more to the fact that while they stand most of the expense, it is the Oriental children who get



AMERICAN-HAWAIIAN FILIPINO CHINESE-JAPANESE

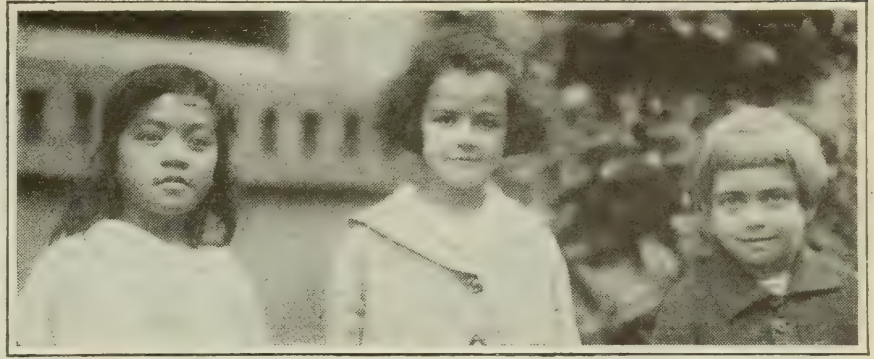
PLAYMATES IN AN HAWAIIAN SCHOOL

the education. The Caucasian pays double—first, to educate the children of Orientals in the public schools; secondly, to educate his own children in the private schools.

It has been said that the remedy for this is to send all Americans to public schools and thus "Americanize" them. But in the light of the small numbers of Americans (less than 5 per cent. of the total enrollment) that course of procedure would be manifestly futile.

In the main cities and towns, and especially in Honolulu, there is a growing agitation for setting aside certain public schools and a high school for "whites." That such a course would meet with objections from all except the "whites" (from Orientals as well as non-Orientals) is certain. And it is a plan viewed with the greatest reluctance even by the "whites" who object to their present double expense for education. Hawaii has never drawn the color-line, in politics, business, education, or society. Controversies dangerous to the very peace of the islands might be stirred were the color issue to be raised in public-school education.

The Board of Public Instruction recently attempted to meet the problem by setting aside a centrally located Honolulu school for children who could meet an unusual entrance test in the English language, but this did not long halt the steady procession of tiny Japanese boys and girls into the school. My information is that a Japanese kindergarten was almost immediately started in this section, in which English was emphasized, and when the next school year opened,



CHINESE-AMERICAN

HAWAIIAN-AMERICAN

RUSSIAN

THE TWO CHILDREN AT THE LEFT EACH HAD AN AMERICAN PARENT

the Japanese first-grade pupils (who had been specially trained in this kindergarten) easily passed the tests for entrance into the school which it had been hoped would, by an exclusion of little Orientals, meet the demand for an "American school." No one can blame the Japanese for this. Rather, they deserve credit for their immediate steps to prepare their children to meet higher entrance tests. But the incident illustrates the problem before American parents as well as the school authorities.

And it ought further to be said that careful studies by trained and unbiased observers indicate that the natural endowment of Orientals and Occidentals is about the same. It is the environment back of the Oriental that handicaps him in early school years and weighs down the entire school system.

Foreign-Language Schools

A powerful element in educational life in Hawaii, the foreign-language schools cannot be ignored in any survey, however brief, of Hawaii's systems. They are a natural result of the great immigration from the Orient, and the need felt by Oriental parents to give the children education along their nationalistic lines. It was not until a few

years ago, when there was realized the danger that these schools would retard or prevent Americanization, that any serious effort was made to survey the situation or take steps to modify it. There are approximately 185 foreign-language schools with 489 teachers and 22,000 children. Most of these schools, of course, are Japanese, with 20,000 pupils; the remainder are Korean and Chinese.



FILIPINO

KOREAN

SPANISH

TWO THOUSAND OF HAWAII'S FIFTY THOUSAND SCHOOL CHILDREN ARE OF THESE THREE TYPES

NUMBER OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE SCHOOLS, THEIR ENROLLMENT AND TEACHERS, AND THEIR RELIGIOUS CONNECTION

Religion	Schools	Teachers	Enrollment
Japanese (Christian)	10	23	507
Japanese Buddhist (Sodo sect)	3	7	600
Japanese Buddhist (Jodo sect)	18	51	1,600
Japanese Buddhist (Hongwanji sect)	42	155	7,100
Japanese Independent	90	213	10,389
Korean schools (independent)	10	12	800
Chinese schools (independent)	12	28	1,150
Total	185	489	22,146

The Japanese foreign-language schools have come in for much attention and bitter criticism. Originally started by Japanese Christians in Hawaii, nearly all are now Japanese schools run by five Buddhist sects. The Japanese schools grew to ominous proportions, and some years ago were criticised severely as teaching Japanism instead of Americanism. And there was certainly too much of truth in that criticism to tolerate the schools longer as they were. Now they have been placed under rather strict territorial law. Whereas once the Japanese pupils attended the Japanese schools before and after the public-school day, now the Japanese schools (and all other foreign-language schools) are restricted to teaching one hour a day—after the public school hours—not more than six hours a week and not more than thirty-eight weeks in the course of a year.

In fairness it should be added that these schools have done some excellent work; they have in many sections been something of a community center; and now, when the Territory's housing accommodations are entirely inadequate, the Department of Public Instruction has been forced to turn to the Japanese school authorities and borrow the language schools to accommodate public-school pupils.

Not more than the foregoing rather meager reference can be made to racial and language factors in Hawaii's educational problem. The problem is now at its most acute phase.

At present a serious crisis in agriculture caused by the labor shortage affords some misgivings. Two years ago a plantation labor strike among the Japanese developed a nationalistic spirit which gave Hawaii an ominous forecast of the perils of possible race controversy. The strike passed but much

bitterness remains. Now Hawaii, seeking other sources of labor to save its threatened agricultural industries, has met, on the part of many Japanese, a recrudescence of this nationalistic spirit.

The economic situation has so far had little reflection in the schools, except that on account of it, the question naturally arises whether the alien-language school has been a factor in sustaining the nationalistic spirit. Childhood in study and in play knows little of race animosities, unless prompted by the adult. Hawaii's children of many races mingle freely, while their parents observe with anxiety the clouds that gather in the Pacific sky.

Factors for Unification

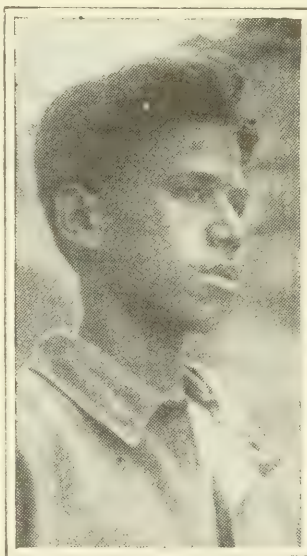
All this may seem to paint a gloomy picture for the American territory of Hawaii, but in Hawaii it is not generally so regarded. Mindful of the immense problems and correspondingly immense responsibility entailed on an American community, the people of Hawaii are by no means ready to acknowledge that this mass of alien-blooded population cannot be moulded into worthy citizenship, in the course of time.

First, there is the perfectly obvious fact that in Hawaii most races fuse rapidly. A new physical type is developing,

looking now at the population as a whole and gazing ahead not merely years but centuries. This new physical type is a multi-racial mixture.

Hawaii, once a lonely and lovely archipelago inhabited by the brown Polynesians, serenely primitive in its native life, is to-day the world's greatest experiment station in race-mixtures. Here Orient and Occident meet; here North America and Siberia and Antipodes touch; here a current of Latin blood crosses a current of Teuton; Anglo-Saxon and Asiatic, Malay and Micronesian, Slav and Scandinavian, mingle and influence each other.

Hawaii has long been called "the melting-pot of the Pacific." But that is not broad enough. The island territory is not merely a pot into which are thrown various ele-



A FULL-BLOODED
HAWAIIAN BOY

(Representing a racial type
that is fast disappearing)



MORE THAN A DOZEN NATIONALITIES ARE REPRESENTED IN THIS PUBLIC SCHOOL GROUP IN HONOLULU,
MADE UP OF VARIOUS PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS

ments to be fused by outside influences: but a laboratory, an experiment station, in which human effort and intelligence are striving to effect a combination of alien blood with American citizenship.

The least "fusible" are Japanese and Koreans. Others intermarry freely with the Polynesian stocks and with each other. And the marriage with Polynesians is fruitful of good results. A valuable contribution to humankind has been made by the Hawaiian natives, who, while disappearing before the inexorable impact of a civilization sterner than their own, have bequeathed to the new citizenship of the islands many of their own kindly and attractive qualities. The full-blooded Hawaiians are disappearing, but those of all other degrees of blood from half-Hawaiian down are increasing, and the Caucasian-Hawaiian, Chinese-Hawaiian, and Portuguese-Hawaiian are largely represented in the vigorous young citizenship of to-day.

Even those races such as the Japanese, which in the first and second generations of life in Hawaii have not readily fused with other races, are changing in type. The third-generation Japanese boy and girl in Hawaii are likely to be of an ampler mould than the grandfather and grandmother from the hard-worn soil of the Mikado's empire. The descendants are taller, straighter of

limb; their more rounded outlines and heavier bodies testifying to the beneficial effects which Hawaii's equable, generous climate, and Hawaii's far better living con-
ing conditions, exercise on the offspring of immigrants.

Secondly, new mental and moral concepts are changing the entire life of both immigrants and their citizen-born children. This is partly the result of the economic forces all about them, which bring them into close contact with differing races; and partly the result of social, educational, and religious activities undertaken with the definite aim of physical and social betterment.

It is to be doubted if any community in the continental United States corresponding in area or population is so highly organized as the Territory of Hawaii in agencies devoting most of their time and funds to aliens and their children. Public and private schools, churches, settlements, innumerable "welfare" and social organizations, mutual savings societies, inter-racial unions, and, in the chief agricultural industries, important and expensive industrial welfare bureaus—these and other strongly supported and intelligently directed agencies play their multitudinous influences ceaselessly upon the mass of alien-blooded peoples.

The economic forces which bring about

the employment of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Porto Ricans and others on the same plantations; and which, in the cities, bring about the competition of the same races in mercantile and artisan pursuits, have an influence on the future citizenship no stronger than—if as strong as—the cultural forces, which are teaching these aliens and their offspring a common language and emphasizing the common destiny of all population elements in the islands.

Public Schools as the Chief Agency

The public schools are the chief agency in harmonizing and developing the citizenship of the future, because they reach impressionable children, quick to grasp a new language and new ideas. And the schools are working consciously and successfully to mould the minds and bodies and hearts of these thousands of young people of many bloods into men and women not forgetful or ashamed of their race-origin but proud of an American citizenship broad enough to include the children of all bloods.

The public schools of Hawaii have at the opening of the school year 1921-'22 an attendance of about 42,500. This attendance is increasing at a rate now exceeding 3000 per year. Attendance at high schools is about 2000. Last year the public schools employed 1299 teachers, this year 1441.

The theory of universal education, brought to Hawaii by the earnest and devoted Christian missionaries, has immensely broadened and developed. Support of the public schools is a first charge on the revenues of the territory. Welfare of the schools has been a constant issue before the people.

Organized instruction in Hawaii goes back a full hundred years, to the work of the earliest missionaries, in the '20's of the last century. They brought to the lonely Pacific islands not only a zeal for Christianity but a zeal for education. So persistently and with such vision did these missionaries develop education, that during the '50's and '60's children were sent by sailing-ship from California to take advantage of the opportunity in Oahu College (now Punahou Schools), the oldest educational institution west of the Rocky Mountains.

Hawaii has had a compulsory school law since the '40's—in this respect far antedating many States. The compulsory school age is from 6 to 15 inclusive, and in attendance of enrolled pupils, the Territory stands

higher than most States, with an average year after year of above 92 per cent.

The public-school system in Hawaii is expanding rapidly, as the following figures, covering two decades, indicate:

	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	PUPILS
1900.....	140	352	11,501
1910.....	153	501	20,245
1920.....	174	1,223	41,350
1921.....	174	1,361	41,151

In two decades the number of pupils has almost quadrupled, while the increase in number of schools has been but from 140 to 174. It is therefore obvious that the public-school system is "bursting at the seams." To-day the housing problem is the most serious of the physical difficulties with which the department of instruction is struggling.

A School System that Excels

Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, in his authoritative study, "An Index Number for State School Systems," published by the Russell Sage Foundation, ranked Hawaii twenty-third in the list; and Hawaii's public school system is given as *surpassing* those of Illinois, Kansas, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, Vermont and other States. This report took consideration of such factors as number of children attending school, amount of training they secure, progress made, amount expended for buildings and supplies, salaries paid teachers, and similar items, combining these factors into a single index number which shows the general standing or efficiency of the system.

In other respects Hawaii's school system is one of which the Territory is justly proud. This same report declares that "educational opportunities are more equitably distributed throughout the entire area of the Territory of Hawaii than in any mainland State. In Hawaii the educational differences between the metropolis and the most sequestered hamlet are smaller than in any State. In this respect Hawaii is more democratic than many mainland States."

The report further gave Hawaii the highest record of attendance at school for any State or Territory. Every school in Hawaii has exactly the same length of school year, 190 days. Teachers and principals are paid for twelve months of the year, in twelve equal installments. No sex distinction is made in salary schedules or otherwise between men and women teachers. And the report adds: "Nowhere in the United States



© Ewing Galloway

A HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING IN HONOLULU

is the public school as an Americanization agency of greater significance or potentiality than in Hawaii."

To-day the theory of popular education is rapidly developing. The democratic-school system in Hawaii aims to give every child in the commonwealth an opportunity for schooling not merely in rudiments but in those higher branches that will encourage student development according to varying mental endowment and bent. To see that every child irrespective of race is given the chance for education, and to see that this education affords him opportunity to utilize his natural talents to practical advantage, is the ideal in which both public and private schools unite.

The Executive Personnel

The Territory is thoroughly committed to the support of popular education, and has the advantage of being officered by men who are permanent residents; men whose life-interests predispose them to the cause of popular education.

Alaska or Porto Rico or the Philippines may be given a governor who is a non-resident, whose home interests lie elsewhere. In Hawaii this cannot happen. Under the organic act, the Governor must be a bona-fide resident. It is no disparagement to the distinguished Americans appointed to govern Alaska, Porto Rico, or the Philippines to say that Hawaii regards the residence qualification as highly desirable and important.

The present Governor of Hawaii, Wallace R. Farrington, born in Maine and educated

in the public schools and university of his home State, has been a resident of the islands since 1894. His business and his home interests are identical with the interests of the Territory. The son of an educator, reared in that public-school system which has produced so many great Americans, he has been during his long residence in Hawaii a leading exponent of popular education for the island boys and girls. His leadership in educational affairs had much to do with his attainment of that prominence in the Territory's public life which attracted the attention of President Harding and led to the gubernatorial appointment. It may safely be assumed that during his term as Governor popular education in Hawaii will gain increasing momentum.

The Governor appoints the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Commissioners of Public Instruction who make up the territorial "school board." These commissioners represent the various islands; the capital city, Honolulu, is the headquarters of the superintendent, and the commissioners gather in Honolulu for periodical meetings. All appointments, transfers and promotions of teachers, and most of the business of the entire system, is handled through one bureau at Honolulu.

It is a highly centralized system, sometimes criticized because the Superintendent, being an appointee of the Governor, might conceivably be a creature of politics; but experience to date has shown remarkably little partisan politics in school affairs. The appointment of the present superintendent of instruction, Mr. Vaughan MacCaughey,

was not a partisan move; he was chosen by a Democratic Governor from the faculty of the University of Hawaii, and a Republican Governor, Mr. Farrington, is continuing him in office. The Democratic Governor, Charles J. McCarthy, who immediately preceded the present executive, was an able man who allowed no partisan considerations to influence his zeal for improving the public-school system.

Agricultural and Vocational Training

The basis of Hawaii's commercial life is agriculture. A group of secondary pursuits depends mostly on the two main agricultural industries—the production of raw sugar and of canned pineapples. A highly centralized and numerically limited business community affords comparatively scant opportunity for the employment of Hawaii's thousands of young people as clerks, stenographers, salesmen, bookkeepers, etc. The chief need, aside from the unskilled labor of the cane and pineapple fields, is for mechanics, carpenters, masons, and other skilled artisans. To meet Hawaii's obvious employment needs and opportunities, vocational training is being developed in grade and high schools, but it is still far short of adequacy. Governor Farrington and the Department of Public Instruction are active supporters of vocational training for Hawaii's boys and girls, and this phase of education is certain to be great-

ly developed in the islands within the next decade. The University of Hawaii, a young institution, is already graduating sugar technicians and engineers whose trained services are proving exceedingly valuable to the plantations.

An ideal held steadfastly in mind by the Territory's educational leaders is that Hawaii's youth shall *recognize the dignity and value of manual labor*. In this sub-tropical country, the inevitable habit of the white man is to ease existence by the employment of servants for most household, yard, and stable or garage work (not to speak of labor in the fields). Just as inevitable is the reaction upon the minds of young Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, or Porto Ricans. They see that their parents make up the servant class, and their natural wish is to get away from that class. Teachers in Hawaii's public schools who have assisted the newspaper of which I am editor in its annual home-garden and school-garden contests have told me many incidents to illustrate the difficulty of convincing the small Oriental that he would not "lose face" (originally a Chinese expression meaning to lose caste, or prestige) if he did manual labor around the school or in any public place. The best argument was that of example. When the teachers themselves took shovel and hoe, or swept the school-yard, the pupils realized that representative Americans were not



JAPANESE GIRL SCOUTS AND SCHOOL GIRLS AT A FLAG CEREMONY IN HONOR OF VISITORS FROM CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, ATTENDING AN EDUCATIONAL CONGRESS IN HAWAII

(In the background can be seen one of the temples around which centers Japanese Buddhism in Hawaii)



A GROUP OF KOREANS IN AN HAWAIIAN KINDERGARTEN

(In the center is Miss Julia Abbott, head of the Kindergarten division of the United States Bureau of Education, at Washington)

ashamed of manual labor, and, once learned, that lesson was not forgotten.

During the World War, the School Garden Army which we enrolled to help Hawaii produce its own food developed amazingly in numbers and in industry, as well as in intelligently used methods of soil cultivation. And the present Governor organized and led the Boys' Working Reserve, which was able—at a time when thousands of laborers were withdrawn from the plantations to enter the army—to render material assistance to plantation managers hard pressed for helpers.

The main hindrance to more speedy development of industrial or vocational training among Hawaii's school children is lack of buildings, equipment, and teachers—which is, in reality, a lack of funds to get these things. It has been demonstrated conclusively that Hawaii's multi-blooded children can be taught and led to work with their hands and brains.

Stabilizing the Teaching Force

Hawaii's "turn-over" of teachers is staggering. A survey made by federal Bureau of Education and issued in 1920 showed that for the ten-year period just preceding, 1785 teachers entered the public-school system, and of these, 1014 dropped out. Approximately 30 per cent. remained in service but one year, while 838 dropped out during the first three years of service. (Hawaii has a high matrimonial rate!)

Each year hundreds of teachers come from continental United States for public and

private schools, and it is among these that the largest proportion soon quit service. More than one-half of the mainland teachers drop out during the first two years of service, while among island teachers the loss is about 36 per cent. The instability of the teaching force is increased by many transfers from school to school, especially at the beginning of school years.

Without attempting to go deeply into the cause for this lack of permanency, it may be said that the mainland teachers in perhaps the majority of cases find themselves unexpectedly lonely. Rural Hawaii has no white middle class and little American community life. The newcomers are usually assigned to schools remote from the city of Honolulu, to a community composed not merely of strangers but also of aliens and their children. The department has developed unusually well a system of teachers' cottages in many such communities, and the salary paid in Hawaii is good; but the very location of the islands, far from the American mainland and their exotic unfamiliarity of scenery and climate, will always tend to breed powerfully a nostalgia among newcomers. This often is sufficient to send the young schoolmistress from California or Washington or Iowa or Illinois back to her home town immediately at the close of her first school-year, although some go on to the Orient or the Philippines.

The Emerging Type in Hawaii

Given peace on the Pacific and with no labor controversy in Hawaii to arouse nationalistic spirit among the Japanese, the

next generations will see rapid educational and social development in multi-racial Hawaii. It is too early to delineate the principal type which will emerge from this particular "melting-pot." It will not be bilingual, for even the strongly nationalistic Japanese find their children drifting from them in language as in customs. It will be predominantly Oriental in physique, but modified by climate, food, and ambition to dress and look like Americans. It will be a good physical type, molded in the plunging surf, on the many playgrounds, and in the gymnasiums—living the free outdoor life of an outdoor country.

No man can say to what extent bloods will fuse in the Hawaii of fifty or a hundred years from now. Even the race barriers now so strongly set up between Oriental and Occidental may be gradually pulled down. There are certain examples—few, but so significant as to be startling—of intermarriage in which American, Hawaiian, and Chinese bloods figure.

Looking on for a hundred years or so, and always presupposing that there is no interracial strife on the Pacific which in

Hawaii would amount to civil war, we may dimly see emerging from the melting-pot a child predominantly Oriental in physical characteristics but American-speaking and American-thinking. The generous climate, food and occupations of six generations in Hawaii have made him taller, straighter, stronger than the ancestral toilers of Hiroshima or Canton; but he retains much of the indomitable, sturdy application and the endless patience of those laborers and tradesmen of the Orient.

The pure-blood American remains, increases slowly in numbers, distinct from the multi-blooded fellow-citizen.

The combination type dominates in politics by sheer force of numbers and, with the inexorable power of a glacier on the move, spreads over and under and through the great island businesses. American by birth and American by training, this type will be different from any produced by continental United States, because of its heavy proportion of Oriental blood. And, if the schools and other agencies do their work as well as they now promise, this new type of American will be a loyal citizen through and through.



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ONE OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, AT HONOLULU

THE HUMAN SIDE OF THE POSTAL SERVICE

BY HON. WILL H. HAYS, POSTMASTER GENERAL

THE Post Office Department spends \$600,000,000 annually. The annual turnover, the in and out of the business, which measures any business, is more than \$3,000,000,000.

In every single hour of the twenty-four, 1,400,000 letters are mailed; in every day of the 365 days, 33,000,000 letters are sent; during this year more than 12,000,000,000 letters will be handled. Fourteen billion postage stamps, 1,250,000,000 postal cards, and 2,750,000,000 stamped envelopes are sold every year.

More than 326,000 postal co-workers are daily engaged serving the 110,000,000 people, or one postal worker for every 337 persons.

The postal establishment operates its railway-mail service over rail trackage long enough to encircle the earth ten times. Forty-three thousand rural carriers go out every morning, serving six and one-half million families, and before sundown every day travel 1,170,000 miles—a total of 353,000,000 miles a year over the highways of the country.

We use 800,000 miles of twine every year tying the packages of letters, enough twine to encircle the earth thirty-two times. Every year 6,500,000 pounds of paper are used in manufacturing the postal cards alone. Debts totaling \$1,500,000,000 are paid through the Post Office Department annually, with 150,000,000 money orders. There are 500,000 depositors in the Postal Savings, a larger number than in any banking institution in the world, and 75 per cent. of them are of foreign extraction.

Sixty-five million mail sacks are in use constantly, and it requires 6,000,000 yards of canvas every year to keep up the supply. There are over 1,625,000,000 separate facing slips used on the packages of letters and pouches of mail. One hundred and eighty million envelopes are used annually for the correspondence of the postal service alone and a billion blank forms.

There is twice as much business done in the post office in New York City as in the entire Dominion of Canada. An average of more than 250,000 letters every day in the New York City post office alone are readdressed from city directories; 19,000,000 letters every year go to the Dead Letter Office—think of the cost which those services bring to the taxpayers because of the carelessness of the public in addressing.

The Parcel Post is the greatest express company in the world, and will this year handle more than 2,500,000,000 packages; the annual business of the American Railway Express will probably be 400,000,000 packages.

THE postal establishment of the United States is incomparably the biggest distinctive business in the world—and it comes nearer to the innermost interests of a greater number of men and women than any other institution on earth. No private business, however widespread, touches so many lives so often or so sharply; no church reaches into so many souls, flutters so many pulses, has so many human beings dependent on its ministrations.

The postal service is the heart pumping the blood through the veins and arteries of our national life. It makes a thousand scat-

tered communities into a State; it makes forty-eight scattered States into a Nation. Through the printed matter it carries it brings the joys, the sorrows, the crimes and the achievements, the political, social, economic and religious theories and experiences of the whole people before each minute portion of it; to instruct, to inspire or to horrify; sweeping away sectional lines and breaking up religious prejudices; molding political thought and building political parties; advancing good causes, checking dangerous tendencies. Without it, business would languish in a day, and be at a stand-

still in a week. Public opinion would die of dry rot. Sectionalism only would flourish, and provincialism thrive.

When the average patron of the post office mails a letter he never gives a thought beyond that point, nor does the person receiving the letter ever stop to think of what its journey through the postal service involves. The postal service is taken for granted like the sequence of the seasons.

Those are tremendous figures which I have cited. They stagger the imagination. But they have to be piled up in order that Jim Connery, living on rural route number six in Farmersburg, Missouri, may get his morning paper from Kansas City, his seed catalog from Oregon, his new whiffletree from Chicago, and his money order from New York, to say nothing of the letter which his daughter has dropped in a slot in Bella Vista, California. To Jim and to Nellie, his wife, and to a hundred other Jims and Nellies, those things the mail carrier thrusts into the patent aluminum box with a stenciled name and number on it, are the things that keep the wheels of their own individual lives turning; and it makes very little difference whether Jim is a clerk in a shoe factory or President of the United States; or whether Nellie is a social leader or a general houseworker; it is the mail carrier who brings the outside world of people and things to his or her doorstep.

A Business That Is "Human"

There is something stirring and wonderful about the relation of that faithful figure in gray to the daily lives of the great hundred million. He is a part of a vast business which can be tabulated in terms of annual turnover and number of employees and curves of profit and loss like any other business, but which is nevertheless the strangest, most human and most romantic business in which men were ever engaged.

On the New York post office is this inscription:

NEITHER SNOW NOR RAIN NOR HEAT
NOR GLOOM OF NIGHT STAYS THESE
COURIERS FROM THE SWIFT COMPLE-
TION OF THEIR APPOINTED ROUNDS.

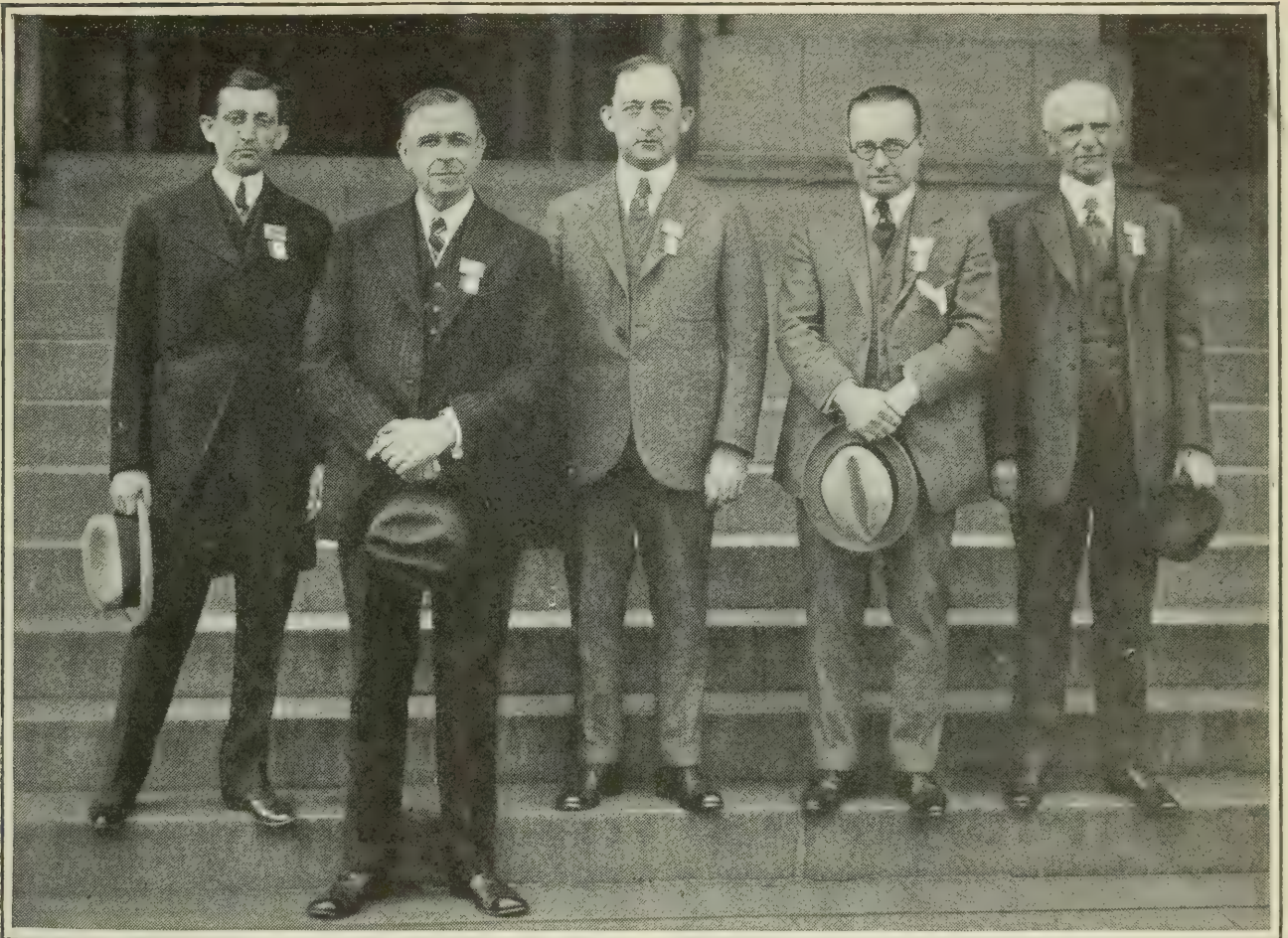
We all know that that is literally true. Whatever the heat or the cold or the storm, the mail carrier goes out into it with his bag slung on his shoulder. It is his business, and he is paid to do it; but that fact need not blind us to a greater fact that as he goes

from house to house on his "appointed round" he ceases to be merely a cog in a great machine and becomes in a sense the agent of inscrutable Providence. To one man he brings news which means disaster; to another a message that opens the gates of Paradise; to one woman he brings news of a loved one's return, to another news of a loved one's death. Everywhere, men and women and children leap up at his ring. He is the most welcome visitor who comes to the door. Even though he may have brought bad news a dozen times he is always welcome, for the next time he comes the news he brings may be good. He is the children's Santa Claus at Christmas, and the grown-ups' Santa Claus all the year round. The mail carrier plays a more important part in the average family than the family doctor, the family lawyer, the family preacher, and the school and the bank and the life insurance company rolled into one. He is their main point of contact with the world. He is the one greatest humanizing agent we have.

When I went into the postal service on the 4th of March a man who had until that time been prominent in the conduct of the Department said to me: "You are going to have labor troubles, of course. You can make up your mind to that. Labor is a commodity and you must treat it as such. If you have a job to do and one man can do it he fixes the price; if a hundred men can do it you fix the price. And if one man will do it at your price that is all it is worth. Labor is a commodity the same as wheat." Wrong. That man was exactly 1921 years behind the time. Labor is not a commodity. Labor is the human factor by which ideas backed by brains and capital are turned into achievements.

There is no business in the world so dependent on the human factor as the postal service. In every department, individual initiative and intelligence are called into play, whether it be in deciphering a badly written address, distributing mail, selling a postage stamp, following the trail of a lost registered letter, laying out a rural route, or keeping up the nerve of a city's mail carriers under a deluge of Christmas mail.

In many of our greatest industries we have managed to reduce the human equation to a minimum; but no one has yet invented anything to take the place of a man in the delivery of letters. To-day, as a hundred years ago, we are dependent on the nerve and the sense of loyalty of a human being



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POSTMASTER GENERAL WILL H. HAYS AND THE FOUR ASSISTANT POSTMASTERS GENERAL

(From left to right, are: Mr. Hays, Mr. Hubert Work, First Assistant; Edward H. Shaughnessy, Second Assistant; W. Irving Glover, Third Assistant; and Harry H. Billany, Fourth Assistant)

for the punctual delivery of our mail, regardless of the weather and everything else. To treat Max Puett, who delivers mail on a certain route in Topeka, Kansas, as a mere commodity in the labor market is not only wicked from a humanitarian standpoint, it is foolish and shortsighted even from the standpoint of business.

An employee who is conscious that he is regarded as a mere commodity will do enough to "get by" and keep his job until he finds another, and he will do no more. He contributes nothing to the morale of the organization; the chances are, in fact, that there will be no morale to which to contribute. He grouches, and passes on his grouch. Feeling that he is ill-treated by his Government, he does his work badly, with a consequence that soon everybody is growling at the mail service and at the Government. A postal employee, on the other hand, who is regarded as a human being, whose welfare is important to his fellows, high and low, in the national postal organization, is bound to do his work with a courage, a zest and a thoroughness which money alone can never buy. The security which he feels he passes

on to the men and women he serves. Instead of a distrust of his Government he radiates confidence in it.

When we took hold of the administration of the post office, seeking for some point of application in an earnest desire quickly to improve the situation, we looked at the relation that existed between the employees and the Department. It seemed that there was the field in which the greatest progress might be made in the shortest time. I was sure that by merely introducing a different spirit into these relations, by making the employees more comfortable and giving them assurance of their future commensurate with their worth and importance as a matter of simple justice—by merely doing this I felt confident we could accomplish the equivalent of adding many thousands of employees to the Department.

And in proof of the good in human nature, and for the benefit of public and private employers everywhere who may contemplate the same step, the public may be glad to know that this assumption has been correct. The most important element in any service is the spirit of the men doing it. We in the

post-office service are away from any idea that labor is a commodity. We have had 326,000 employees in the Post Office Department; to-day we have 326,000 co-workers. When these 326,000 men and women start out determined to do this work better, nothing can stop the successful consummation of their efforts. Developments are proving this fact.

What are the possibilities of the influence of the postal workers for the spread of either good feeling or ill-will? The figures I have already noted give a hint of them—326,000 co-workers serving daily 110,000,000 people. Is it worth while or not, making these 326,000 feel that they are a part, not of a machine, but of a living, human organism? Is it worth while or not, making them feel that they are getting a square deal, and to see that they get it?

Service and the Golden Rule

I have stated repeatedly that it is our intention to humanize the postal service. By that I mean that I want to make every man and woman in it feel that he is a partner in this greatest of all the world's business undertakings, whose individual judgment is valued and whose welfare is of the utmost importance to the successful operation of the whole organization. The postal employees are, in a high sense, the servants of the Republic. They make the functioning of a democracy possible. They are more than employees—they are members of an order. To make them conscious of the high significance of their calling I consider in every way the most important work I have to do, for they are *the Ambassadors of Uncle Sam to the homes of America*, and the spirit in which they go about their work affects the spirit of the whole American people.

I am not certain but that under years of a kind of administration aloofness from the heart interest in the affairs of the postal workers, each branch of the big establishment was growing more and more to function separately, with a minimum of coöperation with the other branches of the service. Each postmaster had managed his own office as a small individual unit, each executive having his own idea as to his dealing with his subordinates. Postal workers, possibly, were not closely in contact with heads of bureaus and the Postmaster-General's office at Washington.

The conception which many of our officials have had of discipline has been that of

abjection. I am a little afraid that some had so long entertained that notion, that they have been unable possibly to comprehend a partnership relation of officials and employees, where kindness, courtesy and consideration are the very foundation of good discipline. This official attitude may be illustrated by citing the fact that a certain official wrote a clerk who had appealed his case that he didn't feel called upon to submit his case for the consideration of the Department. He said that it was not deemed a matter of concern to a clerk what the attitude of the Department was relative to his stand in the situation, as supervisory officials were held responsible for the proper administration of the service. We want every postal co-worker to feel that he has more than a job. A letter carrier does a great deal more than bring a letter into a home when he calls. He ought to know the interest which his daily travels bring to the home; and those whom he serves will do well to make this clear to him.

In his great inaugural address President Harding said:

Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to proclaim the era of the golden rule and crown it with the autocracy of service.

When the history of our times is read a century from to-day that history will record no more magnificent statement. I would make that statement on that occasion the platform of this Department in this great period. He did not mean service to self. Men do not refer to service in that spirit when they mean self-service. He meant service as individuals to each other; he meant service in this country by one group to another; he meant service by us all to our common country, and service by our common country to the welfare of mankind. Humanizing the postal service is simply the first step in carrying out the purpose of the postal platform. Humanizing the postal service is simply a 1921 application of the golden rule.

We are trying to help declare the President's era of the golden rule, as he desires us to do, by applying it in the postal service—326,000 partners, 326,000 men and women with the same objective, with the same hopes and aspirations, all working together for the same purposes, a mutual appreciation one for the other, serving an appreciated and appreciating public. If we can improve the spirit and actual working con-



THE POSTMASTER GENERAL AND HIS STAFF

(This staff meets twice a week with Mr. Hays and is an innovation in the Post Office Department. Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Sears, Roebuck & Co., who attended one of these staff meetings, said that the business world had no idea that such meetings to consider problems in the Post Office Department were held or even thought of)

ditions of these 326,000 men and women who do this job, that in itself is an accomplishment; and it is just as certain to bring a consequent improvement in the service as to-morrow's sun.

That honest and efficient labor should have a voice in those phases of the management of a business which concern working conditions and a living wage commensurate with the value of the service is but common justice.

Welfare Councils

The practical application of the general idea to the post office is a problem which cannot be worked out except with the cooperation of postmasters, the other officials and the employees. With this in view we have inaugurated, and are endeavoring to develop as rapidly as possible, a full functioning Welfare Department, just as definite in its duties and as certain in its execution as the fiscal department or any other department in the Government. It is in charge of an individual splendidly competent to look after it. Every other large and really successful industry in the country has adopted welfare measures. This humanizing business is not original. It has been the definite trend of American business for the past generation. Just how far we can go with it in the Post Office Department I do not know, but it is certain that very much can be done and not in any sense in lieu of wages; and much is being done and shall be done. All

those things that are developed successfully for the welfare of the employees in other successful businesses must be done as far as possible in this, the greatest of all business. Why it has not been seriously attempted before in the Post Office Department I do not know. Uncle Sam must be just as good a boss as any private employer and it is the President's earnest purpose to make him so.

A National Welfare Council has been organized, composed of representatives elected by the various national organizations of postal workers. This council meets periodically with the Welfare Head to discuss matters of national postal importance.

Employees will organize local Welfare Councils, and elect representatives from each class of employees, such as clerks, carriers, railway postal clerks, rural carriers, etc. The councils may be organized at any post office or railway mail headquarters where conditions justify their need. I have approved a model plan for constitution of local councils adopted by the National Welfare Council and the Welfare Department. The object of the council under Article II of the constitution is to increase the efficiency of the Postal Service, to improve working conditions in the post office, and to effect closer cooperation and better understanding among the public, the officials, and the employees of the Postal Service.

The duties of the local councils are to consider the matters of local interest which have relation to the accomplishment of the

object stated in Article II. All matters that affect working conditions of employees, whether these deal with sanitation, efficiency, or coöperation between employees, officials and the public, are legitimate subjects for discussion and consideration by the council. Grievances of employees are to be considered by the council in its advisory capacity when presented in writing by the employee or by a member representing the employee. The council may at its discretion permit the employee to produce witnesses. The views of the council as expressed in a majority vote shall be transmitted to the postmaster for his consideration. Similarly, the council may consider suggestions and recommendations of employees for the betterment of the service, and in a similar fashion, shall transmit these as approved by the council on a majority vote for the consideration of the postmaster.

A survey has been made by the welfare department of the leading post offices as to physical conditions which may affect the welfare of the employees. About 4000 ques-

tionnaires have been filled out by the postmasters in a like number of the larger offices, aided by the employees. One part of this questionnaire covers questions of heat, light, sanitation, rest rooms, etc., and this portion will be turned over to the 450 post-office inspectors who have been personally advised that they must investigate these conditions and effect a correction of any defects through coöperation of the postmaster, and must report the facts to the Department. The other portion of the questionnaire contains questions affecting working conditions, hours of labor, efficiency ratings, etc., which will be the basis for studying these conditions. Employees have had an equal part in preparing the replies to the questionnaire.

We have made arrangements with the American Red Cross which will enable post offices to secure first-aid kits at cost from the local chapters of the Red Cross, and they have volunteered to undertake to organize first-aid classes in post offices where it is desired. The Public Health Service will make periodical inspections of post-office quarters, to ascertain whether they are sanitary and properly equipped for the health of postal workers; it will also conduct some tests in examining the eyes of the postal workers in order to ascertain whether the eyes are subject to unnecessary strain, and that defective vision is properly corrected. In some post offices postmasters are arranging to have treatment given to the feet of employees whose duties require a great deal of standing or walking.

Changes in the Interest of the Workers

In October we had a convention of postal workers in Washington. Indeed, we had four conventions: the postmasters, divided into two groups; the supervisory officers, and the rural carriers. There were 5000 delegates, including their families, representing the 53,000 postmasters and the 5000 supervisory officials and the 43,000 rural carriers. It was a splendid occasion and poignantly brought to attention the quality of the men and women engaged in the service.

Most of the suggestions for the changes which have been made in the postal establishment since March have come from co-workers in the service.

In June of this year the policy was changed with respect to restoration and subsequent promotion of employees who have been reduced, by a more liberal interpreta-



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INTERIOR OF A RAILWAY POST-OFFICE CAR

(Mail is "distributed" while in transit between the larger cities. Thus while New York mail is on its way from Chicago it is sorted in these bins and sacks; and when the train arrives in New York the mail can be distributed among the branch post offices without further handling. In some cases a whole day is saved)

tion of the Act of June 5, 1920, so that an employee is credited with any period of service done satisfactorily before the date of his reduction.

We have made a modification of the requirements regarding the case examination in first-class post offices, so that a clerk who at no time has anything to do with the distribution of mail will be relieved of the unnecessary strain of taking such examination.

An order was issued to postmasters to grant hearings to employees or their representatives, and if the postmaster had no authority necessary to correct a local condition, that the facts be submitted to the Department.

Rural carriers who had been paid heretofore only once a month are now paid twice a month.

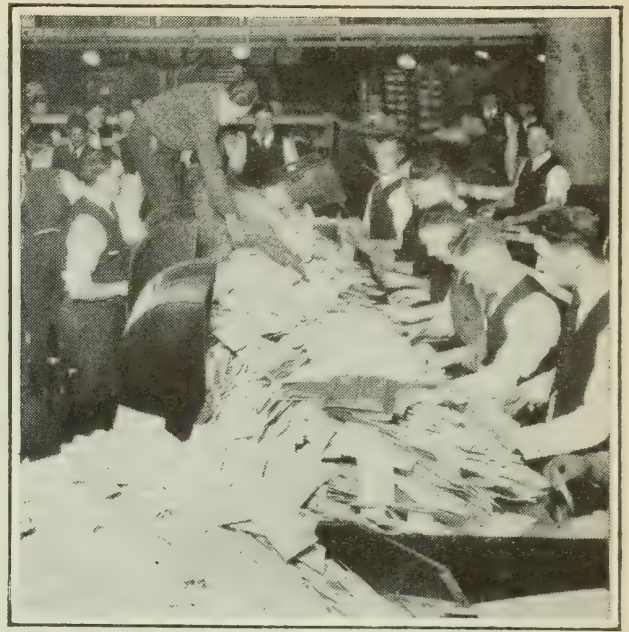
We have changed the rule relative to the reinstatement of employees, so that they come back but one grade lower than at the time of separation instead of at the entrance salary.

I favor a change in the ruling on sick leave. We have tried to find a way to change this without legislation. It is not possible. The law specifically states that vacation is to be allowed exclusive of Sunday and holidays, but makes no mention of such provision in connection with sick leave with pay. Under this law the Comptroller has decided that sick leave contemplates calendar days. This conclusion was unavoidable under the existing law. The law is unfair, and we have recommended a change in the law to take care of the situation.

Further, I have heard it suggested that, due to the character of the work in the post office, tuberculosis may become an occupational disease in our institution. I can not believe that this is so, and every effort will be made to relieve working conditions that could bring this about. But it has occurred to me that it would be a splendid thing if a tuberculosis hospital could be provided for those who have been stricken with this dreadful disease in the service—possibly built and maintained by the men in the service themselves.

Efforts are being made to reduce the continuous night work of employees. This is being accomplished through the "mail-early" campaign, and wherever it seems possible the night workers are placed on part day and evening shifts.

In cases of exceptionally valuable service



THE AVALANCHE OF MAIL BETWEEN THE HOURS OF 4 AND 7 P.M.

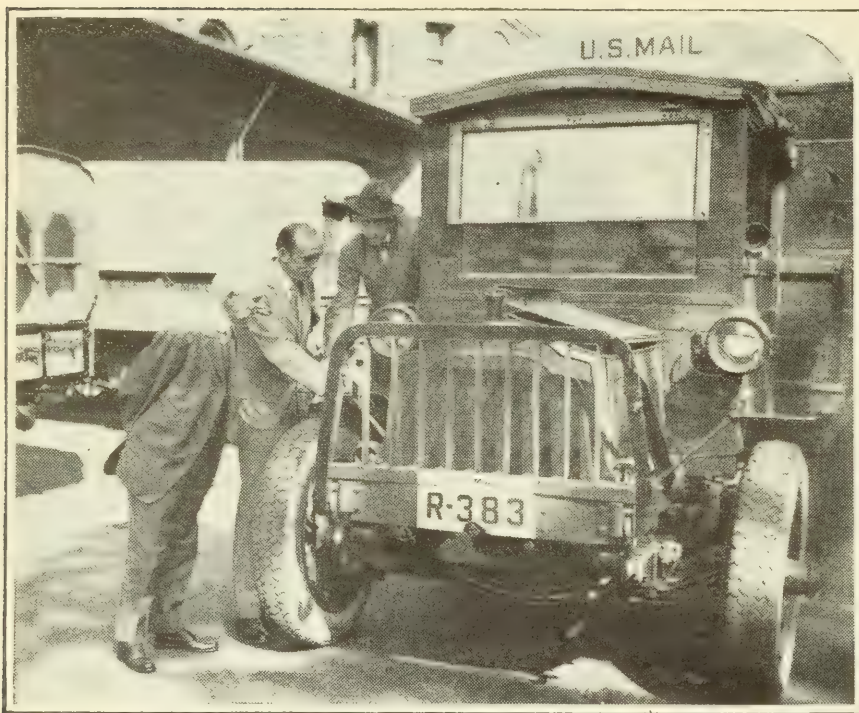
(The Post Office Department is waging a vigorous campaign for earlier mailing. This picture shows graphically why the deluge of mail at the end of the day delays your letter and causes so much unnecessary night work. Almost 75 per cent. of the letters handled are dumped on the Post Office Department at the end of the day—in three hours out of the twenty-four)

rendered by employees, the fact has been mentioned in a note of appreciation published in the *Postal Bulletin*. It is hoped to secure legislation to reestablish the appropriation for payment of rewards for suggestions that effect a money saving to the Department.

The system of efficiency ratings of the Postal Service is undergoing changes. These ratings have been productive of a great deal of dissatisfaction among the employees, sometimes operating to prevent the maximum of effort on the part of the postal workers. Instead of an "efficiency report" it might be better termed a "progress report." It should be a report that will make the worker feel that his merits rather than his demerits are to be emphasized.

Provision has been made that credit be given postal employees and substitutes who served in the military, marine, or naval services.

The practice of the Department in connection with the retirement of employees has been changed and instead of automatic retirement when the retiring age is reached, an opportunity is given for the employee to remain in the service upon presentation of satisfactory evidence from his superior officer and from medical authorities. Personally, I would go farther. I favor a service pension. By that I mean a pension for, say,



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REORGANIZING THE POST-OFFICE MOTOR TRANSPORT SERVICE

(Mr. Hays is shown inspecting one of the 3600 government-owned trucks received from the War Department. In the center of the group is Ralph H. Matthiessen, of New York, who has been appointed special assistant for the purpose of reorganizing the motor transport service. Fourth Assistant Postmaster General Billany is the man at the left. The service has been extended to 270 cities)

thirty years in the service, regardless of age. This should be for an amount adequate in the circumstances.

I have met and am meeting, and want to continue to meet, the heads of all the postal organizations just as often as it is convenient for them to see me. This, I understand, is a change in practice.

The importance of coöperation between postmasters and other officials and employees, between post-office inspectors and postmasters, between the Postal Service and the public is constantly emphasized by letters, by orders, by instruction, and by personal messages. In order to stimulate the exchanging of ideas in the service, postmasters have been instructed to visit other post offices where possible for this purpose.

Coöperation with the Public

We have urged that postmasters affiliate themselves as closely as possible with all civic bodies, and it would be my earnest wish that all the postal employees interest themselves in such matters that they may come in closer contact with the public to bring about a constant interchange of views with respect to the service. We are endeavoring to see that every person or agency is thanked for their coöperation, and we want this "thank you" spirit to be as diligently used by every

postal worker toward others who are helpful. We have sent out an order about courtesy in the service, and are receiving reports from business men and others outside of the Postal Service of examples of courtesy and consideration of the public. In such cases we give a citation in the *Postal Bulletin*.

With a realization on the part of the public of what the service means to them, we want the public to know, especially the business men of the country, just what the postal problems are, how we are meeting them and how sincere is our desire for the advice and coöperation of these men, the chief beneficiaries, in making the postal service a potent arm in their business. The business men of the country shall

have no occasion to say that

their postal problems have not had consideration, nor that they have not been invited to help consider these problems, because they are participating in the solution.

It is pretty well known that we are calling into conference business men from all sections and have appointed several of them to important positions, some serving without pay. A committee of five business men of New York is advising with us on the New York problems; a business man accompanied our postal expert to the Pan-American Congress at Buenos Aires, the splendid results of which I refer to later; representatives of savings banks are working on the postal savings changes; representative big manufacturers are advising on cost-accounting methods; the purchasing agent of the largest railroad has been reviewing our method of purchasing supplies; the head of a motor haulage company in New York, without salary, is reorganizing our motor transport service; and a half dozen successful business men have taken employment in the Department and are giving all their time.

The Bureau of Information, which has been established at Washington, is being established in the other post offices and is doing a real service. We are endeavoring to bring the post office into the closest pos-

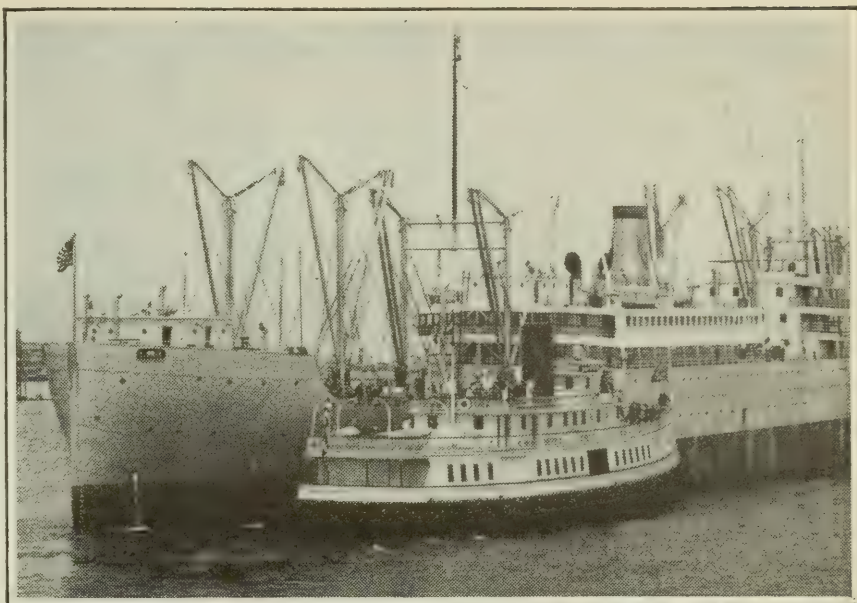
sible relation with the public without interfering with its primary duty in carrying the mail. The public naturally gravitates toward the post office for information because it is the agency of communication. Many people traveling by automobile want to know the name of the town through which they are passing. To help them we have ordered signs showing the name of the city placed on all post offices, and have asked postmasters to be of any service possible in providing information to strangers. A little thing—there are no “little things.”

The postal facilities have been increased very little since the beginning of the World War, while the parcel post, for instance, has grown from 300,000,000 parcels in 1913 to 2,500,000,000 this year. In New York City alone the postal business has increased 289 per cent. since 1912, without any increase in the postal facilities. The New York postal problem is the most urgent one of the entire service. It may be termed “the neck of the bottle.” The Joint Postal Commission, the Department, and the citizens committee at New York are actively engaged in helping solve this big problem. There will be a reestablishment of the tube service in New York City and elsewhere. We are planning for the building immediately of some large post-office quarters in New York, and buildings are urgently needed in several other large postal centers. Of course the great handicap is the financial condition of the country, but we are not going to allow this fact to keep us from doing everything possible to relieve the situation. We have a very hearty cooperation on the part of Congress in this regard.

Speeding Up the Service

Some very definite improvements have been made and are being made in and around New York. We have established a new and improved harbor boat service, so that the mail from Brooklyn and from vessels coming into quarantine is all sent around the bay to New Jersey shore points for dispatch onward, thus saving many hours.

Speeding up the mail even 10 per cent.



THE MAIL BOAT MEETING AN INCOMING LINER IN NEW YORK HARBOR
(The mail is taken off while the liner waits for health inspection, and is transferred promptly not only to the post office, but to railroad terminals)

will result in speeding up business just to that extent. There is \$1000 daily in interest saved to the business community of New York by a little change in the method of arranging mail for delivery which was placed in effect July 1, 1921, at the New York Federal Reserve Bank. The clearing house in New York closes at 10 A.M., and if bank mails for the financial district fail to reach there before that time, they will be delayed twenty-four hours with accumulated interest charges. By the new arrangement, this mail is delivered before 10 A.M. A new fast train has been put on between Philadelphia and Binghamton, N. Y., which will take letter and newspaper mail through several hours sooner for points north, west and south, because it avoids the necessity of sending it via New York City.

An intensive and continuing campaign of education is being conducted among the big users of the mail, to relieve the congestion and delay caused by mailing at the end of the day. It is a very serious thing when 75 per cent. of all the mail deposited is dumped upon the Department at the end of each day. We started this campaign at home first—that is, we enlisted the aid of the Executive Departments and the members of Congress, where 76 per cent. of the mail handled in the Washington post office originates. A record of the mailing was kept and it was found at this office that 700,000 letters were mailed daily and 600,000 of these were posted between 4 P.M. and 7 P.M.—in three hours out of the twenty-four. By relieving this late after-



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CONGESTION OF MAIL AT THE RECEIVING PLATFORM OF A CITY POST OFFICE, IN THE LATE AFTERNOON

noon deluge it has been possible to transfer fifty-six employees from night work to day work, and it has benefited nearly 100 employees in one way or another in that one office, besides facilitating the service. Business is expedited through the earlier dispatch sometimes making a difference of an entire day in the delivery of the mail at destination. Congestion of work in the post office at night is reduced, thereby lessening the possibility of delay.

Mailing during the morning and early afternoon clears the way for more expeditious handling and dispatch of the important evening mail. Matter mailed early is dispatched on trains that are not heavily laden with mail, with the result of more efficient train handling. Matter mailed early usually reaches the large business centers at a time when it can be readily distributed and, therefore, is more likely to receive prompt delivery there. From every standpoint, selfish and otherwise, the public owes coöperation in this "Early Mailing Campaign." In this and the campaign for street and number addresses we have enlisted the aid of 1400 Chambers of Commerce and business organizations, which at their own expense are distributing mottos, slogans and placards, as well as printing legends on their envelopes. Organizations of postal employees at their own expense are distributing "mail early" literature. The cartoonists and feature writers are coöperating. The newspapers have thrown their columns wide open to help us, and are doing splendid work.

A campaign of education of school children in the use of the mails is being conducted. Postal text-books for schools are being used. We are urging the large mailing houses to place their letters in bundles,

properly faced, with short and long letters separated. We are also asking them to give the mail primary distribution. At one city of 400,000 inhabitants, about 65 per cent. of the mail comes in arranged that way and gets in consequence a quick dispatch. Certain big concerns have introduced postage meters in their mailing departments. These machines are sealed by the postmaster, on the payment of a stated amount of money by the users, and the letters are run through this machine and the postage is recorded by means of a stamp, and the postmark also printed. Precancelled stamps and permits for mailing without stamps are all factors in speeding up the mails.

The handling of the second-class matter is a source of much concern. The newspaper is essentially a thing a man wants when he wants it, and he wants the news when it is news. We put this matter squarely up to the postal workers through an appeal to them and they have responded in a most gratifying way.

Special delivery mail must have special handling as well as special delivery. Although the public pays only for the special delivery, it expects and should expect that "special delivery" mail be given special consideration in transit. The special delivery service is not sufficiently developed. In some cases the method actually results in slower final delivery.

The Post Office Department would dodge no responsibility. We discovered that a large number of letters, something like fifty a day, and many parcels, were left in the 8000 empty mail sacks that came daily to the mail-bag repair shop. All empty mail sacks at the post offices and depositories are now inspected for any mail that might have



SECTION OF THE DEAD LETTER OFFICE WHERE 19,000,000 UNDELIVERABLE LETTERS ARE HANDLED ANNUALLY—
DUE LARGELY TO CARELESSNESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN ADDRESSING THEIR LETTERS

become lost. It has also been discovered that many post offices are dilatory in sending in undelivered letters to the Dead Letter Office. Instructions have been issued to all post offices to dispose of these letters immediately so that they may be returned to the senders if possible. In one post office alone there were 2000 of these dead letters being held, some of them "special delivery."

We have added a little human spirit in our correspondence, trying to relieve it of its cold and stereotyped form. It is our desire that the recipient of the letter may know that the suggestion, complaint, petition, or application has had real consideration; and to make the fact square with the appearance.

We have invited the newspapers of the country to offer criticisms and suggestions, and have asked the postmasters to send in comments favorable or unfavorable. Many suggestions, criticisms and commendations are coming to the Department and an honest effort is made to profit by them.

We have corrected some differences of opinion between the Post Office Department and the railroads over the methods of determining the rates of pay for carrying the mail. This was done by a round-table conference between the railroad officials, the railway mail superintendents, and the Post Office Department officials.

Mail relations with the countries of the Central Powers, which were discontinued during the world war, and mail relations with Russia, have been reestablished. The international parcel post business has quickly recovered from war effects. There has

been an increase of about 25,000,000 pounds, or double that of 1919.

The Sea Post Service has been reestablished after having been discontinued during the war. This means that much of the mail coming in from foreign countries will be distributed on board the steamships, and will be ready for onward dispatch when it reaches shore.

Pan-American Postal Treaties

The International Postal Conference at Madrid in 1920 left unfinished our postal relations with the South American Republics, and a Pan-American Congress was held at Buenos Aires in August and September. In addition to our Superintendent of the Division of Foreign Mails, the National Foreign Trade Council let us have their secretary, and these men represented this country at the conference. Two postal treaties were negotiated in which the United States was very much interested. One deals with letters, postal cards, printed matter of all kinds, commercial papers and samples, and the other relates to parcel post. These conventions must be ratified by the various governments; and when they are ratified they will abrogate all former conventions made with the Pan-American countries.

The first treaty established the fundamental principle that each country had the right to put into effect in its international services either its domestic rates or such other rates as it may see fit, with a very significant limitation on this right, i.e., that the Pan-American rate can never be more than

one-half as much as the maximum rate would be by the Universal Postal Convention. Inasmuch as the Universal Postal Convention established the rate of ten cents on letters, effective January 1, 1922, the ratification of this Pan-American treaty means that in our service with all the other Pan-American countries our rate can not be more than five cents on letters. At the same time, the United States has the right to put its domestic rates into effect in its Pan-American service as soon after the ratification of the treaty as it sees fit.

The Parcel Post Treaty represents a distinct advance in postal relations with all the other American republics by providing one uniform simple system for all Pan-American countries in place of the nineteen separate and varying systems now in force between the United States and the other American republics. There has been much difficulty encountered in sending parcel post from the United States to some of the Latin-American countries by reason of so many different charges and the amount of charges collected from the addressees of parcels in those countries. The Parcel Post Treaty which was signed by our delegates at Buenos Aires seeks to avoid these difficulties by consolidating all the charges except customs duties that may be collected from the addressees of parcels, and limiting the consolidated charge to ten cents in gold. Customs duties must, of course, be paid by the ad-

ressee according to the tariff law of the country of destination; and no postal congress would have authority to change that requirement. The Buenos Aires Congress adopted the United States dollar as the unit for the Pan-American service.

Marines to Guard Mails in Transit

The problem of the mail robberies is by no means solved. For the twelve months ended April 9, 1921, there had been a total of \$6,300,000 stolen from the mails. On that date, in an effort to lessen these robberies, we directed the arming of the essential postal employees, arranged for sending out some 50,000 guns and 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition, and offered a maximum reward of \$5000 to anyone who would bring in a mail robber. There seemed to follow then a period of very definite lessening of the trouble. For the six months following this, i.e., from April 9, 1921, to October 9, 1921, there had been a total stolen of \$318,869.

This was a great improvement, being only 10 per cent. of the amount stolen during the previous like period and was a splendid response by the service. In this effort postal employees were injured and killed and some robbers were slain. Then came the New York robbery in late October, which occurred on lower Broadway and which should have been and could have been prevented if there had been a full performance of obviously proper precautions, and the definite rules and orders of the Department followed. It was an expensive lesson. The mails are inviolate, and there is no limit to which the postal service must go to keep them so. The public has the right to expect the fullest discharge of the Department's duty in this respect. Instructions have been reissued that the armed postal employees shall shoot to kill, and we are sending out another quantity of arms and ammunition.

We have arranged with the Secretary of the Navy for the detail of one thousand Marines to the Post Office Department. These men will be detailed to ride with the mail trucks and the mail coaches in which the valuable mail is conveyed and shall be placed at those points in post offices and railroad stations where special protection is essential. Additional Marines will be furnished if necessary. In the meantime consolidations of valuable shipments are being made so far as can be done for safety consistent with the reasonable dispatch of the



THE POSTMASTER GENERAL CONGRATULATING A POST-OFFICE OFFICIAL FOR HIS PART IN PREVENTING A MAIL ROBBERY

(The young man is Alvin S. Page, assistant chief clerk of the railway mail service at Fort Worth, Texas)



A PARCEL-POST MOTOR TRUCK TAKING ON COUNTRY PRODUCE AT A COUNTRY STORE

mail. In the meantime, also, there is being recruited from the Department itself to take the place ultimately of these soldiers an armed guard as a permanent branch of the service. The thousand Marines put into this now are selected men and are ordered to live up to the traditions of the corps in the protection of the mails. The United States mail shall be protected down to the last postal card regardless of cost or personal sacrifice. It simply must be true—that the mails may be late but they are never lost. I favor the amendment of the law to provide maximum punishment for men convicted of robbing the mails.

The Parcel Post and the Joint Commission

The impression prevails that the parcel post is producing a big profit. It was stated that it made a profit of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920. This was based largely on pre-war figures. It is my opinion that the parcel post by no means pays for itself. The parcel post is a tremendous service to the public and must be expanded. It is, however, a commercial transaction and should pay its way. The cost of carrying parcel post and all other classes of mail must be ascertained before intelligent changes, if any, can be made in the postage rates. The necessary investigation is in process, being made by the Joint Postal Commission and the Department.

The Joint Postal Commission consists of five Senators and five Congressmen, with a citizens' advisory council of seven. There is the closest relation between their activities and the Department. Their work is of very great value. They have sufficient funds

with which to prosecute their investigations, and are men of large experience in postal affairs. They have employed efficiency engineers and accountants, and we have assigned from the Post Office Department many experts for their use. Many improvements have been suggested by this Commission. We are making the Commission the Executive Committee of the Department, and the entire membership of the Senate and House committees are our board of directors. There is most cordial relation and coöperation obtaining. The work which is being done by this Commission is invaluable to the Department and I cannot too strongly commend it.

Second-Class Matter

For several years the magazines have been shipped by freight instead of by regular mail. This perhaps was justified at a time when conditions were such as to make a material saving in this method of shipment. Conditions have so changed that we are now able to handle them in the regular mail and this is now being done, since October 1, with the consequence of a very much more rapid magazine service.

In order to strengthen the freedom of the press we have taken the Post Office Department out of the question entirely, except to enforce the laws of Congress already on the statute-books. We have admitted a number of papers to the second-class privileges which they had lost during the war because certain issues were declared non-mailable under war-time regulations. While denying these papers the second-class privilege, they were permitted to use another class at higher

rates of postage. We believe that if they are to be permitted the use of the mails at all, they should be entitled to the same privilege as other papers as long as they conform to the regulations covering second-class privileges. There shall be no hesitancy in suppressing any publication that falls within the prohibition of the public law, but there are also laws in this country safeguarding the freedom of the press, and these laws must and shall be scrupulously observed.

Administrative Economies

There are a great many post-office quarters which are leased by the Government. These leases have heretofore contained a clause providing for a 90-day notice of cancellation at the option of the Postmaster General. Such a provision is never in an ordinary business lease. We have eliminated this clause and are securing substantially reduced rentals because lessors had been required to charge sufficient additional rental to cover that risk.

As certain other savings incident to the general program of economy and the reduction of prices are being effected, it now seems certain that for the fiscal year 1921 the Department will be able to save \$15,000,000 from the estimates which had been approved by Congress for that year. The nearly \$200,000 indemnity claims before the Department have been brought up to date, and that work is now current.

The motor transportation service of the Post Office Department is one of the biggest things of its kind in the country. It is growing to be a transportation arm of the service very similar to that of the Railway Mail Service. Its growth in the past few years has been necessarily under abnormal conditions with little attention to uniform management. The growth of the parcel post during other transportation congestion demanded a rapid extension of this service without necessary care in building. Nearly 4000 trucks have been received from the War Department which are used in the collection and delivery of the mails in the cities. This service is being reorganized by the president of one of the big motor haulage companies of New York. We found thirty-seven varieties of trucks in use, and the standardization plan is reducing this to four types. The motors in the rural mail service are largely owned by the carriers. Rural carriers now operate on 43,900 routes, 282 having been established since March,

since which time, also, more than 1000 routes have been extended.

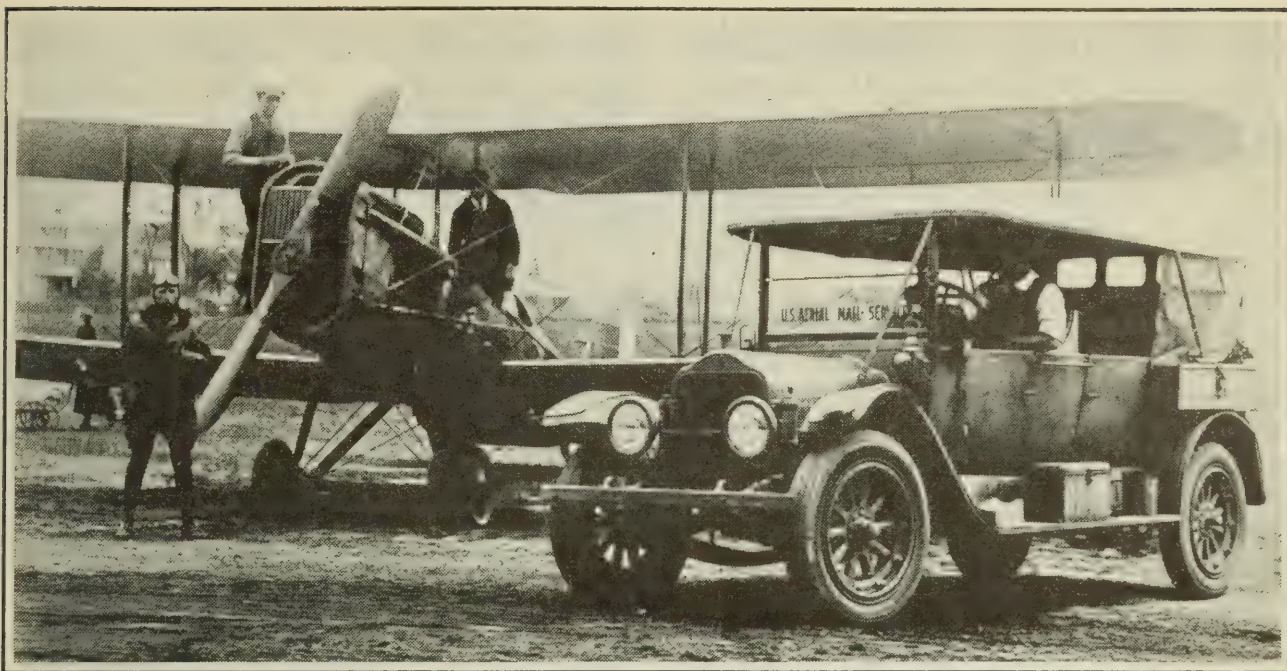
The Air Mail Service

The Air Mail Service is being reorganized with a larger and better type of plane and other improvements as fast as possible, including a substantial change of personnel. There have been four serious accidents in the seven months since March 4; there were twenty serious accidents in the twelve months preceding. The air service has a very great value, *per se*, of course, but the great basic value is its potentiality as a reserve and means of defense in case of necessity. The only route in operation is the one between New York and San Francisco. A few lateral routes which had been established without authority of Congress have been discontinued because they did not commensurately facilitate the dispatch of mail, and offered no special opportunity for test work. The transcontinental route, embracing several mountain ranges, gives us all the experience that we can handle. Planes are being remodeled so that they will carry 800 pounds of mail or 32,000 letters, which is twice the amount of the original planes with the same man power and fuel.

The Post Office Department is cooperating with the Department of Agriculture in sending market reports and weather reports through the air-mail radio stations to the farming communities, and has a commission considering the feasibility of using the wireless telephone for this and other broadcasting purposes. The idea possesses great possibilities. The chairman of the commission has visited Europe, at his own expense, investigating conditions there.

Postal Savings Department

Legislation has been recommended to Congress for changes in the Postal Savings with an effort to make it a more useful medium for the circulation of money. As recommended this legislation will provide among other things that the interest now paid depositors shall be 3 per cent. instead of 2 per cent., raising the youth limit for depositors, providing for joint and trust accounts, and raising the maximum allowed each depositor from \$2500 to \$3000. Provision will also be made for interest to be allowed when the money is not left a year. When we consider that 75 per cent. of our depositors are foreign born, this Postal Savings effort is no mean contribution to the education of this



THE AIR MAIL SERVICE—AN AIRPLANE LANDING IN CLEVELAND WITH MAIL FROM CHICAGO
(The fast motor truck carries the mail to and from the airplane field)

new citizenry, and we believe that millions of dollars will be brought from hiding. This effort is in no sense to create any competition or interfere with private banking.

Value of the Merit System

Firm in the conviction of proved demonstration that nothing will contribute so much to the betterment of the service as the improvement of the morale and the coöperation of the men and women doing the service, I am just as firmly convinced that the one duty above all others which we owe the employees is honestly to apply the merit system. You cannot expect men and women to give service if they are to be shuttlecocks of politics. I have said, and I reiterate, that the postal establishment most certainly is not an institution for politics nor for profit, but an institution for service.

It would be my very greatest satisfaction if in this period of activity I might contribute a little to the end that the postal service, as indeed the entire Civil Service, might be made more and more a desirable career into which the young can enter with a certainty that their services will be performed under reasonable conditions for a reasonable wage and for an appreciative people. The men and women who constitute the great army of postal co-workers are doing a distinct government and public service, and they are entitled to an appreciation commensurate with the efficacy and importance of that service. The very first element of

a proper appreciation is to make certain that honest and efficient service shall be honestly recognized, and that the merit system shall control without any subterfuge.

We find no great opposition any more to a reasonable application of the rule of Civil Service, and the principle of promotions on merit in the classified service. It takes constant watching, however, and there is no department of government where there is as likely to be a breaking down and loss of what has been gained as in the Post Office Department. There are a total of about 600,000 classified service employees in the Government, and about 300,000 of these are in the Post Office Department.

Our 12,500 Presidential postmasters are not in the classified service, and I am fully aware of the skepticism that exists as to the possibility of an effective application of the merit system in the appointment of Presidential postmasters. This skepticism is easily understood. The entire post-office service has been more or less regarded over a long period of years as a political treasure house where there was always available that which might be needed for the payment of political obligations which could not be otherwise discharged. Just why the Post Office Department has been used for this purpose I have never been able to figure out, unless possibly because there are more jobs in that department than in any other.

Certain it is, however, that this more or less prevalent opinion as to the alleged per-

fect propriety of the prostitution of the great postal service has had no geographical limits, either political or physical. It has been a long fight to go as far as we have in the elimination of politics in the classified service, the old fight of proficiency against plunder, of service against spoils. It may be a fight to keep what has been accomplished. If so, it must be made.

The chief argument advanced by those favoring the old method of political appointments is that the postmaster of a first- or second-class office, who comes in such close contact with the people and has large executive, business and public responsibility, should be responsive to the popular opinion as reflected in the result of an election. It is contended that the postmasters in the larger offices especially should be of the political faith which dominates at the moment.

It is correct, of course, to insist that we expect and are entitled to have political offices largely filled by members of the political party to which we have voted to entrust the administration of our public affairs. The question is, what are political offices, and how far should the principle apply? Wise men will not propose that we carry this principle into the appointment of our army officers, nor into the appointment to technical or purely business positions. I am sure it is steadily growing in the minds of the public that if we are to have the most efficient postal service we must keep it as far as possible out of politics. This should be done. There is no doubt about the soundness of the purpose, and it is the most earnest determination of the present postal management to carry it out. It is a matter, however, of evolution and not of revolution. It cannot be accomplished in a day.

The President and the Department are endeavoring to select the man best fitted to serve the public as postmaster. The executive order of May 10 clearly states that there is to be no method of selection which is scholastic or cloistered in its tendency. We must have a man of high standing in his community and of real ability. This is determined through an examination by the Civil Service Commission into his qualifications as an executive. That refining is invaluable. It gives three men from whom to select, and leaves with the appointing power, the President, who is the one responsible, some discretion in the matter of selection.

Personally, I favor the enactment of such legislation as will bring all postmasters into

the classified service, followed by such legislation or rules as will make such classified service thoroughly amenable to discipline when necessary, and with a compensation in the more important positions sufficiently lucrative to invite the best ability in the country to strive for such appointments.

It is good business—and it is good politics. If the advocates of politics in the post-office service would really investigate to the bottom they would find that partisan politics in post offices has done their party far more harm than good. If they will hark back not so many years ago, and study their political histories, they will find that the largest element of causation in the results of the Congressional nominating conventions and primaries has been the efforts of the gentlemen who were *not* appointed postmasters. And they may agree with the distinguished gentleman of long political service who said: "Every time I have appointed a postmaster I have made one ingrate and eleven enemies."

True Dignity of the Postal Service

Important, indeed, is the postal service. Years of magnificent service to the country are behind it. It must not be forgotten, either, that during the war the postal service of nearly every nation in the world broke down except our own. It was a wonderful accomplishment and entitled to the greatest commendation. Great, however, as has been the postal service, greater yet it should be. Anyone who does not daily try to make his mental processes keener, his moral fiber finer, and his service to others broader, is guilty of an inexcusable dereliction of duty. Just so as to any institution.

It is the fundamental principle of democracy that we shall help one another, that all citizens shall cooperate in the work of government. And the work of government is not merely electing men to Congress to make laws, and electing the President to execute them. It is just as truly government work to collect the mails, to transmit them to their destination and to redistribute them and deliver them; and it is fitting for every citizen to realize his deep concern in and his duty to that work. It is a partnership proposition—the public, the postal co-workers and the Government—all recognizing that we are engaged in the same transcendent problem, the solution of which is to be found in the best post-office service and the best Government in the world.

TRUTH ABOUT RURAL SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK STATE

BY MARJORIE SHULER

A RECENT survey of the schools of New York State has disclosed a condition so startling, so appalling, so incredible that the question instantly arises, if this can be true of one State, what is the situation in the other forty-seven? If children are being cheated in "typical American communities" in New York, what is happening in "typical American communities" in other States?

The deplorable revelations of the survey are new to the citizens of New York. That they are laid bare now is due to a woman's organization.

A year ago the New York State League of Women Voters determined to do one big outstanding service for the children of the State. With this object the women approached the various child welfare agencies, to find out exactly what each was doing and where there was the greatest need. To their surprise they learned that while each agency was conversant with the conditions relating to its own work, not one had an authoritative summary of the entire situation.

Whereupon the women decided that they must begin by making a state-wide survey. The schools offered the most promising basis for starting investigations. There are about 11,000 schools in New York State, and a list of 163 questions was sent to the women of each of these 11,000 school communities, asking information concerning the general condition of the schools, sanitation, medical inspection, health instruction, physical training, hot lunches, and facilities for play.

Since the women did not intend to initiate a movement antagonistic to the recognized school authorities, they appealed to the State Department of Education and enlisted its coöperation. This proved of especial value as the survey progressed, for many communities reported the local school authorities as refusing to answer questions. In a number of such instances the Department of Education was able to prevail upon local superintendents and principals to give the desired information.

The nature of these replies was sufficient explanation of the attempt to conceal the facts. It was discovered that fifteen schools in the State were operating with only one pupil each; fifty-two schools with two pupils, 166 with three pupils, 392 with five pupils, and the astounding total of 3018 with fewer than ten pupils.

Frequent cases of reluctance to give up small bits of patronage were encountered where the women attempted to urge consolidation of two or more of the two-mile-square school districts. Taxpayers who were being assessed to maintain schools for five or six pupils were fearful of still higher taxes as a result of consolidation. Mutual suspicion existed between the residents of adjoining school districts.

And while they believed in consolidation, the women were cognizant of the fact that a community could not answer the question by merely saying "consolidate." There were resultant problems which only an aroused public opinion could handle. They encountered such cases, one where the necessary school "bus" for conveying the children was an open wagon into which they were packed, rain or shine, in the sole charge of a man whose mental condition decidedly limited his choice of occupations. No discipline whatever was maintained in the twice-a-day rides and this one feature nullified the benefits which the children might have had from the consolidated school, with its better equipment, higher grade teachers, and opportunities for contact with other children.

Such advantages in the consolidated schools were made more apparent by the evident deficiencies in many of the smaller schools.

Thirty-seven questions were asked concerning the condition of the school buildings, such as: Is there an annual inspection of the sanitary equipment? How often are classrooms cleaned, and by whom? What is the source of the water supply, and how often is it tested? Are drinking fountains

and cups provided? How many lavatories are provided? What type are the toilets? How many children use each classroom? Is there a desk for each child? Are windows opened during school hours? How is the temperature regulated? Is the light good? Are the desks adjusted to the size of the children? Are the blackboards a good black, and how well are they cleaned?

Some counties had not even one school which could be put in the first class. In the best county one-quarter of the schools were considered to be adequately equipped and efficiently conducted.

Sanitation

Many schools were found to have no water supply of their own, being entirely dependent upon water carried from the wells of neighbors. Sometimes these wells were at a considerable distance. Twenty-five schools in one county alone were dependent upon water from neighbors' wells. In the case of one school of twenty-one children, the nearest well was a quarter of a mile away. Eleven children in another school had to carry water half a mile.

All of the children in one school were reported ill as the result of drinking contaminated water from a neighbor's well. And this in spite of the fact that water testing can be secured free of charge from the State Department of Health. A high school of 300 children had no drinking fountains or individual cups, and it was indicative of the situation in the district that the investigator wrote, "the condition of many children in the first, second, and third grades is a menace to the clean ones. Many are covered with vermin and unsightly sores." Another high school in the same county had no lavatories or individual towels, drinking cups, or fountains.

Schools were found which had not been cleaned for two years. A large number were reported to be cleaned once a year, any intermediary sweeping and dusting being done by teachers or pupils. One school did not even possess a broom. Many teachers complained of the great amount of dust in their rooms and said that their requests for oil had not been granted.

From one county came reports on two schools as follows:

The teacher asks for painting and papering inside the building and a thermometer. The heating arrangement is very poor. The school has not been cleaned in two years. The play-

ground is very wet. Consolidation of this school with the nearby district would certainly be more economical for the taxpayers and more advantageous for the children.

There is one school with twenty-three pupils which illustrates strikingly the need of concerted action. The room needs plaster and paper. The air is bad. They lack almost everything. The pupils have to go one-quarter of a mile for water and carry it in a pail. The floor is not oiled. The light is very bad. There is danger of someone going through the floor in the hall. All the children use one towel.

One woman wrote that she had taught in a local school twenty-seven years before, and that it had not been changed in a single important detail in all that time. "To enter the school," she wrote, "one must still pass through another room containing fuel, broom, dust-pan, etc."

There is a close relation between school building conditions and the fitness of teachers and pupils. Unwholesome surroundings inculcate a disposition toward idleness and indifference, resulting in retardation of the pupils and inefficiency on the part of the teachers; while bright, cheerful, sanitary school buildings contribute toward a better record for both pupils and teachers.

Books and Equipment

Although the questionnaire made no mention of text-book equipment, it was significant that many teachers took the opportunity to beg for books and maps. From one county alone, seven teachers reported that their pupils were unable to get text-books. One said, "I think text-books should be provided for every child." Twelve schools in another county mentioned text-books and maps as their greatest need.

Frequently the need of better library facilities was brought forward. One teacher asked if she might be sent "good books suitable for their years of understanding, papers, magazines. These children are simply starved for something to read. They read the most trashy things. Oh, for some good reading matter!"

Special inquiry was directed to desk equipment, to learn both whether the seats were adjustable for the children and removable to permit the use of the buildings for community lectures and entertainments. Inadjustable, irremovable desks were the rule, many of the replies going into considerable detail over the discomfort of tall children curving their bodies and short children stretching themselves into the same amount of space. Many schools reported a shortage

of desks, so that two children were required to use each desk.

Lunches and Playgrounds

The total absence of facilities for heating lunches was reported from many districts. Children who had great distances to walk to and from school, in bad weather as well as good, and who were thus away from home the larger part of the day, were obliged to subsist on the cold contents of their lunch baskets. The communities in most instances were untroubled about this, while the teachers were considerably agitated. Many of them out of their own scanty earnings were providing materials for hot lunches, and one county reported that nearly every school had been equipped and was serving hot lunches "at the expense of the teachers."

Playgrounds were another detail in which most communities had little interest, failing completely to recognize the all-around exercise, the mental development, and the character-building from properly directed sports. The taxpayers would say, "If the children are not getting enough exercise let them pitch hay for me," or "send the children to my potato field if they want something to do."

Some counties had not even one playground. Schools reported that not only had they no playgrounds but that the school yards could not be used, since they were mere mud-holes in need of draining.

Health Conditions

In making the survey the League of Women Voters had in mind the figures of the New York State Department of Health giving estimated defects for the 22,000,000 children of the United States, as follows:

At least 200,000 (1 per cent.) are mentally defective;

At least 250,000 (over 1 per cent.) are affected with organic heart disease;

At least 1,000,000 (5 per cent.) have now or have had tuberculosis;

At least 1,000,000 (5 per cent.) are unable to hear properly, and because this condition is unrecognized many of these children have the undeserved reputation of being mentally defective;

At least 5,000,000 (25 per cent.) have defective eyes;

At least 1 out of every 5 of these children is undernourished;

From 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 (15 per cent. to 25 per cent.) have adenoids, diseased tonsils or other glandular defects;

From 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 (10 per cent. to 20 per cent.) have weak foot arches, weak spines or other joint defects; and

From 11,000,000 to 16,000,000 (50 per cent. to 75 per cent.) have defective teeth.

Furthermore, the League had in mind the fact that while the City of New York appropriates \$900,000 annually for school health work, the State of New York appropriates annually only \$30,000.

Therefore, the survey was calculated to put great emphasis on health conditions. Medical inspection is supposed to be provided for every school in the State, with a physical examination for every child every year. The local communities reported this work to be most inefficiently performed.

In one school of nineteen children a physician completed his medical examination in fifteen minutes. Another doctor made a record by examining 300 children in half a day. Still another simplified his work by the expedient of examining the children by telephoning the teacher. One teacher reported that the doctor in making weight tests "lifts them up when he comes, and guesses." Several said that the doctor made eye and ear tests by asking the children if they could see and hear well and accepting their chorused "yes." For such examinations, physicians receive an average of fifty cents per child.

The six questions designed to find out what special classes were arranged for so-called backward or defective children brought out the opinion of one village superintendent with 1000 children in his school that physical instruction and gymnastics are not necessary, and that the "teachers open the windows too often as it is."

In contrast was this letter from a district school superintendent:

The fact is, conditions are too deplorable to report. What few medical inspectors are employed do their work at a school in a few minutes, collect their fees, and pass on; and that ends the whole health business for the children until the next year, when the same farce is repeated. Many school districts do not even employ this farce medical inspection. Any attempt to have a nurse or a physical-training teacher is fought by the rural population most bitterly, as are any attempts at improving the physical surroundings of the children, such as drinking-fountains, heating and ventilating systems, decent toilets, oiling floors to prevent dust, slate blackboards, and the like. As soon as I am convinced that the women of your League really have the welfare of the children of the rural schools at heart enough to get out to bring about the employment of good medical examiners with follow-up work with school nurses and the other needed reforms, you may count on me to the limit.

A "Schoolhouse Theater" to Arouse Interest

Although all the statistics are not yet tabulated, the survey has so aroused the women in the State organization and the local communities that already plans are under way for remedies.

The first remedy is a "Little Red School House Theater," which has been shown at county fairs and is now being sent from community to community to arouse public opinion. Wherever possible a trained worker presents the little play, but on its travels to the smaller communities the theater is accompanied by a copy of the text which may easily be read by a local man or woman.

The theater is constructed as a miniature schoolhouse, with the front of the building rolling up to reveal two scenes. For the first scene there has been duplicated one of the worst schools actually existing and now in use in the State. The school has just one room with an old stove and toppling pipe, dingy walls, poor lighting, blackboards grey with age, badly cleaned and improperly placed with regard to the light. The single window is inadequate for light and air. The desks are screwed to the floor, making it impossible to remove them and put the building to community use. They are also inadjustable, so that tall and short children are crowded into the same amount of space. The little dolls which represent the children are placed two at a desk. There is a small boy with vacant eyes fixed on the ceiling who takes so much of the teacher's time that the other children become restless.

The second scene shows a model consolidated school, with the heating apparatus in the basement. There are several rooms separating the children of different ages. The walls are light, the blackboards are well placed, the windows give proper light and ventilation, and the desks, one to each child, are both adjustable and removable. There are cloakrooms, a lunchroom with apparatus for hot lunches, and a clinic with scales, weight charts, and other health instruction equipment.

Practical Reform Efforts

The second remedy which is proposed is a bill which will be introduced into the next legislature for the consolidation of districts and the improvement of school buildings. Bills of this type have been introduced before, with a moderate amount of public

interest, and have been easily defeated by the opposition especially from rural districts. The League of Women Voters will attempt to arouse the citizens so thoroughly this year that the entire State will understand the purposes of the bill and support it as it has never been supported before.

The third remedy is the simplest, but one of the most effectual. The thousands of women in the communities who have helped to take the survey are already at work trying by whatever means they have at hand to correct the most glaring defects in their own schools. Women's clubs are contributing needed equipment, installing stoves for hot lunches, giving textbooks and maps. Local appropriations are being increased for repainting the walls, and cutting additional windows. School boards are being urged to scrap antiquated equipment and replace it with modern.

That the matter is one of national, not State interest, is evident from the letters which have come to the New York State League during the time that it has been conducting the survey. Questions have come from Mississippi, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Ohio, South Dakota, Arkansas, New Mexico, Connecticut, Maine, Texas, California, Michigan, and Iowa. They have come from school teachers, from mothers and fathers, and from citizens, both men and women, who are aroused to the needs of their own communities.

For the benefit of those who desire to undertake such a survey elsewhere, it is interesting to note that the work in New York State has been in charge of a committee of twenty members, including representatives of the League of Women Voters and various child-welfare groups. The plans of this committee have been carried out by an executive secretary, a stenographer, and two field workers who have helped to arouse local interest in those communities where the questionnaire did not meet with a ready response. The entire survey has been organized, conducted, and partly tabulated within one year.

That the solution of the problem lies very much with each community is clearly apparent.

Schools are essentially a community problem. The responsibility for them rests with every citizen. The schools will fulfil their obligations to the children, only as the community fulfils its obligations to the schools.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

IMPORTANT UTTERANCES AT WASHINGTON

IT is not often that on two successive days even the President of the United States has the world for an audience. Yet that was the literal fact on November 11 and 12, 1921. On the third anniversary of Armistice Day President Harding spoke at the burial of an unknown American soldier at Arlington Cemetery. On the following day he addressed the Conference on the Limitation of Armament at Washington. In each instance his words were heard around the globe. Because of the unusual importance of these addresses, it has seemed fitting that the more significant passages of each should be reproduced in these pages, in order that our readers may have ready access to them, and especially for the benefit of students in our colleges and high schools.

In the address at Arlington the President, after paying his tribute to the unidentified soldier who as one of thousands had made the supreme sacrifice, said:

This American soldier went forth to battle with no hatred for any people in the world, but hating war and hating the purpose of every war for conquest. He cherished our national rights and abhorred the threat of armed domination; and in the maelstrom of destruction and suffering and death he fired his shot for liberation of the captive conscience of the world. In advancing toward his objective was somewhere a thought of a world awakened; and we are here to testify undying gratitude and reverence for that thought of a wider freedom.

Sleeping in these hallowed grounds are thousands of Americans who have given their blood for the baptism of freedom and its maintenance, armed exponents of the nation's conscience. It is better and nobler for their deeds. Burial here is rather more than a sign of the Government's favor; it is a suggestion of a tomb in the heart of the nation, sorrowing for its noble dead.

To-day's ceremonies proclaim that the hero unknown is not unhonored. We gather him to the nation's breast, within the shadow of the Capitol, of the towering shaft that honors Washington, the great father, and of the exquisite monument to Lincoln, the martyred savior. Here the inspirations of yesterday and the conscience of to-day

forever unite to make the republic worthy of his death for flag and country.

Ours are lofty resolutions to-day as with tribute to the dead we consecrate ourselves to a better order for the living. With all my heart, I wish we might say to the defenders who survive, to mothers who sorrow, to widows and children who mourn, that no such sacrifice shall be asked again.

The President then spoke of a demonstration of modern warfare which he had recently seen, and declared: "It is no longer a conflict in chivalry, no more a test of militant manhood. It is only cruel, deliberate, scientific destruction." He continued:

I speak not as a pacifist fearing war, but as one who loves justice and hates war. I speak as one who believes the highest function of Government is to give its citizens the security of peace, the opportunity to achieve, and the pursuit of happiness.

The loftiest tribute we can bestow to-day—the heroically earned tribute—fashioned in deliberate conviction, out of unclouded thought, neither shadowed by remorse nor made vain by fancies, is the commitment of this republic to an advancement never made before. If American achievement is a cherished pride at home, if our unselfishness among nations is all we wish it to be, and ours is a helpful example in the world, then let us give of our influence and strength, yea, of our aspirations and convictions, to put mankind on a little higher plane, exulting and exalting, with war's distressing and depressing tragedies barred from the stage of righteous civilization.

The keynote of the address was hatred of war and all that it embodies:

Standing to-day on hallowed ground, conscious that all America has halted to share in the tribute of heart and mind and soul to this fellow-American, and knowing that the world is noting this expression of the republic's mindfulness, it is fitting to say that his sacrifice and that of the millions dead shall not be in vain. There must be, there shall be, the commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare.

On Saturday, November 12th, President Harding addressed the members of the Limitation of Armament Conference, assembled in Continental Hall in Washington.

Following are several of the salient passages of his address:

Speaking as official sponsor for the invitation, I think I may say the call is not of the United States of America alone. It is rather the spoken word of a war-wearied world, struggling for restoration, hungering and thirsting for better relationship; of humanity crying for relief and craving assurances of lasting peace.

It is easy to understand this world-wide aspiration. The glory of triumph, the rejoicing in achievement, the love of liberty, the devotion to country, the pangs of sorrow, the burdens of debt, the desolation of ruin—all these are appraised alike in all lands. Here in the United States we are but freshly turned from the burial of an Unknown American soldier, when a nation sorrowed while paying him tribute. Whether it was spoken or not, a hundred millions of our people were summarizing the inexcusable cause, the incalculable cost, the unspeakable sacrifices, and the unutterable sorrows, and there was the ever-impelling question: How can humanity justify or God forgive? Human hate demands no such toll; ambition and greed must be denied it. If misunderstanding must take the blame, then let us banish it, and let understanding rule and make good-will regnant everywhere. All of us demand

liberty and justice. There cannot be one without the other, and they must be held the unquestioned possession of all peoples. Inherent rights are of God, and the tragedies of the world originate in their attempted denial. The world to-day is infringing their enjoyment by arming to defend or deny, when simple sanity calls for their recognition through common understanding.

Gentlemen of the Conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate or apprehend no conquest. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone.

We wish to sit with you at the table of international understanding and good-will. In good conscience we are eager to meet you frankly, and invite and offer coöperation. The world demands a sober contemplation of the existing order and the realization that there can be no cure without sacrifice, not by one of us, but by all of us.

I can speak officially only for our United States. Our hundred millions frankly want less of armament and none of war. Wholly free from guile, sure in our own minds that we harbor no unworthy designs, we accredit the world with the same good intent. So I welcome you, not alone in good-will and high purpose, but with high faith.

THE AMERICAN NAVAL PROPOSALS AS STATED BY SECRETARY HUGHES

AT the opening session of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament at Washington on November 12, Secretary Hughes, in accepting the permanent chairmanship of the Conference, laid before the delegates certain definite proposals relating to naval armaments on behalf of the United States. After explaining the President's reasons for calling the conference and referring briefly to the effort of the Czar of Russia, twenty-three years ago, resulting in the conferences at The Hague, Secretary Hughes said:

The astonishing ambition which lay athwart the promise of the second Hague conference no longer menaces the world, and the great opportunity of liberty-loving and peace-preserving democracies has come. Is it not plain that the time has passed for mere resolutions that the responsible powers should examine the question of limitation of armament? We can no longer content ourselves with investigations, with statistics, with reports, with the circumlocution of inquiry. The essential facts are sufficiently known. The time is come, and this conference has been called not for general resolutions or mutual advice, but for action.

The question in relation to armaments which may be regarded as of primary importance at this time and with which we can deal most promptly

and effectively is the limitation of naval armament. There are certain general considerations which may be deemed pertinent to this subject.

The first is that the core of the difficulty is to be found in the competition in naval programs, and that, in order appropriately to limit naval armament, competition in its production must be abandoned. Competition will not be remedied by resolves with respect to the method of its continuance. One program inevitably leads to another, and, if competition continues, its regulation is impracticable. There is only one adequate way out, and that is to end it now.

It is apparent that this cannot be accomplished without serious sacrifices. Enormous sums have been expended upon ships under construction, and building programs which are now under way cannot be given up without heavy loss. Yet if the present construction of capital ships goes forward, other ships will inevitably be built to rival them, and this will lead to still others. Thus the race will continue, so long as ability to continue lasts. The effort to escape sacrifices is futile. We must face them or yield our purpose.

It is also clear that no one of the naval powers should be expected to make the sacrifices alone. The only hope of limitation of naval armament is by agreement among the nations concerned, and this agreement should be entirely fair and reasonable in the extent of the sacrifices required of each of the powers. In considering the basis of such agreement and the commensurate sacrifices to be required, it is necessary to have regard for the existing naval strength of the great naval powers,

including the extent of construction already effected in the case of ships in process. This follows from the fact that one nation is as free to compete as another, and each may find grounds for its action.

What one may do another may demand the opportunity to rival, and we remain in the thrall of competitive effort.

I may add that the American delegates are advised by their naval experts that the tonnage of capital ships may fairly be taken to measure the relative strength of navies, as the provision for auxiliary combatant craft should sustain a reasonable relation to the capital ship tonnage allowed.

It would also seem to be a vital part of a plan for the limitation of naval armament that there should be a naval holiday. It is proposed that for a period of not less than ten years there should be no further construction of capital ships.

I am happy to say that I am at liberty to go beyond these general propositions and, on behalf of the American delegation acting under the instructions of the President of the United States, to submit to you a concrete proposition for an agreement for the limitation of naval armament.

It should be added that this proposal immediately concerns the British Empire, Japan, and the United States. In view of the extraordinary conditions, due to the World War, affecting the existing strength of the navies of France and Italy, it is not thought to be necessary to discuss at this stage of the proceedings the tonnage allowance of these nations, but the United States proposes that this matter be reserved for the later consideration of the conference.

In making the present proposal the United States is most solicitous to deal with the question upon an entirely reasonable and practicable basis to the end that the just interests of all shall be adequately guarded, and the national security and defense shall be maintained. Four general principles have been applied:

1. That all capital shipbuilding programs, either actual or projected, should be abandoned.
2. That further reduction should be made through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.
3. That in general regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the powers concerned.
4. That the capital ship tonnage should be used as the measurement of strength for navies, and a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft prescribed.

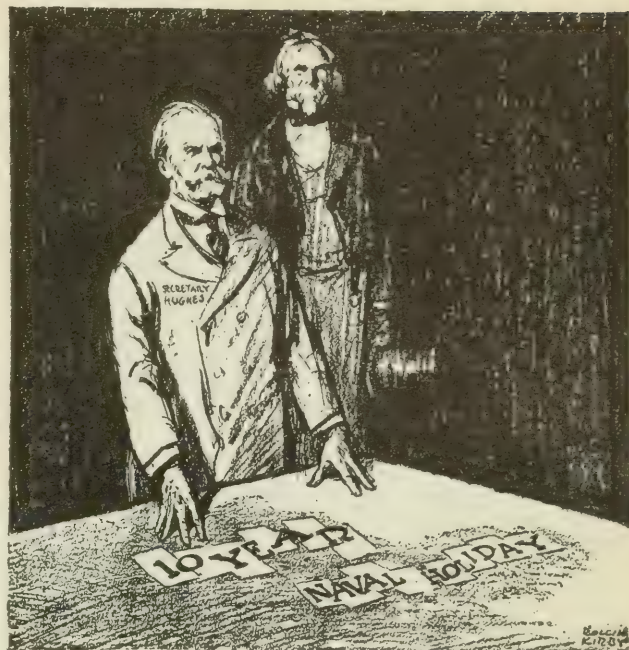
The principal features of the proposed agreement are as follows:

UNITED STATES

The United States is now completing its program of 1916 calling for ten new battleships and six battle cruisers. One battleship has been completed. The others are in various stages of construction; in some cases from 60 to 80 per cent. of the construction has been done. On these fifteen capital ships now being built over \$330,000,000 have been spent. Still the United States is willing, in the interest of an immediate limitation of naval armaments, to scrap all these ships.

The United States proposes, if this plan is accepted:

1. To scrap all capital ships now under construction. This includes six battle cruisers and



"FACE UP"

From the *World* (New York)

seven battleships on the ways and in the course of building, and two battleships launched.

The total number of new capital ships thus to be scrapped is fifteen. The total tonnage of the new capital ships when completed would be 618,000 tons.

2. To scrap all of the older battleships up to, but not including, the *Delaware* and *North Dakota*. The number of these old battleships to be scrapped is fifteen. Their total tonnage is 227,740 tons.

Thus the number of capital ships to be scrapped by the United States, if this plan is accepted, is thirty, with an aggregate tonnage (including that of ships in construction, if completed) of 845,740 tons.

GREAT BRITAIN

The plan contemplates that Great Britain and Japan shall take action which is fairly commensurate with this action on the part of the United States.

It is proposed that Great Britain:

1. Shall stop further construction of the four new Hoods, the new capital ships not laid down, but upon which money has been spent. The four ships, if completed, would have a tonnage displacement of 172,000 tons.

2. Shall, in addition, scrap her pre-dreadnoughts, second line battleships and first line battleships up to, but not including the King George V class.

These, with certain pre-dreadnoughts which it is understood have already been scrapped, would amount to nineteen capital ships and a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons.

The total tonnage of ships thus to be scrapped by Great Britain (including the tonnage of the four Hoods, if completed) would be 583,375 tons.

JAPAN

It is proposed that Japan:

1. Shall abandon her program of ships not yet laid down, viz., the K-11, Owari, No. 7 and No. 8 battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 battle cruisers.

It should be observed that this does not involve

the stopping of construction, as the construction of none of these ships has been begun.

2. Shall scrap three capital ships (the *Mutsu*, launched; the *Tosa*, the *Kago*, in course of building), and four battle cruisers (the *Amagi* and *Akagi*, in course of building, and the *Atoga* and *Takao*, not yet laid down, but for which certain material has been assembled).

The total number of new capital ships to be scrapped under this paragraph is seven. The total tonnage of these new capital ships when completed would be 289,130 tons.

3. Shall scrap all pre-dreadnoughts and battle-ships of the second line. This would include the scrapping of all ships up to, but not including, the *Settsu*; that is, the scrapping of ten old ships, with a total tonnage of 159,828 tons.

The total reduction of tonnage on vessels existing, laid down or for which material has been assembled (taking the tonnage of the new ships when completed) would be 448,928 tons.

Thus, under this plan, there would be immediately destroyed, of the navies of the three powers, sixty-six capital fighting ships, built and building, with a total tonnage of 1,878,043.

It is proposed that it should be agreed by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan that their navies, with respect to capital ships, within three months after the making of the agreement, shall consist of certain ships, designated in the proposal, and number for the United States 18, for Great Britain 22, for Japan 10.

The tonnage of these ships would be as follows: Of the United States, 500,650; of Great Britain, 604,450; of Japan, 299,700. In reaching this result the age factor in the case of the respective navies has reached appropriate consideration.

REPLACEMENT

With respect to replacement, the United States proposes:

(1) That it be agreed that the first replacement tonnage shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the agreement.

(2) That replacements be limited by an agreed maximum of capital ship tonnage as follows:

For the United States, 500,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 500,000 tons.

For Japan, 300,000 tons.

(3) That, subject to the ten-year limitation above fixed and the maximum standard, capital ships may be replaced when they are twenty years old by new capital ship construction.

(4) That no capital ship shall be built in replacement with a tonnage displacement of more than 35,000 tons.

I have sketched the proposal only in outline, leaving the technical details to be supplied by the formal proposition, which is ready for submission to the delegates.

With the acceptance of this plan, the burden of meeting the demands of competition in naval armament will be lifted. Enormous sums will be released to aid the progress of civilization. At the same time the proper demands of national defense will be adequately met, and the nations will have ample opportunity during the naval holiday of ten years to consider their future course. Preparation for future naval war shall stop now. I shall not attempt at this time to take up the other topics which have been listed on the tentative agenda proposed in anticipation of the conference.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE AS SEEN BY MR. WELLS

THE first meeting of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament at Washington on November 12 was described by H. G. Wells for the *New York World* and *Chicago Tribune*. That writer was impressed by the likeness of the gathering to "an admirably well-managed social occasion"—a "first night."

The address by Secretary Hughes, however, gave a jolt to this procedure. To Mr. Wells it seemed as if Mr. Hughes had carefully arranged a surprise of the Conference. At any rate, he made an end of fine generalizations, and brought the Conference down to "immediately practical things." After Mr. Hughes had delivered his address, says Mr. Wells, "we were a little stunned. We had expected the opening meeting to be preliminary, to stick to generalities. After Secretary Hughes had finished there was a feeling that we wanted to go away and think."

Consideration of the American proposals, as set forth by Secretary Hughes, brought Mr. Wells to the conclusion that those proposals "challenge the whole situation in the Pacific." Mr. Wells does not see how the proposals could be otherwise than acceptable to the British, and, if Japan accepts them, she will be virtually forced to abandon any idea of fighting a war on the Pacific, except as a last defensive resort. In other words, Mr. Wells believes that the proposals put Japan to a permanent disadvantage.

It is admitted that this challenge cannot be taken up until several associated issues are settled. Each of the powers must accept the proposal or give reasons for non-acceptance. So Mr. Wells predicts that the discussion will turn from armaments to the aims behind armaments. "No battleship is launched, except against a specific antagonist and for a specific end." The Pacific powers, and not Europe, will be in the lime-light.

THE ROAD TO DISARMAMENT

MANY pages of the *American Federationist* (Washington), published on the eve of the Arms Conference, are devoted to the proposed limitation of armament, which is described by Professor James H. Tufts, of the University of Chicago, in his contribution of the symposium as the traditional American policy.

Referring to the agreement of 1817 for the limitation of ships of war on the Great Lakes, Professor Tufts declares that we have the experience of a hundred years to prove that limitation of armament tends toward peace. When Great Britain and the United States together launched this experiment a century ago Europe was not ready to apply it to the armaments of the great powers. It went on trying to insure safety by heavily increasing armies and navies, but we now know that this policy did not guarantee peace, nor did it prevent the catastrophe of the World War in 1914. It has even been contended that it was one of the contributory factors.

The outstanding reasons for limitation are, of course, two: To reduce the provocations to war, and to lighten the terrible burden of expense. Reasonable persons will therefore consider only whether limitation of armament will accomplish these results without peril to other interests. The wishes of persons, if there are such, who are so foolish or so wicked as to take chances on provoking a war for the sake of national glory or private gain, need not concern us except to defeat them. But some may seriously ask whether a very great army and navy would not enable the United States to be a great force for peace in the Orient, and possibly some workingmen may think that a great program of naval building furnishes work for many, and that the income taxes which support it are paid by the rich.

The answer to the first of these two points is that it is unreasonable and absurd to suppose that all the other nations of the world will calmly allow any one nation to have the power to settle their questions for them. And as regards the United States, other peoples have no reason to suppose that we are so entirely disinterested, so entirely responsible, so completely reasonable, as to be entrusted with the sole guardianship of the world's peace. We should feel the same way with reference to any other power. The day of peace through a Roman Empire is past; it is by mutual planning and agreements that we must move and more proceed in the future.

As regards the second question, it is indeed true that a small number are furnished work by a naval program, and that a considerable number of others are employed in service. But *every hour of work on something which is not needed is in the last analysis wasted*. If we pay men to build buildings, and then burn them down the next day, and repeat this process over and over,

we are not getting anywhere. The bills have to be paid by the taxpayers, and in the long run the workingmen pay their share. They pay in their rents, in the high cost of all their necessities and comforts.

Let us face about and turn the other way; let us follow the policy of Washington, Madison, and Monroe—not the policy of Europe in 1914. And let us take practical measures to maintain peace and reduce burdens, instead of indulging in pious wishes and complaining of our high taxes and high costs.

The American viewpoint on the reduction of armaments is stated by the Hon. George Huddleston, member of Congress from Alabama, as follows:

America favors the reduction of armaments of other nations chiefly for economic and commercial reasons—that they may remain at peace with each other, reduce their tax burdens, and be able to trade with us and to pay us what they owe. We have no intention of being drawn into international entanglements or of meddling with Old World politics, and are not particularly concerned with balances of military power nor with national jealousies.

America is free to reduce her armed forces without regard to what other nations may do. Their situation, their hazards, aims,—and antag-



DISARM!

From the *American Federationist* (Washington, D. C.)

onisms are not ours. Such forces as we maintain need be for actual home defense only, with no plans for aggressive action of any kind.

America is not in competition with the imperialistic nations for world power, colonial systems, concessions, and the exploitation of undeveloped peoples. We need not, therefore, measure our requirements by their standards. If they persist in their foolish policies and in maintaining armies and navies to support them, we may well leave them go their way. America is not yet fully developed, yet is self-sustaining. We do not need to buy with the blood of our citizens markets and opportunities for investments.

If I had my way I would reduce our armed forces to a well-trained militia with air and watercraft useful for defensive purposes only. I should assume that by attending to our own business and adhering to international laws and humanitarian principles America would remain at peace.

Articles in further support of the policy of disarmament are contributed by Vice-President James Duncan, of the American Federation of Labor; President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America; President Gilbert E. Hyatt, of the National Federation of Postal Clerks; President John A. Voll, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association; President James Lord, of the Mining Department, American Federation of Labor; Organizer Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor; President E. J. Manion, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers; President M. F. Tighe, of the Almagamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and other well-known labor leaders.

A BRITISH MILITARY EXPERT ON ARMAMENT LIMITATION

ONE of the leading British experts on military affairs, Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, throws the weight of his influence on the side of limitation of armaments in an article which he contributes to the *Contemporary Review* (London) for October.

Sir Frederick Maurice recalls the fact that the same financiers in England who are today calling for a reduction of armaments were once foremost in demanding great increases of naval expenditure.

It is of the first importance, if the reduction of armaments which is now so generally demanded is to be permanent, that it should be made upon a principle which will stand the test of time. If this is not done we shall sooner or later return to the old conditions, for all past experience has shown that, if demands for the reduction of armaments are accepted on no definite principle, they are invariably followed sooner or later by demands, again made in a panic, for increased expenditure on armaments. If, then, any good is to come from the present outcry, and it may be productive of much good if it is properly used, it is necessary to examine the causes which brought about the increase in armaments, created the nation in arms, and turned Europe into an armed camp.

This writer finds that the principle of the balance of power, as it operated in Europe for many years, "became a direct incitement to competition in armaments, which were no longer limited, as they had been, by natural conditions." This applied to naval armaments even more strikingly than to land

forces. In searching for the new principle which is to take the place of the balance of power Sir Frederick Maurice has found nothing better than that of the League of Nations, which proposes to substitute for the spirit of competition among nations the spirit of coöperation, and concentration of force for a balance of force. Therefore, he argues that whatever may be the outcome of the Washington Conference, the League of Nations will still be necessary if any permanent reduction of armaments is to be attained.

Unlike many military critics, Sir Frederick Maurice believes that "an international authority which can call public attention to any attempt to evade an agreement is an experiment which is at least worthy of a trial." The League of Nations, of course, has no power to enforce a reduction of armaments upon its members. It may only recommend such reductions to the various nations, leaving the decision with their respective peoples. There will not be any important reduction unless that reduction be general.

There would be a difficulty in reducing armaments by limiting expenditures, in as much as some nations can maintain armies at a less cost than others. How, for example, can there be found a common standard of cost for the Japanese and British soldier? On the whole, the reduction of land armaments seems to be loaded with complications. The limitation of naval armaments is much simpler.

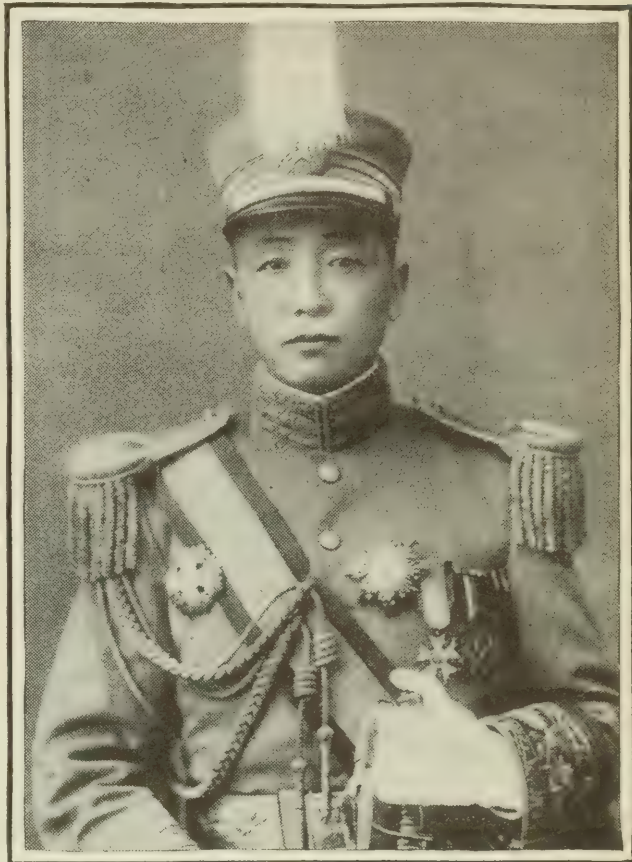
CHANG, THE CHINESE WAR LORD

MANCHURIA, at the present time, is ruled by a Chinese Inspector-General, Chang Tso-lin, who is declared by several recent visitors to his domains, notably Lord Northcliffe, to be the most powerful man in China. The Peking government is practically in his control. Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for November on "What Delays Disarmament?", Mr. Walter B. Pitkin outlines some of the reasons for Chang's remarkable success.

His seat of government is Mukden, where he holds, according to Mr. Pitkin, "the most strategic position in all Asia"—the point where Russia, China and Japan meet in their struggle for existence. At this gateway to China from Siberia, from China to Japan, and from Japan to Mongolia, Chang sits and collects such toll as the traffic will bear. As Mr. Pitkin points out, the traffic at that point bears a great deal, and perhaps it is not strange that Chang should begin to dream of empire. He sees, says Mr. Pitkin,

a new Manchu-Mongol Empire, stretching from the sea to the core of Asia. On Manchuria and Mongolia Chang would rebuild the throne of Jenghiz Khan, and send the bill to the Japanese. He will sell to the Japanese, at their own terms, a thousand concessions; and on his coronation day Japan will occupy peaceably a wedge twenty-four hundred miles long, giving them "interior lines" dominating both Siberia and China. In short, what "little Hsu" and his Anfuites dreamed of doing "for China" Chang would do for himself and his Tokio friends. The Japanese backed the Anfuites, and lost. Now they are backing Chang, and hope to win. And to-day the odds are strongly in their favor.

Three facts will convince you of all this. One is Chang's military power, another is his management of the Peking government, and the third is his long series of business deals with Japanese. It must shock the American reader to learn that this clever schemer now rules an army of 300,000 well-equipped soldiers, over which the so-called Central Government exercises not the slightest control, although it is compelled to pay most of its upkeep. Since Hsu demobilized some 300,000 of the Peking forces last summer Chang has become the overshadowing force; and not alone because his is the largest army in China. His strength flows largely from three immense strategic advantages: adequate food supplies within his own lines, the superior railway system of Manchuria, and the reserves of munitions held ready by his Japanese friends in Manchuria and Korea. To all this add a double geographic advantage: Manchuria is quite detached from the rest of China, hence not surrounded by potentially hostile provinces; and it is near the arsenals and shipyards of Japan. Why should not Chang dream of empire?



INSPECTOR-GENERAL CHANG TSO-LIN, CHINA'S
STRONG MAN IN MANCHURIA

A recent newspaper dispatch from Lord Northcliffe, who is now in China on his tour of the world, states that Chang was formerly a brigand. His army is said to be equipped with the latest machine-guns and Rolls-Royce and Handley-Page airplanes. It is estimated that his income reaches half a million English pounds. Lord Northcliffe had an interesting conversation with Chang concerning world affairs:

Chang Tso-lin is small and gentle-spoken. He was simply dressed, in Chinese fashion, and wore a large pearl in his head-covering. In our discussion of the Washington Conference he showed a complete knowledge of world affairs.

"I look to our American and British friends," he said to me, "to stand by China. The present chaos is not new. Chinese affairs always get worse before they get better. Two thousand years ago the Chinese ruling dynasty was in trouble much worse.

"Unlike Japan, China is a slow but sure country. As to the financial chaos of which you speak, our resources are immense. I am searching now for better administrators for the coming two years, and the future will see better things for China.

"Our enormous wealth has neither been tapped nor organized. I believe that now the European war is finished, Japan will act in more kindly fashion toward China."

The Governor is an indefatigable worker. Beginning his labor at 11 o'clock at night, he sees every state document himself, not going to bed until 6 o'clock in the morning. In the afternoon he gives his audiences, and then sleeps for an hour between 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening.

Japan's influence over Chang is well understood throughout the Far East. As pointed out by Mr. Pitkin, it is impossible

to launch a business enterprise in Manchuria or Mongolia, save by Chang's leave, and he has seen fit to favor the Japanese. Since 1906 the Japanese have financed twenty-seven large corporations in Manchuria—banks, mining companies, lumber mills, railways and electrical plants. These show a gross, authorized capitalization of 71,525,000 yen.

ENGLAND AND THE "GRAND SMASH"

CHAPTERS from the forthcoming biography of the late Walter H. Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain from 1913 to 1918, are appearing from month to month in the *World's Work* (New York.) From Mr. Page's letters and memoranda, written at the time, Mr. Burton J. Hendrick has constructed a picture of the opening days of the war as viewed by the representative of a neutral nation in London. A letter written by Mr. Page to President Wilson on August 9, 1914, gives a vivid account of his experiences during the preceding week. In the course of it he says:

I shall never forget Sir Edward Grey's telling me of the ultimatum—while he wept; nor the poor German Ambassador who has lost in his high game—almost a demented man; nor the King as he declaimed at me for half an hour and threw up his hands and said, "My God, Mr. Page, what else could we do?" Nor the Austrian Ambassador's wringing his hands and weeping and crying out, "My dear Colleague, my dear Colleague."

For the first time Mr. Hendrick is able to give an account of an historic interview between the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, and Ambassador Page on August 4, 1914. This account is based on a memorandum made by Sir Edward Grey, now in the archives of the British Foreign Office, a similar memorandum made by Mr. Page, and a detailed description given by Mr. Page to the writer. At the time of the interview the British ultimatum had gone to Germany, but no reply had yet been received.

At the outset Sir Edward Grey refers to the German invasion of Belgium:

"The neutrality of Belgium," he said, and there was the touch of finality in his voice, "is assured by treaty. Germany is a signatory power to that treaty. It is upon such solemn compacts as this that civilization rests. If we give them up, or permit them to be violated, what becomes of civilization? Ordered society differs from mere force only by such solemn agreements or compacts.

But Germany has violated the neutrality of Belgium. That means bad faith. It means also the end of Belgium's independence. And it will not end with Belgium. Next will come Holland, and, after Holland, Denmark. This very morning the Swedish Minister informed me that Germany had made overtures to Sweden to come in on Germany's side. The whole plan is thus clear. This one great military power means to annex Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian states and to subjugate France."

Sir Edward energetically rose; he again stood near the mantelpiece, his figure straightened, his eyes were fairly flashing—it was a picture, Page once told me, that was afterward indelibly fixed in his mind.

"England would be forever contemptible," Sir Edward said, "if it should sit by and see this treaty violated. Its position would be gone if Germany were thus permitted to dominate Europe. I have therefore asked you to come to tell you that this morning we sent an ultimatum to Germany. We have told Germany that, if this assault of Belgium's neutrality is not reversed, England will declare war."

"Do you expect Germany to accept it?" asked the Ambassador.

Sir Edward shook his head.

"No. Of course everybody knows that there will be war."

There was a moment's pause and then the Foreign Secretary spoke again:

"Yet we must remember that there are two Germanys. There is the Germany of men like ourselves—of men like Lichnowsky and Jagow. Then there is the Germany of men of the war party. The war party has got the upper hand."

At this point Sir Edward's eyes filled with tears.

"Thus the efforts of a lifetime go for nothing. I feel like a man who has wasted his life."

"This scene was most affecting," Page said afterward. "Sir Edward not only realized what the whole thing meant, but he showed that he realized the awful responsibility for it."

Sir Edward then asked the Ambassador to explain the situation to President Wilson; he expressed the hope that the United States would take an attitude of neutrality and that Great Britain might look for "the courtesies of neutrality" from this country. Page tried to tell him of the sincere pain that such a war would cause the President and the American people.

"I came away," the Ambassador afterward said, "with a sort of stunned sense of the impending ruin of half the world."

A FRIENDLY ESTIMATE OF THE FILIPINOS

AT a time when America's interests in the Pacific are exciting more discussion throughout the world than ever before it is essential that Americans themselves should be accurately informed concerning the status and prospects of their Asiatic possession, the Philippine Islands. President David P. Barrows, of the University of California, is well fitted by experience and temperament to make a fair and just appraisal of the actual progress that has been made by the Filipinos during more than a score of years under American tutelage. This he does in an article contributed to *Asia* for November.

As civilian and soldier, Dr. Barrows has spent more than nine years of his life among the Filipinos. His service began in 1900 when the islands were in revolt against American authority. He saw the suppression of that revolt and the establishment of civil government throughout the archipelago. In 1903 Dr. Barrows was made the head of the educational system of the Philippines, and held that post for six years. Within recent years he has had an opportunity to revisit the islands and note the changes that have taken place. He has always been an admirer of the Filipino people, and still believes that their good qualities greatly overbalance their weaknesses. He says:

Intellectually the Filipino is far from despicable. He has quick perceptions, retentive memory, aptitude, and extraordinary docility. He is, in fact, one of the most teachable of persons; and it is astonishing how quickly he can possess himself of the more obvious aspects of a problem. He matures early and soon finds himself in a position of influence and even of authority. Almost all leaders in war and politics of the past quarter of a century have been strikingly young men. There is unquestionable danger for the Filipino in both his aptitude and his precocity—the danger of superficiality. Under sound teaching he is capable of genuine patience in study and will work a matter through to its end. But release him from the influence of sound scholarship, and he speedily deserts a field, believing that a cursory exploration has given him mastery.

Dr. Barrows has noted the increasing participation

of the Filipino in politics during the last few years, and as an impartial observer he is not favorably impressed by the apparent results:

I am not sure that the more recent absorption of the Filipinos in politics has not seriously prejudiced their intellectual and artistic prospects. This reflection may bring us to a consideration of their political capacities and of their future as a nation. I know no people so far advanced in civilization as the Filipino that is at the same time so severely handicapped by political inheritance. There is nothing native in the race upon which to build a democratic state. As I have already said, the highest political institution developed by the Malay is the small village community, or town. Beyond that "the kings of the Philippines" were rulers of small islets or a brief stretch of shore. Political unity higher than this has always been secured at the price of foreign domination or ruthless despotism.

No one can doubt that the Filipino has responded remarkably to the advantages offered him by American rule. He has produced some political leaders who are clever, even brilliant, and whose ambition for their country none would question. Whether these leaders generally, however, have put the public good on a level with their private interests I would question. And that there is as yet in the Philippines sufficient general intelligence to create a public opinion that would save the Islands from anything but personal rule, I do not hesitate to deny. For a long time to come there must exist a superior authority from some external sovereignty. I am a sufficient well-wisher of the Filipinos to desire to see that authority American.

What would happen to the Philippines on the withdrawal of American control? Perhaps some Americans honestly believe that the independence of the islands would be a



TYPE OF INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL CONSTRUCTED OF REINFORCED CONCRETE BY THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION FROM PHILIPPINE FUNDS

blessing to their people and would make for world peace. Dr. Barrows does not share that belief:

No more disturbing element could be introduced into the uncertainty of the Far East and of the Pacific than a free and independent Philippines at the present hour. I say without any doubt in my mind, that the Philippines could not possibly protect themselves against the intrigue and corruption of foreign interests or the encroachments of military and naval powers. The world is not safe for democracy, and it would not tolerate political weakness and confusion at such a focus of international interests as the Philippines are. The islands and their inhabitants are still a long, long way from that point of development which they must reach in order to maintain internal order and well-being and security against the outside world. The population itself, albeit steadily increasing, must double in numbers before it can effectively occupy such large outlying islands as Palawan and Mindanao. The eight or nine separate and somewhat antagonistic elements which make up the Christianized population must fuse into a nation, overcome distrusts and local particularisms and have a common speech. These results will take years. Education must go on; the body of the population must become literate and gain the personal independence that, in an economic age, is possible only to a literate people.

National defense must be provided for. I believe that this can be done only through compulsory military service, the training of military leaders, the fortified protection of bases, and the union of all races of the Islands as a military

force. These preparations for defense will take time, and, if independence is the goal, they cannot be begun too soon. The world is constituted of aggressive, stubborn, and selfish stocks. The results achieved by armed force in the Far East are far too impressive to be discarded by ambitious nations; and all schemes of neutralization, joint sovereignties, league protectorates—offerings of visionary minds held out to Filipinos as encouragements to independence—are delusions and snares.

Self-government in the islands, as it was developed under the last Administration, was not, in Dr. Barrows' opinion, justified by its results:

Autonomy has been tried for the past eight years and it has failed. A government that was once based upon merit and that was signally free from dishonesty is now corrupt and politics-ridden. Education has been impaired, especially in its higher branches. Public health has suffered. The public treasury is exhausted, the national credit bankrupt. I question if the past eight years can exhibit one single department of administration in which the standard once achieved has been maintained. This is a severe indictment. I make it from personal knowledge and in the confidence that this and more will inevitably be disclosed.

Dr. Barrows is not alone in this conclusion. It is well understood that General Wood has before him the task of restoring American authority where it has been seriously impaired, if not actually undermined.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN CUBA TO-DAY

A CLEAR-CUT outline of the Cuban primary educational situation, with practical suggestions for its betterment, was presented to *La Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* (a Cuban organization), by Dr. Ramiro Guerra. *Cuba Contemporánea* (Havana) has printed this address as another contribution toward the advancement of Cuba.

In considering Cuban educational problems, says Dr. Guerra, one must first take into account national requirements—based on the factors of population and industry. Undesirable immigrants have largely replaced, in recent years, the sturdy Spanish peasants who formerly came to help develop the country. This newer population tends to overcrowd the cities, engaging in trade, instead of spreading into the rural communities.

To-day Cuba has about 3,000,000 inhabitants. It has an import and export trade superior to all the remaining Antilles, Cen-

tral America, and Mexico united. It produces more than Brazil—a country of nearly 30,000,000 inhabitants.

Only by toil can Cuba achieve such splendid results—for it is not rich in minerals. Not prodigal nature, but energetic human labor, has aided Cuba. The Cuban laborer, one of the most industrious of men, gets but a small return. This is due to the so-called "political class," which has seized large profits and exploited the workingman. Cuba suffers from the "self-made" man—who "lacks noble ambitions." In Dr. Guerra's opinion this grave deficiency must and can be supplied by the proper education of all classes.

The Cuban public school, created in 1900 (under the United States supervision), to-day has retrograded—first by lack of distribution, second through lowered teaching standards, and third from failure to link it to mercantile (or practical) requirements.

The 1919 census showed that there were

723,736 children of school age (six to fourteen, contrasting with five to seventeen as the educational age in other countries; were a similar standard adopted the number would be about 1,000,000 of school age). To train these students only 5700 schools are available, or one to every 126 pupils obliged by the Constitution to attend school—one for every 175 of elementary school age. Fifteen thousand schools are needed to function properly—a moderate figure if Cuba believes in the program “more school-masters than soldiers” (Cuba has 18,000 regulars). The United States has an army of 150,000 men and 650,000 teachers!

In 1900, with 1,500,000 population, there were 3600 schools. To-day, with the population doubled, only 5700 schools exist! This is 1500 less schools in proportion than in 1900. Figures for 1919-20 showed but 291,648 pupils in public schools out of a possible 723,756—or 432,108 of school age not in school. Should one adopt the school age of five to seventeen, this would mean 708,352 potential pupils not in school. Private schools may account for 100,000 pupils, but the remainder, one-quarter of a million, receive no education. Thus public schools are educating but 40 per cent. of the children of legal school age.

Without entering into other reasons—teaching is poor. This results in the failure of pupils to advance, with subsequent abandonment of education. Three times as many pupils attend the lower grades as the higher. The majority do not go beyond the fourth of the eight primary grades.

Other countries are preparing their workers better. Foreign workmen to-day are better educated and easily outdistance

Cubans. Vocational training can remedy this.

Substitution of the written for the spoken word in 1900 increased the teaching values. Work, not lectures, should constitute teaching. Many rural schools to-day do not realize this.

To supply good technical teaching the normal schools must prepare the masters—education at the source.

Cuba must be educated not as a people of *par-lanchines* (talkers), but as a hard-working democracy.

Primary teaching in rural communities must be fitted to requirements, as is the urban teaching now. Teaching the rustic reading, writing, simple calculating, hygiene, the duties of citizenship, and the rudiments of agricultural science will raise the standard of country life and render the inhabitants happier and more useful.

The problems in primary teaching are: (1) Lack of sufficient diffusion of schools; (2) Lack of intensity of teaching; (3) Inappropriate methods.

If these are the problems the solutions are comparatively simple. They are:

- (1) The nation must increase the number of properly equipped schools.
- (2) Teaching standards must be raised—pedagogic enthusiasm must be restored to that of the time of Frye. Strengthen the normal schools. Revive the *esprit de corps*.
- (3) Study rural districts and find out what knowledge is required for successful farm life—and supply it.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AS AN AID TO DEMOCRACY

THAT Christian homes and institutions are the fortress of democracy is perhaps no new idea, but to start a successful campaign to revive the Sunday school in order to preserve democracy is something that has never before been done by the strictly secular American press. Mr. Van Valkenburg, who edits the Philadelphia *North American*, conceived the idea of advertising the Sunday school, and he has carried out a free campaign of editorials, and of special articles by

Mr. Robert D. Towne, since January 29, 1921. Mr. Towne says, in an article on Sunday-school history:

It was a secular newspaper that first preached up the Sunday school. . . . Sunday-school history for more than a century has paid generous tribute to Robert Raikes, editor and proprietor of the Gloucester *Journal*, in Gloucester, England, who conceived the project of Sunday instruction for childhood and youth. . . . Gloucester was a factory town. Education was a feeble thing in England as everywhere else in the world in 1780.

Children spent the weekdays in the mills in those good old times—and very long days they were. The whole idea of democracy and popular education, whether on weekdays or Sundays, was regarded with suspicion in high places, and with entire indifference in low. . . . The editor rented a kitchen in "Sooty Alley." He went after those children. He made them wash their faces and clean up. He found them in "Sweeps' Quarters" and on "the island." If they swore at him too hard and fought against going to Sunday school he tied clogs and logs of wood to their feet and legs-hobbled them so they couldn't run away!

In America, the movement has always been carried on by lay volunteers representing the crossing over of religion from a merely doctrinal interest to the actual business, education, practical charity, and good citizenship of the entire community. Mr. Towne says:

The Sunday school is built upon three of the great towering facts of human history. These three facts may be likened to three vast mountain ranges running through the geography of human events. They are:

The one day of rest in seven.

The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

And the rise and progress of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . It is sufficient to say now that the Bible has been the great liberating voice of the world. No people have faithfully read this book and remained slave or outcast. . . . The gradual refinement of manners, the increasing pleasure of social intercourse, the growth of good language and polite conversation, even the development of dress and personal adornment as the mark of intellectual and moral culture; and out of these the development of that great organization of business and employment which constitutes another of the great assets of civilization—all of these multiplying beneficences are justly to be set down in large part to the credit of the American Sunday school.

The campaign is planned, from first to last, merely to advertise the Sunday school. The active Sunday-school worker is exhorted to realize that his business is to "sell" the idea to the people, persuading them with moral values as a commercial traveler does with material values. It is believed that, if the campaign is a success, it will start a national movement by all newspapers throughout the country along the same lines; but if it fails through lack of effort on the part of the Sunday-school workers themselves, such an experiment will not again be tried for another generation, and the campaign will react against the idea to which they are devoted.

The Sunday-school workers are put distinctly on their metal. They are told the faults as well as the benefits of their institution; but one point seems to have been missed,

and that is, the adaptation of the Sunday school to the *needs* of the times so as to make its objects and methods of instruction vital to the people. At least 90 per cent. of the churches concerned are actively or passively supporting the Sunday-school campaign of the *North American*, although this is a most unusual thing. In deploring the usual lack of coöperation, the point is raised, why have the Sunday schools failed to maintain their normal rate of increase in membership?

First is the widely entertained belief among its adherents that the Sunday school is a divinely ordained institution which will be providentially sustained and advanced without human coöperation. . . . They do not know, or have forgotten, how arduous were the labors and how severe the sacrifices which the pioneers of the last generation and those preceding it put behind the organization of the beneficent system. . . .

The second great hindrance to Sunday-school growth is of a psychological nature. The movement lacks the driving force of institutional or group spirit. There are, of course, district and State and national Sunday-school associations, and an international body; but these, after all, are only forms of machinery, remote from the vast body of the membership. What we mean is that the Sunday-school army of the country is conspicuously lacking in the group consciousness which is the very life essence of other organizations—the fraternal and beneficial orders, the associations of the financial and commercial and professional worlds, the unions of industrial workers and farmers, for example.

The Sunday-school movement lacks any emblem or button as a means of identification and protection and social benefit. Such an emblem is a basis of masonic, political, and social orders, and a bond of which Sunday-school workers seem totally unaware. The movement has developed in local units; it lacks solidity as an institution. There has been no group spirit.

Christianity and democracy have wrecked slavery, the rights of kings, the tyrannies of serfdom and feudalism, social despotism, and religious caste; they have established human brotherhood, equality and justice. One is a religious force, the other political; yet Lincoln brought both forces together with his interpretation of democracy which is so well known and so widely quoted. Says the *North American*:

Democracy, as a political institution and as a socializing agency, is still in its infancy. Though manifestly imperfect, it has boundless possibilities of beneficent expansion; for it is peculiar among systems of government in that it is based upon the common intelligence of man, and develops with growing enlightenment to meet new needs and new ideals of humanity.

SCRIABINE—THE MAN AND MUSICIAN

IT is told that Scriabine, one of the foremost modern Russian composers, shared the fate of other Russian celebrities in their schooldays: he was excluded from the class of musical composition by his teacher Arensky, another musical genius, who resented his pupil's disregard of the rules of composition. This we learn from an article by G. Lovtsky in the *Sovremenniya Zapiski*, a Russian monthly published in Paris. The writer goes on to say:

The creative impulses were present in Scriabine from his earliest childhood. Almost from his thirteenth year he composed music, but his own creative "ego" was yet so weak that it sought support in great masters. Such to him were in the domain of harmony and small forms, Chopin; in the domain of large musical forms, Beethoven.

Chopin must have exercised a particularly strong influence upon Scriabine. The charm, the transparency of the small musical forms, of which Chopin was so great a master, the brilliant piano passages were suited to the aristocratic, hot-house nature of Scriabine. But in general, it was rather an affinity of tastes than an affinity of souls.

All of Chopin's creativeness grew out of the piano. The same can be said of Scriabine. Even his orchestral compositions frequently represent orchestrated piano sonatas of poems. These two composers come near each other in their tender melodious outlines and their frail harmony. But after this external similarity, there follows a radical difference between the musical genius who voices the nationalist Polish sorrows, and—I would say—the cosmopolitan Scriabine.

The writer denies that Scriabine possessed any characteristic national Russian features.

"Was he a characteristically Russian phenomenon, impossible on other soil?" he asks. And his answer is:

I do not think so. There was not in him even an imitation of nationalism, as was the case with Tchaikovsky, and he stood apart—and probably felt himself so—among the composers of the purely nationalist Russian school who were grouped around M. P. Bielyaëff.

The Russian folk-songs, that inexhaustible treasury of the great national spirit, did not exercise upon Scriabine even an indirect influence. The Russian nature was alien to him; he never attempted to paint it in sounds. What remains of the national in Scriabine then? Only the circumstance that he was born in Russia.

The writer then speaks of Chopin, whose music reflected Poland's past grandeur and her present-day sufferings, and continues:

In vain would we seek for corresponding contents in the works of Scriabine. We simply shall not find them. That emotional content which Scriabine put into his early compositions is of a more general order, without the conditions of national life, national destinies. There remains the external imitation of the Chopin methods of creation, his delicacy, without his emotions and thoughts of the destiny of his people, which make Chopin's compositions so significant.

And yet those early compositions of Scriabine must not be called a kaleidoscope of sound, meaningless play. At times, of course,

Scriabine, too, embroidered aimless and pretty designs on the ready canvas of old musical forms, but even into these numerous études, preludes, impromptus, he put the warmth of feeling and uncommon content.

Like all great Russians, Scriabine was not merely a composer:

The problem of the artist and the relation of his creativeness to the universe interested him most of all throughout his whole life. The author of the "Tragic Poem," "Prometheus," was not an artist of tragic moods. Yet in his early youth he writes: "I do not know where to escape from the joy which fills me. If the world could get even a particle of the delight which fills me, it would die of happiness." With Scriabine's belief in his exclusive destiny, this mood had to produce a number of compositions

with an elevated tone. . . . The belief in the exclusive destiny which fell to his lot must have compelled him to depart gradually from Chopin; otherwise he would have perished in the aimless elegant estheticism of the limitless number of preludes, études, mazurkas. That emotional content which Scriabine put into these works was not sufficiently strong to determine his further creativeness.

The second stage of Scriabine's creative life, according to Mr. Lovtsky, is marked by his gradual emancipation from the influence of Chopin. In this period he is influenced by Beethoven and Wagner and reaches the height of his creative genius in the "Poem of Ecstasy," "Prometheus" and the last sonatas for the piano.

Like Wagner, Scriabine had philosophical views which he endeavored to express in his music. But his views were not clear and definite.



ALEXANDER SCRIABINE,
THE RUSSIAN COMPOSER

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

PUBLIC education is one of the national problems in the solution of which the Bolsheviks achieved something more than purely negative results. Their most important achievement, according to M. Davidoff in the *Novy Mir* (Berlin), who obtained his data from a member of the Russian educational commission in Berlin, is the establishment of kindergartens and other institutions for children who are too young to attend the public schools. Mr. Davidoff writes:

Kindergarten education, which is the basis of social training, was on a very low level in Russia before the October revolution. Russia was the most backward country in this respect.

At the present time the question of the education of children younger than school age is regarded not from the philanthropic point of view, as before, but from the scientific-pedagogical. What has been accomplished in this domain is attested by these figures: In 1914 in the Samara government there were three institutions, which looked after fifty children; in the Viatka government there were five such institutions with 500 children under their care. In the 600 homes formerly under the supervision of Empress Marie, transferred to the Commissariat of Public Education after the revolution, there were 30,000 children; now there are 3000 such homes in which 360,000 children are maintained. Altogether there are in Russia 6000 kindergartens, which serve 350,000 children.

Particular attention is given to the preparation of teachers, specialists in this branch of education. There have been organized about 100 special courses, with an attendance of over 5000 students. And still there is a great lack of experienced directors of such educational institutions.

Mr. Davidoff gives the number of orphans and other children who are maintained by the government in Petrograd:

In February, 1917, they numbered 3784; in October, 1917, 4890; in 1918, 20,000; in 1919, 37,000; in 1920, 59,000, and at the present time there are about 70,000. Special attention is given to defective children and juvenile delinquents.

The public schools have been divided into two classes, first and second. The writer continues:

Of schools of the first class (grammar schools), there were, according to the last census under the Czar, 47,855, in which 3,000,000 children were taught, with 74,000 teachers. In 1918-1919 there were 63,317 schools of the first class, with 4,800,000 children and 150,000 teachers.

The progress in the reorganization of secondary schools, which now constitute the

second class, is not so rapid, according to Mr. Davidoff, who goes on to say:

The aim of the secondary schools is to draw the youth into the productive life of the country, by means of visits to factories and mills, by way of personal effort, meaning by it to become acquainted, not with the technique of the work but with its very process, which aim can be achieved only in large Russian centers.

In the provinces they resort to the construction of primitive shops. In this respect the so-called demonstration schools have played a great part. But in general the situation with the secondary schools is pretty grave. The Commissariat of Education had to destroy to its very foundation the old secondary school, which did not correspond to the school of the new type, and therefore it was necessary to begin from the very beginning. The average number of pupils in the secondary schools has considerably decreased in recent years, as compared with the period before the revolution. At the present time there are 350,000 pupils in the secondary schools, while there are more than six million children of school age in Russia. It is true that to some extent the void is filled by clubs for youths, organizations of young workmen, federations of Communist youths, etc., but this, of course, is not sufficient.

Touching upon the state of higher education, the writer says:

There are now in Russia sixty-seven higher technical educational institutions, with 39,000 students. There are nineteen universities, with 100,000 students, of which more than 50,000 are medical students. All medical and technical students are militarized.

As regards higher pedagogical education, the situation is as follows: At present there are fifty-eight higher pedagogical institutes and two academies, in which there are 12,000 students. There are 160 three-year courses, with 20,000 students; 100 one-year courses, with 7000 students, and 300 short courses.

Workmen's universities, which are attached to some regular university, number, according to latest statistics, fifty-nine, with 22,500 students, of whom 82 per cent. are workmen and peasants. It is interesting to note that the workmen and peasants who were not sufficiently prepared to enter directly a higher institution of learning numbered twelve in 1919, twenty-eight in 1920, and sixty-four in June, 1921.

Mr. Davidoff gives interesting data about illiteracy in Russia, to deal with which the Bolshevik government appointed a "special commission for the liquidation of illiteracy."

Although it had been planned to teach 6,500,000 illiterates in the first year of the commission's activity, it succeeded in that year in reducing the number of illiterates by 2,700,000, of which number 25,000 were in Petrograd (altogether there were in that city 55,000 illiterates), 19,000 in Moscow, 40,000 in Tambov government, etc.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EDISON QUESTIONNAIRE

SEVERAL months have elapsed since Mr. Edison's novel method of testing applicants for executive positions in his establishment was a subject of universal discussion. The author of the famous "questionnaire" came in for a good deal of hostile criticism on the one hand, and on the other for praise that appears to have been rather wide of the mark, since Mr. Edison's defenders do not seem to have grasped the real purpose underlying his new style of examination. At last we have the truth. The editor of the *Scientific American* has interviewed the veteran inventor and publishes authorized quotations from his remarks that clear up the mystery, besides adducing strong evidence in behalf of the contention that there is something radically wrong with American colleges.

Mr. Edison is quoted as saying:

"It seemed to me that the very first thing an executive must have is a fine memory. I asked myself if I had ever heard of a high-class executive who lacked this qualification. I hadn't; have you? Of course you haven't. So I determined that I should test all candidates for executive positions by learning what I could about their memories.

"Don't misunderstand me. Of course it does not follow that a man with a fine memory is necessarily a fine executive. He might have a wonderful memory and be an awful chump in the bargain. But if he has the memory he has the first qualification, and if he has not the memory he lacks the first qualification and nothing else matters. Even if after passing the memory test he turns out to be a failure and has to go, much motion and expense will have been saved by the immediate elimination of all candidates who lack this first requisite of memory.

"The questionnaire that has attracted so much attention and been the target of much criticism was got up on this basis. The only way I know to test a man's memory is to find out how much he has remembered and how much he has forgotten. Of course I don't care directly whether a man knows the capital of Nevada, or the source of mahogany, or the location of Timbuctoo. Of course I don't care whether he knows who Desmoulins and Pascal and Kit Carson were. But if he ever knew any of these things and doesn't know them now, I *do* very much care about that in connection with giving him a job. For the assumption is that if he has forgotten these things he will forget something else that has direct bearing on his job.

"This memory of ours works in two ways. The things that are always before you, that you are continually conscious of knowing, comprise an insignificant part of the contents of your mental warehouse. Every moment of your life from the time you were old enough to perceive things at all, facts and facts and more facts have been

sifting into your mind through the things you see and the things you hear, and, above all, through the things you read—through your every contact with the external world. Millions and millions of facts which have come into your mind in this way ought still to be there. They stay down under the surface until you call for them—then if you have a good memory you find them popping right out. A man with a really fine memory of this type will often surprise himself by remembering a lot of things which he would not have supposed he had ever known, and which he can't for the life of him imagine how or when or where he learned.

"Of course if I ask you 150 questions at random, I am going to strike some low spots in your knowledge. I am going to ask you some things that you never have known at all. No two people have precisely the same background of facts. But I do not expect anybody to answer every one of my questions. They are selected with the thought that they shall deal with things taught in schools and colleges—things that we have all had opportunity to learn, facts to which we have all been exposed during the course of our education and by our ordinary reading. Their subject matter is of no importance—they must merely be things that my applicants may fairly be assumed to have been taught at some time. Everybody must necessarily have been exposed to a very large majority of them. But if any candidate should answer every question on his paper, I should want to know where he got his advance copy of the questions! I am not looking for 100 per cent. grades; but I am looking for, and I think I am entitled to expect, 90 per cent. grades. A man who has not got 90 per cent. of these facts at his command is deficient either in memory, as discussed already, or in the power of acquiring facts."

The interviewer, in common with most broadly educated people who were inclined to look favorably on the questionnaire, had formed an entirely erroneous conception of Edison's purpose in framing it. He says:

It had seemed to me that it was reasonable to insist that men going into the employ of the Edison industries, or of any industry of similar scope, be all-around men of parts; and that the questionnaire afforded a means of determining whether they were so, or whether their interests were so narrow that they had not taken the trouble to pick up the general knowledge of the world about them which they ought to have. But Mr. Edison made me see that this was not the point at all. Unquestionably, if he is sufficiently educated to hold down an Edison job, the man has been exposed to practically all of the facts called for by the questions. It is then not at all a matter of whether he has been sufficiently interested in them to retain them deliberately; it is merely a question of whether he possesses the automatic memory that retains them anyhow. If he has, as Mr. Edison says, he has satisfied the first requisite for an executive.

Several sets of questions have been used in the Edison examinations, and it is no longer necessary to conceal those that have served their purpose. The writer gives us copious information concerning papers which he himself examined, all of which had been submitted by graduates of universities and colleges, and nearly all by men who had, in addition, employment records justifying them in applying for a minor engineering job, with prospects of promotion. Here are a few samples of the answers:

Tierra del Fuego is in Mexico and it is in Spain. The Selkirk Mountains are in Sweden, Dakota, Tennessee, Scotland, Spain. The Wyoming Valley is placed by general consent in Wyoming. Kamchatka is a mountain in Japan. It is also "in the Adirondacks." Albuquerque is in Louisiana, in Canada, and in French Africa. The capital of Maine is given as Portland and as Bangor, which might have been expected; and as Bengal! Two candidates have the rock of Gibraltar on their right as they enter the Mediterranean. Khartum gravitates between China, India and Persia. Pamlico Sound is on Long Island, in Nova Scotia, and in the place where we have always supposed Puget Sound to be. To make up for this we find Cape Race in Virginia, in North Carolina, and in "southeastern South America." Montauk Point appears in Maine, in Connecticut, in Nova Scotia. The Gobi desert is in New Mexico and Arizona, but the earth's equilibrium is preserved by the presence of the Painted Desert in Asia and in Africa. The leading city of Newfoundland is Halifax (three votes), Vancouver, Sydney—and Nova Scotia again!

Camille Desmoulins is identified as painter and writer, as author and dramatist, as plain author, and as actor. Count Rumford "invented the baking powder that bears his name." One candidate took a chance on Machiavelli and described him as an artist; another man took a chance and reported him a painter and sculptor; a third conservative soul refused to take any chance at all and identified him as "an Italian." Plenty of men described James Watt as the inventor of the electrical unit that carries his name. Lord Kelvin was a distinguished economist and parliamentarian, and he invented the compass. Isabella's partner on the throne of Spain is given as Philip and as Alphonso (without any numeral). The wife of Napoleon III. is given as Marie Antoinette and as "Helen": Helen of Troy, no doubt. In reply to the specific question, "What king of Egypt built the great pyramid?" we are told Pharaoh and Pharoah and Pharoah and Rameses and Ramasus, all of which, I suppose, might have been expected; then we are told Alexander, and we are told Archimedes! Genghis Khan appears to have had a checkered career as a Chinese Emperor, an "Indian character," a Turkish general, a philosopher of the same race, and the head of the Hungarian Soviet. The author of Robinson Crusoe was Robert Louis Stevenson, and Balzac was a Brazilian patriot.

There is a pronounced consensus of opinion that the capital of Bulgaria is Budapest; dis-

senting reports are filed in favor of Bucharest and Belgrade.

Asbestos is a compound of magnesia, and it is a product of blast furnace slag. The atmospheric pressure is usually given correctly, but it appears in one paper as 70 pounds and in another as 776. Graphite is "the mineral base for making lead." Menhaden is a bay. The liquid used in fire extinguishers is carbon dioxide. Three candidates knew pepsin only as a flavoring, and one of them tells us it is got "from the tree of the same name." Forty per cent. in favor of starboard as left seems pretty high. 606 is a war gas, and it is a washing powder. The geometric lathe is an instrument to measure the area of triangles.

Nothing could be easier than to name three leguminous plants: cabbage, lettuce, and spinach. A second authority substitutes turnips for spinach, giving the same list otherwise. Conifers are described as trees that "bear fruit yearly"; as "broad-leaved trees"; as "trees like cypress and birch." If we had this chap up for oral examination we might learn why he groups these particular two instead of the crabapple and the weeping willow. Asked to name eight fruit trees, several men stopped at six; one made the grade by including the grape, and another the blackberry.

Great diversity of opinion exists with regard to the prevalent beast of burden in the Andes. The mule has a plurality, hard pressed by the goat. The donkey receives honorable mention. There are two votes for the "lima" and one for the "alpecka."

The number of feet in a fathom varies from 5 through 27 and 30 and up to 5400. Asked to guess the freight on a carload of oranges from southern California to Chicago, the candidates give figures running all the way from \$20 to \$2000.

Where is metallic aluminum obtained? One man, determined not to go wrong, tells us "from aluminum ore." Asked to name ten different metals in commercial use, one man ran down at nine, one at seven, and one actually at five. Coal was included in one list, and one man named both steel and iron. Amber is described as a hard wood; and five men try to play safe by characterizing it simply as "a substance."

The function of baking powder is given as the sweetening of the bread by preventing acidity and alkalinity, and (by two men) as the rendering of the bread more digestible. Another candidate reasoned that if the active principle of coffee is caffein, that of tea ought in all fairness to be taffein. A very respectable majority of the candidates whose papers I saw replied to the good old chestnut "Why can't you boil eggs on the summit of Pikes Peak?" with the explanation that the low atmospheric pressure raises the boiling point of water to an unattainable height. Another informs us it is because the proximity of the sun causes great heat.

The cause of the moon's phase is the tides. Several men differ from this, insisting that it is the earth getting between the sun and the moon.

There is just one grain of comfort in the shocking situation revealed by the Edison tests. Bad as they are, the college men are still ahead of the others.

REBUILDING EUROPE'S COMMERCE

IN *Rivista Internazionale* (Rome) the serious problems now offered by international commerce are studied by Carlo Grilli, who favors a liberal treatment for the exports from the debtor nations of Europe. From the time of the Armistice, which marked the cessation of hostilities among the greater nations, the question of reimbursing the advances made by the United States became insistent. It was realized that the prospective indemnities from Germany constituted a somewhat problematical resource, while on the other hand the attempt to make a settlement of the loans by great exports of goods was calculated to arouse opposition on the part of manufacturers in the creditor nation who dreaded the threatened influx of cheap foreign products.

The writer finds that many impartial thinkers have vainly protested against the danger of protracting the present disturbance of the economic equilibrium, and have urged the necessity of a policy encouraging importations, and thus diminishing the unduly favorable commercial balance of the United States. At the same time they advise the European debtor nations to study accurately their productive capacity, to develop it by all the resources of technical progress, and by superior organization to increase the efficiency of the workman. They also advocate a stricter control of both public and private outlays, so that these debtor nations may finally be able to make their exports balance and pay for their much-needed imports, especially of raw materials.

While, however, the long-term commercial credits should have been utilized mainly to provide alimentary products and raw materials for the devastated countries, thus giving them the possibility of reestablishing their industrial efficiency and greatly increasing their exports, the evident preoccupation of those Americans and Englishmen who inspired the great financial operations, was, above all, to create an outlet for their own exports. But if this policy were successful, how could the impoverished countries satisfy their financial obligations, public and private? On the contrary, the increase of their indebtedness would still further depress the value of their currencies and would increase the danger of a flood of low-priced exports to the creditor countries.

It is for this reason that these countries are contemplating the setting up of barriers

against such a rush of cheap goods, although by this policy they are interfering with the natural course of commerce and are indefinitely retarding the establishment of an equilibrium.

As to the United States in its relations with the European debtor nations, there is a choice between two different courses. The present rate of production can be maintained by means of according large credits to the impoverished countries of Europe, but in this way the premium on the dollar will continually rise and the purchasing power of the respective foreign moneys must continually fall; or else it can be decided to stop all European credits whether public or private, and to demand payment of interest on the indebtedness already contracted, as well as provision for an adequate sinking fund.

In this latter case the public and private finances of the debtor countries would have to withdraw an ever larger sum from their own capitalization and consumption, thus diminishing their ability to produce or to acquire. Further issues of paper money would be required to meet the rise in prices that would ensue, and the final result would be the closing of the European markets to American products and a "dumping" of under-valued European goods on the markets of the United States.

In either case the specter of "dumping" rises before us like the ghost of Banquo, but whoever considers this not merely under the aspect of a hardship for certain industries, will regard it as an antidote for the long-continued disturbance of commercial equilibrium. The industrial countries of impoverished Europe ought to be permitted to receive on credit a great part of the raw material they need, and they can only settle these credits by exporting finished products to the United States. In this way the course of exchange would become more favorable for Europe, and America would then have less need to fear an influx of cheap merchandise.

It is only by importing from Europe or from other countries in commercial intercourse with Europe, that the United States can enlarge the outlets for its own exportable surplus, and it is only by not putting obstacles in the way of a reestablishment of an international balance of exports and imports, that the specter of "dumping" can be exorcised.

ENGINEERING AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF BAD ODORS

CIVILIZED society cannot exist without sewers, garbage plants and various manufacturing industries of a more or less malodorous character. The necessity of these things does not, however, reconcile anybody to the annoyance of having them for nextdoor neighbors, and hence they are a fruitful cause of legal squabbles. Moreover, engineers are frequently called upon to devise means of minimizing their offensive features. The latter fact explains the appearance in the *Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers* of a paper on the subject of "Odors and Their Travel Habits," by Mr. Louis L. Tribus.

Of course such a topic cannot be discussed in the language of precise formulas that prevails in engineering literature. As the author remarks:

One cannot say that a particular odor, given off at a specific heat, meeting a certain open air temperature, at a special barometric pressure and known degree of humidity, with a wind blowing just so many feet per second, over a level plain, will be clearly noticeable at a computable distance from its source.

Hence, why should any solution of the case be sought? Simply because odors do travel, and opinions are desired which result very tangibly in settling litigation, where questions of damages and injury to health are at issue.

Mr. Tribus presents, however, a collection of interesting facts bearing upon the matter under consideration, and he suggests that "engineers ought to give items from their own experiences, so as to provide a reservoir of information that might be helpful in settling various disagreements and even litigation."

Certain cases of special interest are described as follows:

The garbage reduction works on Barren Island (within the Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York) were for years synonymous with stench. Fumes from the retorts and tankage driers passed off in part through the chimneys from which, according to wind and humidity, they traveled five, six or more miles before diffusion and chemical break-up relieved the offense.

These odors, while disagreeable, were not particularly nauseating to most people, and for many years legal actions to end them were not effective. Recently, however, a permanent injunction has been granted. Close to the plant, although intensified, the odors were scarcely more offensive than at considerable distances.

The great reduction plant built in accordance with many advanced ideas and located on Lakes

Island to replace the Barren Island works, for the several months of operation prior to its being closed as a nuisance, gave off gases that persisted in nauseating quality and strength to points eight and nine miles away. Rather curiously, although twenty-four-hour operations were maintained, these peripatetic smells became more offensive after sundown. Evidently the sun's rays possessed a deodorizing power which was joyfully welcomed by the burdened population through those months of torment.

The discriminating nose could detect three characteristics in the stench: that of caramel or burning vegetable matter, semi-rancid decomposing swill (combined vegetable and animal elements), and of the solvent (a chemical midway between gasoline and kerosene). These odors would settle in topographic and atmospheric pockets, and treated the public to many surprises as to their lasting qualities and intensity. The effect on different systems was quite diverse, producing severe headaches in many, nausea in others, lassitude in some, and generally violent wrath in all.

Another bitterly resented crop of fumes came from great manufacturing establishments, built along the New Jersey shore, at Edgewater. In spite of the mile of Hudson River water between the shores of what is virtually a great canyon formed by the high banks, residents along Riverside Drive, New York City, and neighboring streets were driven almost frantic at times by the peculiar and irritating gases given off in the preparation of certain foods, chemical, and other commercial products.

Here again litigation and pressure have forced great changes for the better, but the point of present importance is not the peculiarities of litigation or the fact that usually such pressure brings some relief, but rather that odors do travel. Of still greater importance is the fact that such odors can usually be anticipated and controlled.

The last sentence above quoted raises an interesting point of law, which the writer discusses as follows:

As yet the law does not permit control by anticipation, but actual nuisance must be first produced; then, however, action may be swift and effective. Would it not be wiser, under well safeguarded acts, to permit legal review by boards of health before consent is granted to invest capital, where noisome odors might be anticipated? Of course there are injunction proceedings open to taxpayers, but if State or municipal consent were first required, much litigation might be saved in later complications.

Mr. Tribus closes in a hopeful strain. The fact that a little soda in the water in which cabbage is cooked neutralizes the odor of this vegetable suggests analogous expedients on a larger scale well worth the attention of chemists.

PERU'S CENTURY OF ECONOMIC LIFE

IN a recent article regarding the present economic condition of Peru *Mercurio Peruano*, a monthly review published at Lima, says that the forces which are vying with each other for the dominion of the economic world are the régime of authority, as exemplified by absolute communism, and the régime of liberty, as would be found in a social state developed in a free atmosphere.

As the world is constantly inclined toward the régime of freedom, society suffers a permanent crisis of transition from the old rule of authority to the new regulation of liberty; and the most happy and prosperous country is that which acquires the greatest degree of this economic evolution.

In America it has not been attempted to make the people free through the effect of economic evolution, which is slow in its transformative process, but through popular action. The present inhabitants of the divers American republics, being constituted through their own actions as free peoples, it is pointed out that the exercise of liberty has been easier and more profitable for those who had the greatest degree of civilization at the commencement of their era of liberty, or whose geographic position and good climate have more greatly developed immigration.

This explains the economic process in each of the American republics, and why at the head of this evolutionary march may be found the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, in whose wake follow all the others.

It is stated that the economic evolution of Peru has been slow, for it has met with many obstacles during the major part of her one hundred years of republican life. Some of these obstacles are listed as: Habits of exclusiveness left on her population by three centuries of colonial tutelage; monopoly in all lines of activity, created or tolerated by the state; lack of public and private foresight, which sacrificed the future for present repose; even the natural riches of her privileged soil, provoking the ambition of some, the envy of others, and which caused a life of unrest and spoil; and the state of crisis which broke out in 1879, incident to the war with Chile, resulting in the loss of fields of nitrates and valuable minerals having a value of a hundred times the war indemnity imposed upon France by Germany.

However, liquidation of her heavy public debt and resuscitation from her depressed economic situation have been slowly going on, and to-day it is safe to say that she has almost completely recovered normalcy. Contemplated from the point of view of her savings and credit institutions, which are the exponents of prosperity in all countries, this is effectively shown. Since 1894, when banks were legally compelled to publish statements, the following interesting figures in *Libras Peruanas* (Peruvian pounds, which have the same normal value as the English pound) are given:

Year	Cash	Dr. Accounts	Deposits, Cr. Accounts and Acceptances
1894	355,324	796,166	890,527
1920	13,796,487	15,934,747	16,616,526

Capital and reserves of the banks have been strengthened as a consequence of this prosperity, having at the present time a solidity that is indicative of the growth of national riches. In 1894 the capital and reserves of all Peruvian banks totaled only 264,878 pounds, while in 1920 a total of 3,099,198 pounds, or an increase of over 1100 per cent., is shown. It is also pointed out that while in 1894 only the Banco del Callao (Bank of Callao) and a Sucursal del Banco de Londres, México y Sud América (Branch of the London, Mexico & South American Bank) existed, to-day the following banks are to be found:

	Capital and Reserves Pounds
Banco del Perú y Londres..... (Bank of Peru and London)	1,097,857
Caja de Ahorros..... (Savings Bank)	73,755
Banco Italiano..... (Italian Bank)	687,302
Banco Internacional del Perú..... (International Bank of Peru)	143,588
Banco Popular del Perú..... (Peoples Bank of Peru)	235,837
Caja de Depósitos y Consignaciones..... (Bank for Deposits and Consignations)	122,523
Banco Alemán Transatlántico..... (German Trans Atlantic Bank)	200,000
Banco Mercantil Americano del Perú..... (American Mercantile Bank of Peru)	138,336
Banco Anglo-Sud Americano..... (Anglo-South American Bank)	200,000
National City Bank of New York..	200,000
Total (pounds).....	3,099,198

In savings accounts it is also shown that at the end of 1920 there were 544,704 pounds on deposit.

Of the Peruvian population 43 per cent. is classified as active and 57 per cent. inactive (indigents, invalids, children, aged persons, and persons without work). Employers and employees form 57.4 per cent. of the active element, while workers and day laborers make up 42.6 per cent. Thus, with

a population of 4,000,000, it is seen that the active element numbers 1,720,000, of whom 987,280 are employers and employees and 732,720 are workers and day laborers.

In conclusion, *Mercurio Peruano* says that the centenary of the Republic finds Peru recovered from her long crises and liquidations and on the road to prosperity, as shown by her credit and savings institutions, and that she has well-founded hopes for progress.

ALCOHOLISM IN CHILE

AN ARTICLE in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, by E. K. James, of Santiago, Chile, states that among all the Latin-American republics Chile is the one most seriously affected by alcoholism. At the same time this writer believes that it is the country in which most is being done for the cause of temperance. The first legislation for the restriction of drink was enacted about thirty years ago, but thus far the executive power has not met with great success in the enforcement of anti-drink laws. In attempting to limit the planting of vineyards the government has faced a loss of revenue, and has met with the opposition of the wealthy landed classes, which include the owners of vineyards. But even the vineyard owners themselves have shown their willingness to coöperate with the government in abolishing the alcohol evil. In the case of Chile it is not the demand for alcohol that creates the supply, but rather the supply that creates the demand. The grapes of Chile are among the finest in the world, and her wines are rapidly becoming famous.

It appears that in 1917 the vineyards of Chile occupied 157,883 acres of land—a larger area than was devoted to oats, barley or alfalfa. The consumption of alcohol per capita reached its highest figure in 1914, when it was twelve quarts. In 1916 it dropped to 6.34 quarts, and in the following year rose to 8.5 quarts. Classified according to the amount of capital invested, the making of alcoholic liquors, wines, beers, soft drinks and industrial alcohol, holds fourth place among the manufacturing industries of Chile. Recently there has been a marked increase in the manufacture of soft drinks, especially in the production of ginger ale, grape juice and the bottling of mineral waters.

Aside from the conditions peculiar to Chile, favorable to the growth of alcoholism, we have

the factors common to other Latin-American republics. These are, insufficient education among the working classes, the absence of sane amusements and entertainments, and the scarcity of non-alcoholic drinks to take the place of liquors. The abundance of grapes makes the manufacture of chicha, a fermented grape juice, and the cheap red wines a simple and inexpensive matter, and large quantities of either can be secured for small sums. With these so easily accessible it is not surprising that the poorer classes indulge in drink to an excess, and not knowing better train their children along the same ways. No picnic, however small, is complete without a demijohn of wine or chicha, and any journey whatsoever is sufficient motive for the indulgence in drink. Wine is an important part of every meal, being so much cheaper than milk—water in many places being almost undrinkable.

The decline shown in the liquor importations is indeed gratifying, and it is hoped that this curse brought in by the foreigner may be abolished entirely. One of the things on which the United States can most pride herself to-day is that she is not pouring into the South American Republics a stream of fire water to sap away the foundations of the countries and stop the flourishing growth of their progressive peoples by corrupting the very lifeblood.

With all its possible evils, the moving-picture house has struck a tremendous blow at alcoholism, as did the innocent game of football. Football was practically the first form of amusement to draw thousands of men away from Sundays spent in the bars.

Mr. James ends his article in the *Bulletin* on an optimistic note:

The forces against alcoholism are strongly arrayed in Chile, and sooner or later the struggle must reach the very heart of the evil. The day of total prohibition appears yet very far off, but that it will come is by no means too much to hope or expect. Chile's new President is expected to do much toward solving the problem. On making a tour of the country after his nomination as President, His Excellency, Sr. Alessandri, requested that no liquors be served at the banquets. He has always stood for prohibition, declaring that "the first duty of men in government is to defend the race, to fight against alcoholism, against social diseases, and to protect and encourage sports." And the people of Chile are backing these principles heart and soul.

DANTE'S VIEWPOINT IN POLITICS

DANTE'S political ideas, as viewed by the great Italian revolutionist, Mazzini, from the theme of an article by Felice Momigliano in *Rivista d'Italia* (Milan). In a letter written by Mazzini, February 13, 1864, to Countess d'Agoult, mother of Cosima Wagner, the points of contact and of difference between Goethe and Dante are excellently brought out. As a chief distinction he declares that while Goethe's genius was objective, that of Dante was eminently subjective; hence the latter stamps his soul, his tendencies and his aspirations upon the universe as he sees it, while Goethe's mind reflected like a faithful mirror the aspects of the world around him.

As a result of this difference of mental attitude, Dante arouses a missionary spirit, incites his readers to action, to suffering, even to martyrdom, and he therefore has a powerful hold upon the aspirations of youth. Goethe, on the other hand, invites to calm, to contemplation, to order, to resignation; he teaches man the way to adapt himself to the environment in which he has been placed, to fulfil his simple duties, to provide well for his material wants, to help those about him so far as this may be possible without incurring the risk of disturbing the equilibrium of his faculties. Turning to Dante's political views, Mazzini claimed him as an ally, and denied that his doctrine was that of Catholic orthodoxy; indeed, he inclined to present him as the precursor and the proclaimer of a new religion.

The mind of Dante, as well as that of Mazzini, was dominated by a marvelous spirit of unity, which impresses an architectural harmony upon their systems. The whole world is sheltered beneath the wings of the two great world powers, imperial and spiritual, the former of which guides humanity to terrestrial happiness, while the latter leads it to celestial bliss. These powers are equally great and equally independent, subject only to God, because they actuate the divine will on earth. This is the medieval Utopia, developed in Italy, the classic land of Utopias, because, although Italy's genius was mighty, liberty had always been denied to her. The confederation of the republics of Europe as a supreme synthesis of the various peoples, ordered in conformity with the principle of nationality—behold the Utopia of the twentieth century!

In the political ideal of Mazzini there are two elements. The first of these, which is related to Dante's *Divina Commedia* and his treatise *De Monarchia*, teaches that the existence of the individual state depends upon its becoming a part of a universal political organization. Plurality is a sign of decadence and of failure. The ancient city, the conquests of Alexander, Roman imperialism, appear as so many stages in the advance toward the ideal of the medieval Christian empire aspired to by Dante, and which culminates in Mazzini's Society of Nations. Each nation ought to share in the destiny of the others; isolation destroys and sterilizes the benefits of civilization.

The writer finds that in our modern phraseology we could say that if the empire of Dante is a Utopia, and if a federation of republican nations is also a Utopia, the idea of peace with justice is no Utopia, for it is implanted in the hearts of all the sons of Adam. However, neither Dante nor Mazzini understood this equality of nations in that vulgar sense in which it can neither be realized between individuals nor between peoples. In fact there is nothing less equal than the characters of individual men, and this inequality extends to their collective organization in states. In the same measure that the various nations composing humanity educate an increasing number of men to co-operation, not only on the battlefields, but also in social and civil progress, will they acquire real glory.

Europe has to-day greater need than ever before of the task which the Romans considered their exclusive privilege, that of imposing peace. Let us imagine the telegraph at the disposal of all; the airplanes sailing securely through the skies to put Chicago in communication with Milan, Washington with Constantinople, Rome with Peking—this would not warrant us in extolling human progress if we were not able to foresee what kind of men would be evolved by these multiplied contacts, what gospel will command the faith of the world. For Dante, as for Mazzini, the state is not that now existing, but that which should be, that which we labor to construct, without ever being able to say that our work is complete at any point, still less that it is perfect. The Empire of Dante, the People of Mazzini, are only ideals.

THE NEW BOOKS

PERSONALITIES, LIVING AND DEAD

IN any survey of the books published in 1921 we are impressed by the great number of works which offer more or less intimate revelations of individual careers. In others the letters and journal of the subject themselves tell the story. In one form or the other many valuable contributions to history have been printed during the past year—not less valuable because of their human interest.

In this category no more important volume has come from the press in any recent year than Lytton Strachey's "Queen Victoria" (Harcourt, Brace & Co.), which might without overstatement be called the first presentation of England's highly respected monarch as a human being, with the limitations common to the men and women of her day and generation. Mrs. Margot Asquith's autobiography, published a few months earlier, harks back to the Victorian era and was frankly an attempt to shock the staid British public by its disclosures. In the United States it has become one of the "best-sellers" because the American public is as eager to be shocked as the English.

Among the American books of the year in this classification perhaps the most noteworthy are "The Americanization of Edward Bok" (Scribner's), "In One Man's Life," the life story of Theodore N. Vail, by Albert Bigelow Paine (Harper's) and "Silhouettes of My Contemporaries," by Lyman Abbott (Doubleday, Page & Co.) A work that partakes as much of the character of history as of biography, is "A Journal of the Great War," by Charles G. Dawes (Houghton Mifflin Company), which was noticed at some length in our September number. It is an evidence of the genuine popular interest in the highest type of biography that the publishers report continued heavy sales of ex-Senator Beveridge's four-volume "Life of John Marshall," which was published two years ago.

On this and the following pages we have noted several of the more recently published biographies, autobiographies and sketches of living personalities. The section beginning on page 668 is devoted to literature having to do with the career of Theodore Roosevelt.

The Tragedy of Lord Kitchener. By Reginald Viscount Esher. Dutton & Co. 219 pp. Ill.

This volume, modest in dimensions, is the most important contribution that has been made thus far to the discussion of the eminent personages of the Great War. Lord Kitchener had been successful in Egypt and South Africa and was, in British eyes, a great military man and imperial figure. His reputation had been made a long way from the political atmosphere of London. When the Great War broke out it seemed the logical thing to the British mind that Kitchener should enter the Cabinet as Minister of War. He was wholly out of his element; was at sword's points with the British Commander of the forces in France; did not know how to get along with his Ministerial colleagues; and was upon the whole a magnificent figure but a pathetic one, and, relatively speaking, a failure. The "tragedy" to which the author of this book refers was not the lamented death of Kitchener through the sinking of a ship that was carrying him on a secret mission across the North Sea. It has been shown conclusively that the death of Kitchener was not due to treachery nor to the act of a submarine, but probably to a drifting mine. The "tragedy" disclosed by this book was the consciousness of Kitchener that in the supreme crisis of his country he was not the right man in the right place, and that he lacked something of the power that had been his, ten or fifteen years previous. Lord Esher is the one man who could have written this book. He held a high confidential post in the War Department during the great conflict, and enjoyed direct relations with Kitchener as well as with the British Generals in France, and the highest French authorities. Lord Esher has occupied a unique position at the very center of British public affairs for forty

years. He holds many offices of trust and honor, among them being that of Royal Trustee of the British Museum. He has deposited in the British Museum notebooks and war materials under seal which cannot be made public for another half-century. He writes with a background of knowledge that is at once broad and minute; and his literary skill is exceptional.

Washington Close-ups—Intimate Views of Some Public Figures. By Edward G. Lowry. Scribner's. 275 pp.

Mirrors of Washington. Anonymous. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 256 pp.

These two books, although they deal most irreverently in personalities about politicians and officeholders, are in point of fact merely studies of Washington life as it appears in our own day to very clever newspaper correspondents. There was a period many years ago when the Washington correspondent was a brilliant and powerful writer, much relied upon by the readers of newspapers, whether in Boston, Chicago, or New Orleans. There came a later period when the older correspondent had disappeared, and the mere news-gatherer had taken his place. It happens that the new period in which we now live has been training and developing a group of correspondents of fine talent and wide experience, and it has also been training and developing hundreds of thousands of intelligent readers of the daily press.

These correspondents have a tendency to be somewhat cynical about politicians. They are, perhaps, too close to these public men, in their weaknesses of personality and their inconsistencies of career, to be altogether just in their estimates. They think and speak with easy disparagement of men who are in high seats of Gov-

ernment. The book called "Mirrors of Downing Street," written anonymously by an English journalist about a group of Britain's public men, such as Lloyd George, Balfour and Winston Churchill, furnished the obvious model for the anonymous American book called "Mirrors of Washington." Since the writer undoubtedly disapproves strongly of Woodrow Wilson, Senator Lodge, and certain others, he has yielded to temptation and gone too far in his destructive analysis. Mr. Lowry, on the other hand, writing over his own name, is much less drastic in his characterizations. Both books are exceedingly readable, and both are thoroughly saturated with the spirit of Washington as a political center.

The "Mirrors of Downing Street" (Putnam's), bitter as is some of its satire, is undoubtedly inspired by a passion for all that is noble and lofty in statesmanship as well as in individual character. This is shown even more clearly in the English author's succeeding volume, the "Glass of Fashion." This second book is scathing in its attacks upon fashionable society, and it holds up Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone as true models, contrasting the usefulness and beauty of their lives with the social flippancy and folly that the author finds reflected in Mrs. Asquith's autobiography and Colonel Repington's diaries. The two Washington books are not so serious in their motives as those of the anonymous British journalist. But they are hardly less readable and clever; and the point of view of our anonymous writer as well as of Mr. Lowry is that of a man who means to praise what is worthy and to condemn what is false or unsound. Since both writers to some extent characterize the same people, the reader may find it amusing to take them in hand together, turning from one picture of President Harding, or Mr. Lodge, or the late Senator Knox, or Secretary Hoover, or Mr. Hughes, to the corresponding picture in the other book.

Political Profiles from British Public Life. By Herbert Sidebotham. Houghton Mifflin Company. 256 pp.

Many of the "Profiles" presented in this volume were sketched from the press gallery of the British House of Commons. Mr. Sidebotham is the Parliamentary correspondent of the *London Times*, and knows most of the men in British public life to-day. He has an excellent introductory chapter on the press gallery itself, and American readers will be especially interested in his sketches of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Reading, Lord Grey, Mr. and Mrs. Asquith, Lady Astor, and "The Geddes."

The Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference. By Robert Lansing. Houghton Mifflin Company. 212 pp. Ill.

The outstanding figures in the Paris negotiations of 1919 are here sketched by the former Secretary of State in President Wilson's Cabinet, who was himself an active participant in the Conference as one of the delegates from the United States. In addition to what might be termed the full-length portraits of Clemenceau, Wilson, Lloyd George, and Orlando, Mr. Lansing gives us his impressions of Venizelos, Emir Feisul, Botha, and Paderewski. Mr. Lansing describes these personalities incisively and with discrimination.

Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army. By C. T. Atkinson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 546 pp. Ill.

The greatest of English military men in the century preceding the rise of the Duke of Wellington and the Napoleonic wars was John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, and ancestor of that Winston Spencer Churchill who is now a leading member of the British Cabinet. This volume by Captain Atkinson is really a study of British militarism at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Throughout Marlborough's career as a general, great progress was made in the development of the art of war. It was under him that artillery, as a distinct arm of the service, came to its own. Almost alone among the English commanders of his day, Marlborough won a reputation on the Continent of Europe that endured to Napoleon's day. Captain Atkinson gives a well-studied account of his European campaigns.

Leschetizky As I Knew Him. By Ethel Newcomb. D. Appleton and Company. 295 pp.

Before the war the man who was known throughout the civilized world, and especially in America, as the greatest teacher of piano technique was Theodor Leschetizky. Many American pianists were his pupils at Vienna, attracted by his fame as the preceptor of Paderewski, Gabrilowitsch, Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler and others. The author of this book was for many years Leschetizky's pupil and assistant. Her book is an intimate presentation of the master in his various moods.

My Life Here and There. By Princess Cantacuzène Countess Spéransky, née Grant. Charles Scribner's Sons. 322 pp. Ill.

This volume contains a distinguished American woman's personal reminiscences of life in Russia and travels in Italy, Egypt, France and the Riviera. But of even greater interest, perhaps, to most American readers are the early chapters describing the author's girlhood in the United States, with reminiscences of the last days of her grandfather, General U. S. Grant, the preparation of his Memoirs, and his death.

The Story of a Poet: Madison Cawein. By Otto A. Rothert. Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Company. 545 pp. Ill.

The poet Cawein was born and lived most of his fifty years in the city of Louisville, Ky. He began writing verse at an early age, and his work was soon brought to the attention of such writers as William Dean Howells, Clinton Scollard, Henry van Dyke and some of the contemporary English poets. The *Poetry Review* of London praised his interpretations of nature and placed him in the first rank among American poets. His letters and other biographical material have been collected since his death (December, 1914) by Mr. Otto A. Rothert, secretary of the Filson Club. Included in this material, comprising a portly volume, are letters and appreciations from the pens of Mr. Howells and other competent critics.

Daniel H. Burnham. By Charles Moore. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 260 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 238 pp. Ill.

In October last occurred the fiftieth anniversary of the great Chicago fire. That event marked an epoch in the city's history. In the remarkable building era that followed the fire and lasted until the opening of the World's Fair in 1893, many men played important parts, but to a few was accorded leadership, not only in the erection of individual buildings, but in city-planning in the broadest sense. The leading spirit of this little group of Chicago architects was the late Daniel H. Burnham, whose work gradually became of far more than local importance, and long before his death had made him a national figure in his profession. He was identified with the World's Fair, the improvement of Washington, the planning of the new West Point and with many lesser works throughout the country. Seldom has an American architect received such generous recognition as is granted to Mr. Burnham in these two sumptuous volumes.

Romain Rolland. By Stefan Zweig. Thomas Seltzer. 377 pp. Ill.

A comprehensive biography of the great French writer, together with a critical estimate of his work. This is the first life of Rolland to appear in English. It is published simultaneously in five languages. The author is himself a leading dramatist, novelist, and poet.

From Private to Field-Marshal. By Sir William Robertson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 396 pp. Ill.

This book is partly autobiography and partly history. The first eleven chapters relate the rise

of General Robertson from the ranks to the important post of Director of Military Training for the British Army. The remaining eight chapters detail his experiences, first, as Quartermaster-General of the British Expeditionary Force, then, as Chief of the General Staff, and Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. This record of British operations throughout the war will be read with intense interest by military men because of its authoritative character.

The Life of Jean Henri Fabre. By the Abbé Augustin Fabre. Dodd, Mead & Company. 398 pp.

In his later years the French entomologist, Fabre, became, through the publication of translations of several of his books, comparatively well known to the English-speaking world. He died in 1915 at the great age of ninety-two. His life, as written by a kinsman, the Abbé Augustin Fabre, has now been translated into English, and answers many questions that have been asked concerning the work and methods of the aged French scientist.

The Life of Elie Metchnikoff. By Olga Metchnikoff. With a Preface by Sir Ray Lankester. Houghton Mifflin Company. 297 pp.

This biography of the great Russian bacteriologist was written by his wife, who shared in and understood his work for a long period. How completely medical science was revolutionized by Metchnikoff's discoveries, is even now very imperfectly realized by the general public. Madame Metchnikoff gives in this volume a fascinating account of many of the investigations that have had an epoch-marking importance. The eminent English scientist, Sir Ray Lankester, contributes a preface.

ROOSEVELT LITERATURE

A LIBRARY-SHELF of Roosevelt memoirs will soon be in existence. Already we have the authorized biography by Joseph B. Bishop, and a few months ago there appeared "My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt," by Mrs. Douglas Robinson. Even more recent is the publication of the first volume in the series brought out under the auspices of the Roosevelt Memorial Association—"Roosevelt in the Bad Lands," by Hermann Hagedorn (Houghton Mifflin). This and other new volumes relating to Roosevelt's career are noted below.

Roosevelt in the Bad Lands. By Hermann Hagedorn. Houghton Mifflin Company. 491 pp. Ill. Map.

In Roosevelt literature up to the present time there has been one noticeable gap. No attempt had ever been made to write a complete account of the period of the ranching experiences, from 1883 to 1887. Roosevelt's own works, of course, notably "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail" and the "Autobiography," gave many details of his hunting adventures, during that period, but the full story of those four years of ranch life in Dakota had never been told. During those years Theodore Roosevelt was more than a hunter; he was a responsible citizen of the frontier, and at that time he formed relationships that profoundly in-

fluenced him throughout his career. No one is prepared to estimate correctly the public life of Roosevelt who has not studied the Western life of which he was a part from his twenty-fifth to his twenty-ninth year. Very wisely, we think, the Committee on Publications of the Roosevelt Memorial Association decided to devote the first volume of their series to an account of "Roosevelt in the Bad Lands." Mr. Hermann Hagedorn was admirably equipped in every way to prepare such a book, and, in fact, received the impulse to write it from Mr. Roosevelt himself, who early in 1918 had given him letters of introduction to the men still living in the West who knew most about Roosevelt's life on the ranch and the cattle range. Mr. Hagedorn has interviewed these men, and heard the story from their own lips—a story which had never before been published

except in fragments. From the narratives of these frontiersmen and pioneers Mr. Hagedorn has woven a history that reconstructs for readers of this generation the cowboy's life of the '80s in the Dakotas. More than this, Mr. Hagedorn's volume is what every book about Roosevelt must be—an intensely human record. We can imagine how the author enjoyed gathering the materials for his book, and back of it all was his intimate personal acquaintance with the subject.

Theodore Roosevelt and His Times: a Chronicle of the Progressive Movement. By Harold Howland. New Haven: Yale University Press. 289 pp. Ill.

This volume in the "Chronicles of America Series" is mainly concerned with that period of Roosevelt's career in which he was the recognized champion of the National Progressive movement. The distinctive contribution that Mr. Howland makes to our knowledge of Roosevelt's life is contained in the chapters dealing with the Taft Administration, the split of 1912, and what he calls the "glorious failure" of the National Progressive party. During the years 1910-14 Mr. Howland was in close personal association with Roosevelt, and was particularly well-informed regarding the forces at work in American public opinion which resulted in Roosevelt's candidacy in 1912. From day to day he himself saw something of Roosevelt's reaction to those forces, and knew as well as anyone, perhaps, what was in the mind of the leader. His account of those

years will be read with interest by many who took part in one way or another in the events narrated.

Roosevelt, the Happy Warrior. By Bradley Gilman. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 376 pp. Ill.

Mr. Gilman writes as a classmate of Theodore Roosevelt at Harvard. He has gathered new material relating to Roosevelt's college days, and to his apprenticeship in New York politics during the few years after his graduation from college. The book is largely anecdotal, and possesses living interest.

Quentin Roosevelt: a Sketch, with Letters. By Kermit Roosevelt. Charles Scribner's Sons. 282 pp.

President Roosevelt's youngest son, Quentin, was killed while in the American air service in France in the summer of 1918, less than six months before his father's death at Oyster Bay. He was not yet twenty-one years of age when he was shot down by the Germans. No incident of the war more deeply moved the American heart. This is a memorial volume, edited by his brother, Kermit. It contains a selection of his letters and some of his writings in prose and verse which disclose a literary gift by no means commonplace. Two marked bents—one for mechanics, the other for literature—seem to have strongly influenced the lad's development.

DISCUSSIONS OF WORLD PROBLEMS

The Folly of Nations. By Frederick Palmer. Dodd, Mead & Company. 408 pp.

It has become almost a commonplace to say that those who have personal knowledge of modern warfare are more fully convinced than anyone else that an end should be made of all war. Few men, in or out of military service, have made a more intensive study of war at close range for the past quarter of a century than has Major Frederick Palmer, who has seen all the wars of consequence from the Greco-Turkish struggle of 1897 to the conclusion of the Great War three years ago. Major Palmer has been especially interested not only in the processes of war, but in their effect on men's minds. In the present volume he sums up his experiences and observations for twenty-five years. Looking upon war as a disease in the body politic, Major Palmer has reached the conclusion that it is a disease which can be eradicated. His book is a plea for disarmament.

Japan and the United States: 1853-1921. By Payson J. Treat. Houghton Mifflin Company. 282 pp.

Professor Treat is one of a small group of American scholars who have made it their business in recent years to study the development of the Far East. During the past fifteen years he had made two journeys to eastern Asia for purposes of observation. This volume deals with

America's relations with Japan from the time of Commodore Perry's visit in 1853 to the present. He has chapters on "Japan, America and the World War," "The New Far East," and "The Japanese in America." Professor Treat is himself a Californian, but is not inclined to adopt the views so generally held in his State as to the present menace of Japanese immigration. Whatever may be the reader's point of view, Professor Treat's book is an aid to the proper appreciation of Japan's position as a modern world power.

More That Must Be Told. By Sir Philip Gibbs. Harper & Brothers. 407 pp.

Sir Philip Gibbs won his first American reputation as a war correspondent, and after the Armistice his book, "Now It Can Be Told," disclosing much relating to the war operations of the Allies that had been kept from the public while the war was in progress, had many readers on both sides of the Atlantic. His new book deals chiefly with conditions in Europe since the war. He has made several visits to America, and one of his chapters is entitled, "The United States and World Peace." In regard to Anglo-American friendship, Sir Philip Gibbs is an unqualified optimist. So, too, in spite of certain disheartening phases in the European situation, which he does not attempt to conceal or minimize, he is on the whole optimistic concerning the future of the world.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TOPICS

The History and Problems of Organized Labor. By Frank Tracy Carlton. D. C. Heath & Company. 559 pp.

Professor Frank Tracy Carlton, of De Pauw University, an economist of excellent standing, has brought up to date in a revised edition a volume that first appeared some years ago on "The History and Problems of Organized Labor." In a series of comprehensive chapters Dr. Carlton tells the story of labor organizations in this country, and deals with all the more important aspects of industry from the standpoint of the workers. Thus we have chapters on unemployment, women labor, child labor, immigration, legislation relating to labor, scientific management, methods for promoting industrial peace, and so on. The volume is a repository of trustworthy and up-to-date information.

Civil War in West Virginia. By Winthrop D. Lane. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 128 pp.

Early in the present year there appeared some remarkable articles in the New York *Evening Post* from the field of conflict in the mining districts of West Virginia. The author was Mr. Winthrop D. Lane, and his studies of the troubles in Mingo County and adjacent coal mining districts are, upon the whole, favorable to the cause of the miners rather than to that of the coal operators. An introduction by Prof. John R. Commons to this little book, which is an expanded reprint of the *Evening Post* articles, makes a plea for the right of the miners' union to seek to extend its organization into the non-union mines.

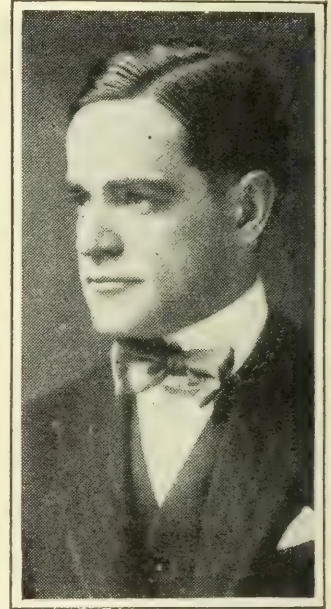
Full Up and Fed Up! By Whiting Williams. Charles Scribner's Sons. 324 pp. Ill.

It has been often said that a problem is moving toward solution when its existence is fully recognized and when it has been analyzed and stated. Everyone who was thoughtful knew that in the period following the Great War there would be profound efforts for economic improvement. "Making the world safe for democracy" was to be taken in an economic and social sense, quite as much as in that of international politics. The best thinkers are analyzing the problem in its different phases, and leaders in fields of action are trying to apply remedies. One of those who has been analyzing and presenting the problem itself is Whiting Williams. In 1919 he spent some months working among American labor gangs in order to find out how our workmen live, how they feel, and what they think. There resulted a very useful book, entitled "What's on the Worker's Mind?" Mr. Williams found out the significance of health and of physical condition, as a factor in the labor problem, then as a further consideration, the value of right mental conditions—that is to say, of fortunate understandings between employer and employee. Finally, he discovered the importance of what may be called the spiritual condition—that is to say, those elements in the life of a man which relate to his place among his fellows, his status as a citizen, and all that supports his manhood and his self-respect.

Having made a real contribution to the literature of American labor, Mr. Williams found him-

self impelled to go to England last year. His experiences there are detailed in a new book, "Full Up and Fed Up! The Worker's Mind in Crowded Britain." This is not a treatise, but a lively narration of experiences, followed by a few brief pages of summing up and interpretation. Mr. Williams worked with London dockers, with ironworkers and coal miners in South Wales, with shipbuilders on the Clyde at Glasgow, with furnace-workers in Yorkshire, with laborers of all sorts in the London district, and finally, he had some experience as a stoker on the *Mauretania* coming home. This is a book that ought to be read. It gives pictures of English industrial life that are very depressing.

Fortunately, the diagnosis points to remedies. England is very much overcrowded with workers. When world markets slump and fail we find the conditions that Mr. Williams describes, and to which his phrase, "Full Up," refers. English industrial workers can thrive only in case of very active and prosperous world trade, because much more than half of the food and most of the raw materials must be imported; and there must be ample foreign markets, or else many million of English workers are unemployed. To regain foreign markets there is always danger that labor must be forced down to wages that impair the standard of living. What is the broad remedy that Britain must face? (1) There must be a tremendous intensification of agriculture and domestic markets; (2) There must be a very large immigration of British workers to Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as to the United States and other places. Mr. Williams's book discovered a greater tendency to Bolshevism among the British workers than has generally been thought to exist.



WHITING WILLIAMS

Liberalism and Industry. By Ramsay Muir. Houghton Mifflin Company, 208 pp.

From Manchester, which was the great center of English political Liberalism in the last century, there comes a hopeful little book called "Liberalism and Industry," which undertakes to translate the Liberal movement of Great Britain into distinct terms of industrial reform. Mr. Ramsay Muir could not, in any case, have made a negligible book on such a subject, but the present volume is particularly noteworthy because it was written with the coöperation of the Manchester Liberal Federation, and before publication was accepted as an expression of their spirit,

point of view and general program. This book presents Liberalism as having the definite object of securing the best possible things in life for all the members of the community. The diagnosis of capitalism is exceedingly clear and good. The rights of all the factors concerned in industry are duly recognized. The objections to the Socialist and Syndicalist solutions are fairly stated. Mr. Williams's book, as we have shown, emphasizes the burdens and evils of unemployment. Mr. Muir's book goes straight at that problem and its remedies. Some of its recommendations are along the lines of those adopted at the recent conference at Washington on unemployment. This little volume clearly recognizes the fact that employers must accept a much greater measure of responsibility than heretofore for the well-being of employees. The problem of British agriculture and its development is duly discussed, and such practical matters as housing, public health, education, and the need of social research are duly set forth. The bearings of national finance and taxation upon the general welfare are ably discussed. The one glaring defect in this book is the failure to touch the problem of overpopulation and the need of an immigration policy. It is a book worthy of praise and endorsement.

Property. By Arthur Jerome Eddy. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 254 pp.

The late Arthur Jerome Eddy, of the Chicago Bar, was a thinker of original force and a writer of versatility and distinction. He had written books on combinations of capital and on new forms of competition. Dying last year, he had left the finished manuscript of a new book, which is just now issued, called "Property." It would be useful if this condensed but readable book, with its clear discriminations, could be put into the hands alike of extreme radicals and extreme conservatives. Seldom has a book shown more clearly the manner in which accumulated wealth

engaged in productive business is rendering public and social service. Furthermore, we have candid chapters on the modifications that are coming to pass in the legal and social principles relating to the uses and control of prosperity.

American Economic Life. By Henry Reed Burch. Macmillan. 533 pp.

Although written in the form of a school textbook, the volume entitled "American Economic Life: In Its Civic and Social Aspects," by Henry Reed Burch, of Philadelphia, is noteworthy for its presentation of the elements of political economy in terms of our actual American life to-day. It is none the less readable for its systematic arrangement, and it is written in the light of all the new factors existing in the sphere of America's economic production and distribution. It deals very fairly with labor programs and the various projects under discussion for governmental action in the field of business and industry.

Rural Organization. By Walter Burr. The Macmillan Company. 250 pp.

We have endeavored in this periodical to reflect what is a steadily growing interest in the work of improving country life and making farm communities more prosperous and happy by better forms of organization, some of them being private and voluntary, and others involving public administration. An excellent book on rural organization by Mr. Walter Burr, who is a professor in the Kansas State Agricultural College, shows what can be done, and what is actually being accomplished, through farmers' organizations and through local coöperation for improving the economic and the social conditions of country life. Besides the chapters on producing, marketing and financing, we also have studies of rural education, health, recreation, and home improvement. This volume is a welcome addition to the growing literature of a most timely and pressing subject.

THE UNIVERSITIES, THEIR STUDENTS, AND THE PUBLIC

Scholarship and Service. By Nicholas Murray Butler. Charles Scribner's Sons. 399 pp.

Dr. Butler has come to be more widely known in recent years as a publicist—a thinker and worker in the fields of national and international life and policy—than as the head of a great university, a man whose daily task is that of educational administration. His more recent books have dealt with the larger aspects of politics. The present volume, however, finds him in his working clothes, so to speak, as managing director of the largest of American universities. It is in no small measure due to Dr. Butler's educational ideals as well as to his energy in action that Columbia has more than kept pace with the growth of the metropolis, exerting as it does the highest influence in the form of a continuous leadership of the community through the appeals of science and culture. Columbia University, for America's chief city, exemplifies "Scholarship and

Service"; Dr. Butler himself personifies the university's attitude.

Next month Dr. Butler will have completed twenty years of service as president of Columbia University, this including also the presidency of Barnard College for Women, the Teachers College, and a series of professional schools of world-wide fame. As student, instructor, professor of philosophy and dean of education and philosophy, he had been connected with Columbia twenty-



PRESIDENT BUTLER
OF COLUMBIA

four years before he succeeded Seth Low as president.

The volume in hand begins with his inaugural address in 1902, and contains many brief academic papers from his annual reports or commencement addresses before the university. Its pages throughout reflect the current experience and the progressive thinking of an educational leader whose broad knowledge of methods and processes has not been surpassed by that of any other university head, whether at home or abroad.

Women Professional Workers. By Elizabeth Kemper Adams. The Macmillan Company. 467 pp.

Under the new social conditions there has been a very rapid increase in the relative number of women engaged in gainful occupations. In consequence, we have many books and monographs on women wage-earners, and a growing body of legislation in our States regulating the em-

ployment of women. We have, however, lacked comprehensive surveys of the movement of women into the higher forms of occupation. Elizabeth Kemper Adams, formerly a professor in Smith College and one of the chiefs of the United States Employment Service, has prepared a book on women professional workers that will render very great assistance to young women who are seeking at once to serve the community and to support themselves. This volume is a compendium of useful information covering not merely the older kinds of professional work, but more especially the newer opportunities for employment, in health, food, and living services; in civic and governmental work; in industrial, social, and labor positions; in office and mercantile employment; in journalism, art, and technical work; in library and museum positions, and, of course, in all lines of educational activity. All high schools for girls and all women's clubs should have a copy of this book, available for the many young women who will find it exceedingly helpful.

AIDS TO SANE LIVING

Getting What We Want. By David Orr Edson, M.D. Harper & Brothers. 287 pp.

An understanding of the ordinary individuality is the chief recommendation for this volume. The author has hit upon a great truth, but, like many contemporaries, has written too much on his subject. For those who lack the ripeness of experience, this book may help to interpret the suppressed desires of persons in other strata of life and explain thoughts and acts impossible of solution otherwise. Psychoanalysis seems the root of the work, and that pseudo-science has contributed some things of real importance and usefulness.

Outwitting Our Nerves. By Josephine A. Jackson, M.D. and Helen M. Salisbury. The Century Co. 403 pp.

Dr. Jackson dedicates her book to a lover of truth, and makes it a study of psychotherapy. Such subjects as "That Tired Feeling," "Dietary Taboos," "The Bugaboo of Constipation," "Insomnia," and "The Woman's Handicap" are discussed. Psychoanalysis is, it is true, a base upon which is built this excellent structure; but the other side of the pedestal is upheld by a very thorough knowledge of medicine and anatomy. It is remarkably interesting, and valuable to anybody of well-ordered mind who desires a better understanding of the moot subject of nerves.

Nerves and the Man. By W. Charles Loosmore. George H. Doran Co. 223 pp.

Writing from experience as one who has "come back," the author traces much the same path as Dr. Jackson, but in a different manner. Mr. Loosmore is a psychologist, not a medical expert. His chapters on "Rest and Sleep," "Health Habits," "Work, Interest and Hobbies," and so forth, are well worked out and valuable contributions. Both the Jackson and the Loosmore books should prove valuable in that preventive

medicine we hear so much about, and ought to be especially useful here in America where the industrial strain is greatest.

Teeth and Health. By Thomas J. Ryan, D.D.S., and Edwin F. Bowers, M.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 264 pp.

Humanity, since the birth of man, has never learned so much about itself as in the past quarter-century. Chemo-therapeutics and the abdominal operation have taught us wonderful things; and now research in dentistry has brought to light some new factors in health study which indicate that our teeth are to be blamed for rheumatism, insanity, kidney trouble, and similar ailments. But we are to blame for our teeth. The authors tell us the truth, concisely, and in a convincing manner. The book ought to have a companion place on the shelves of everyone who is interested in "Outwitting Our Nerves." It was written to "awaken people to the vital importance of keeping their mouths in proper condition," and it will do much to prevent a repetition of the deplorable statistics recently revealed by the draft.

Will-Power and Work. By Jules Payot. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 422 pp.

Dr. Jules Payot is the author of "Education of the Will" (which went through thirty editions), is Rector of the Aix-Marseilles University, and is entitled to recognition. Richard Duffy's excellent translation of his new book, "Will-Power and Work," gives us, besides a careful exposition of such subjects as "Real Intelligence," "How to Work," "Studies of Certain Great Men," and similar topics, a cross-section of contemporary French culture. The chapter on "Instruction Through Reading" is particularly valuable in a time which seems overburdened with muddle-headed persons who attempt to procure a recognition, ill-deserved, as "Intellectuals."

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